Comte Nicolas-Louis de Zinzendorf
Zinzendorf’s “Litany of the Wounds”

by Craig D. Atwood

Introduction

August Gottlieb Spangenberg arrived in the Brüdergemeine settlement of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on October 30, 1744, as the vicar general for the Brüdergemeine’s work in America. He brought with him the recently composed Litany of the Wounds of the Husband (the Wundenlitanei), read to the Bethlehem Gemeine on November 7. This Wundenlitanei employs concrete and graphic language to impress the individual worshiper with the historical and existential reality of the atonement, and Bethlehem’s diarist recorded that when it was first read aloud, “An aura of blood prevailed, refreshing our hearts.” Spangenberg taught the Gemeine to chant the litany during the Sabbath services on December 19, 1744, and “the Savior gave us a special blessing” on that night. For nearly twenty years the Wundenlitanei would be one of the most important and frequently used liturgical pieces in Bethlehem, sung by the entire Gemeine an average of at least eighteen times per year until the 1760s. The actual usage was probably much higher since this was the regularly scheduled litany for Friday evening worship, and portions of the litany were used in communion services and funerals. It was also used by various sub-groups within the community and was sung in German, English, and more than one tribal language.

The Wundenlitanei was more than a liturgical piece, however. The Brethren in Bethlehem asserted that it was the centerpiece of their theology, maintaining that it would be better for those who have questions about their beliefs to read this litany than any theology book. Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, the leader of the Brüdergemeine had a similarly high estimation of this prayer, and in 1747 he preached a series of thirty-four sermons on the Wundenlitanei. As will be shown below, this litany presents the essence of Zinzendorf’s rethinking of the Lutheran theology of the cross in a striking and controversial fashion. Thus the Wundenlitanei merits...
careful attention; however, it has generally not been given serious consideration, particularly in America and England. John Jacob Sessler, for instance, dismisses the Wundenlitanei and Zinzendorf’s wounds theology as a pathological aberration. “Zinzendorf suffered from a pathological condition which broke out in demonstrations of emotionalism, phantasies, and morbidity. In place of the pious exhortations of earlier days, his speech now resounded with word pictures of the merits of Christ’s blood and wounds and an excess of sensual symbolism.”

The recent work of Katherine Faull is a welcome counter to this dominant perspective on wounds theology; however, she does not address the theology of the Wundenlitanei per se. The present article will attempt to understand the Wundenlitanei in its proper historical and theological context and present an original translation of the litany into English.

The History of the Litany of the Wounds

The cross has traditionally been a focus of Christian faith, but Jesus of Nazareth did not simply die on the cross; he was also tortured and wounded as part of his ordeal. Increasingly in the 1730s and 40s, Zinzendorf, the leader of the Brüdergemeine, focused on the innocent suffering of Jesus as a part of the atonement. On February 14, 1734, he was burning some old papers, and, as a contemporary member of the Brüdergemeine relates it:

They were all consumed, excepting one small billet, on which . . . the old Lutheran verse stood: “O let us in thy nail-prints see/ Our pardon and election free.” All the Brethren and Sisters who saw this billet, the only one which remained unconsumed among the cinders, were filled with a childlike joy; and it gave them an occasion to a heart-felt conversation with each other upon the wounds of Jesus, which was attended with such a blessed effect, as to make a happy alteration in their way of thinking and type of devotion.

Twenty years later, Zinzendorf reported that on that day he and the community began to look only to Christ and his suffering for their salvation and direction. This experience led to an explosion
of publication and activity in the 1740s. The international mission of the Brüdergemeine coincided with the origin and expansion of wounds theology.\textsuperscript{11}

Nine years later, in December of 1743, John Nitsche, a member of the Polish Branch of the Unitas Fratrum, passed away in Herrnhut. His dying strengthened the Brüdergemeine's attachment to wounds theology. According to Cranz, Nitsche, who "departed this life at Herrnhut with uncommon joyfulness, incessantly addressing himself to the holy wounds of Jesus, had proved a great edification to many, encouraging them, in all circumstances, to look with particular devotion to the blood and wounds of Jesus."\textsuperscript{12} Cranz further reports that Zinzendorf used the dying devotions of Nitsche in composing the \textit{Wundenlitanei} which was used for the first time in March 1744. There is reason to doubt Cranz's claim that Zinzendorf actually composed the litany, however. One of the early manuscripts lists Johannes de Watteville, Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf, Polycarp Müller, and someone named Jakob as the authors.\textsuperscript{13} The first three persons, though, were in the circle of Zinzendorf's closest co-workers, and it is likely that Zinzendorf had a hand in the composition of the litany. Furthermore, as will be shown below, whether Zinzendorf actually composed the litany or not, it is clearly a reflection of his theology.

The shockingly graphic language used in the \textit{Wundenlitanei} is a manifestation of Zinzendorf's belief that religious language must be provocative in order to overcome intellectual defenses that keep people from grasping religious truth in their heart.\textsuperscript{14} The \textit{Wundenlitanei} was used to convert people to Christ, and it had such a powerful effect that when it was first sung to the natives in the mission outpost of Gnadenhütten "they forgot all about going to sleep."\textsuperscript{15} On the other hand, those who had already been converted were able to renew their love to their Savior through this highly emotive litany. The success of this is attested by notations such as the following: "A new working of grace has been noted in Digeon and his wife. He recently has been taken hold of by the Litany of the Wounds."\textsuperscript{16} Such citations could be multiplied.

Despite opposition from his enemies, Zinzendorf would continue to express the theology of the cross in terms of "Blood and
Wounds Theology” for the remainder of his life, as evidenced in the Kinder Reden, his last published work. Zinzendorf claimed that the Brüdergemeine had always preached a theology of the wounds, even if the language was at first not as vivid as it would be later. In 1747, he reminded the community of Herrnhaag that before the first Gemeinhaus had been built in Herrnhut, twenty-four years earlier, the Brethren already had “had the wounds of the Savior in their prospect.” For Zinzendorf, then, the Wundenlitaniei merely made explicit what had always been implicit in the Brüdergemeine’s heart religion. In Bethlehem, this litany continued to be used until after Zinzendorf’s death, but in the late 1750s it began to be supplanted by O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden and the Pleurodie. This should not be read as a rejection of either the language or the theology of the Wundenlitaniei, however. O Haupt focuses intensely on the physical suffering of Jesus on the cross in a way very similar to the first section of the litany. Moreover, the very popular Pleurodie was a litany devoted exclusively to the side-wound of Jesus. It assures the worshiper that while all of the wounds are honorable and important, the wound over Jesus’ heart is particularly valued. “Altho’ we honour ev’ry Wound, Feast on the holy Corpse all round; Yet, Jesu, in that Breast of thine, Thanks, Shame, Pain, Love, and Joy combine.” In the Pleurodie, the community pledges to remain close to the side-wound for all time. It should be obvious that the increased use of the Pleurodie represents a strengthening, rather than a weakening of wounds devotion in Bethlehem in the late 1750s and 60s.

Although the Wundenlitaniei was translated into English in the mid-eighteenth century, the only complete English translation to be published, to my knowledge, is that of Faull which is based in large part on eighteenth-century partial translations. Large portions of the litany appeared in English-language hymnals of the Brüdergemeine from the 1750s to 1793 under the titles “Litany of the Life, Sufferings, and Death of the Jesus” and “Hymns of the Wounds.” Jacob Rogers’ hand-written English-language litany book, preserved in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, contains a complete English translation, presumably made by Rogers himself, an Anglican deacon who served as an English preacher for the
Brüdergemeine in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. From the Bethlehem records, it is apparent that Rogers used this version when leading English-language services in Pennsylvania; however, this differs from the published translations. The German version of the litany went through a number of revisions from 1744–1752, but most of the changes only involved the ordering and wording of the petitions.

Although the Litany of the Wounds was vital to the life of the Brüdergemeine in the eighteenth century, it became a source of embarrassment to the Moravian church in the nineteenth century. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, particularly in England and America, the Brüdergemeine moved away from wounds theology. This corresponds to the general loss of vigor in the Brüdergemeine and the slow disintegration of the closed communities in Europe and America. For decades the Moravian church would retain an emphasis on the atonement, but increasingly repudiated the graphic language employed in the Litany of the Wounds. This is seen in John Ettwein, a second-generation leader of Bethlehem in the late eighteenth century. Sometime in the 1790s, he attached an interesting note at the beginning of the Bethlehem Diary for the year 1747:

> For memory: I pray that whoever reads this diary in future times will overlook the overwrought expressions, of the side hole, brown hearts, black hearts, the marriage, and etc. If someone were to have the time and desire to copy [this diary] and leave out such words and phrases, he would do a good service to future generations.22

We can be thankful that no one followed Ettwein's suggestion; however, not only did the Wundenlitanei pass out of use around Ettwein's time, its original importance was obscured by later historians.

Most anglophone scholars, particularly those belonging to the Moravian church, have dismissed the litany as an expression of religious fanaticism during a time known as the Sifting Time (die Sichtungzeit).23 The Sifting Time was a period of turmoil within the Brüdergemeine in the late 1740s, located especially in the European community of Herrnhaag. This concept looms large in
secondary literature, but there is actually no consensus on the dating of the Sifting much less the nature of it.\textsuperscript{24} Regardless of dating, it is misleading to connect the \textit{Wundenlitanei} to the so-called Sifting Time because the Sifting ended early in the 1750s. The \textit{Wundenlitanei}, on the other hand, continued to be published in the hymnals and litany books of the \textit{Brüdergemeine} until 1795. Presumably it was also being used as late as the 1790s, forty years after the Sifting. We can safely say that the \textit{Wundenlitanei} was a major part of the life of the \textit{Brüdergemeine} throughout its most vigorous period (1744–1780s). In order to properly understand Zinzendorf and his movement, therefore, it is necessary to pay careful attention to this litany.

\textbf{The Theology of the Litany of the Wounds}

The \textit{Wundenlitanei} divides naturally into two parts: the sufferings and death of Jesus and the hymns to the wounds.\textsuperscript{25} In 1752, the \textit{Wundenlitanei} was permanently divided in just this fashion with part one becoming the \textit{Litaney des Menscheits Jesu}, later called the \textit{Litaney vom Leben, Leiden, und Sterben Jesu}, and part two, \textit{Lobgesang über Jesu Wunden}. It begins with a \textit{Kyrie} to Christ, including a special \textit{Gloria} specifically to the side-wound. Then the \textit{Gemeine} 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 \textit{Gemeine} is also reminded that these wounds are their consolation because they are the proof of forgiveness of sins. The second person of the Trinity is addressed next, but the words are actually intended for the worshipers who are reminded that the side-wound of Christ is “the doorway to heaven.” Then the Holy Spirit is also addressed with the reminder that his primary mission is to preach “daily the wounds of the Lamb to his \textit{Gemeinen} of the Cross which have found him.” Thus the opening lines of the litany give the skeleton of Zinzendorf’s trinitarian doctrine.\textsuperscript{26} Both the Father and the Spirit are connected to the Son and his atoning death. The Father looks on the wounds of Christ and has mercy on humankind, while the Spirit preaches the doctrine of the wounds in the church. The Christocentric focus of the Trinity is
summmed up in the line “Holy Trinity, blessed be you for the sake of the Lamb.”

The short series of obsecrations which follow are expressions of Zinzendorf’s understanding of justification by grace through faith:

From all self-righteousness;
From all lack of discipline;27
From all unbloodied grace;
From hearts that have not been bled upon;
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!

These lines express a fear of turning away from the suffering Christ and accepting some type of grace other than that of the atonement. At the same time, however, there is a prayer to be preserved from “unanointed gossip” or “prating” about the blood. The Brüdergemeine perceived the danger that familiarity breeds contempt or a sense of frivolity about holy matters, particularly among those growing up in the Gemeine. Therefore whenever this litany was used, the Gemeine prayed to be preserved from becoming indifferent to the wounds or treating them lightly. We see here that the attitude of the worshiper is crucial to the experience of being in the Gemeine.

The next series of petitions were sung antiphonally, generally between choirs. It was common in the Brüdergemeine to relate the life of Jesus to the believers’ own stages of life.28 For instance, the circumcision of Jesus helps believers to “circumcise our hearts.” Even Jesus’ exile as a child in Egypt plays a role in the Christian life. The exile here is not used as a symbol of the Exodus of the chosen people from slavery but is included in a prayer that members of the Brüdergemeine be ready to go into exile themselves. Just as Jesus was not bound to his home, so too the members of the Gemeine should not be tied to their homes but must “be at home everywhere.” By being citizens of heaven and sojourners on earth,
the Brethren were in fact "citizens of the world." No area was considered beyond the reach of their missionaries.29

The litany also asserts that Jesus had studied as a child. This is inferred from his encounter with the scribes in the temple (Luke 2) and his knowledge of Scripture, but this stands in contrast with a long Christian tradition that asserts that Jesus was uneducated. This rejection of the tradition is surprising because it appears to conflict with a later line that states, "May your astonishing simplicity make reason hateful to us"; however, this apparent contradiction serves to highlight an important point. Heart religion is not opposed to practical reason or education, only to making speculation prior to experience.30 Members of the Brüdergemeine were encouraged to study, particularly the Bible and languages, but they were steered away from philosophy and free inquiry. Jesus, then, is the model of the humble scholar who is obedient first of all to God. The simplicity of Jesus does not mean stupidity but single-heartedness. He spoke what he knew without ratiocination. Moreover, in becoming incarnate, the Son of God laid aside his omniscience, taking on human finitude and ignorance. This is the "meritorious ignorance" referred to in a later line.31 Here Jesus stands as the model of the person who is content with what can be known in contrast to the "petite geniuses" who presume to know the essences of everything.32 Therefore the Litany of the Wounds blesses human finitude.

This sanctification of finitude continues in the following stanzas. The physical weakness of Christ and his submission to the Father in Gethsemane demonstrates the importance of relying on God alone in this life and blesses human weakness. This validation of weakness is part of the paradox of being a graced sinner. Human weakness is blessed because it removes the threat of self-righteousness or autonomy.33 The humanness and weakness of Christ were best revealed in his passion which, for Zinzendorf, began with the mental anguish in the garden where the reality of his "fear of suffering and death" was clearly revealed. This struggle of Christ with his own fears and emotions is problematic since the incarnate Son of God appears more afraid of death than many martyrs, but the Brüdergemeine exulted in this very weakness of Christ. In fact,
the courage of the martyrs is "put to shame" by Christ's own struggle over his death. This is one way the Brüdergemeine tried to temper the martyr zeal of its members. Suffering with Christ in the mission fields or even in martyrdom was good, but suffering should not be sought out. Christ himself feared death and tried to avoid it.

Several lines of the litany concern the physical details of Christ's suffering and death. This graphic recalling of Jesus' ordeal strengthens the connection between the joy of being a Christian with the cost of the victory over Satan and is also intended to move the heart to a deeper devotion to the one who had suffered so much. The blood of Christ sets the earth on fire, presumably with the love for God. The "pale lips" kiss believers on the heart, drawing them into the community of his death. The believer comes into such an intimate relationship with Jesus that his "dead eyes, look out through our eyes." Christ takes on the role of the woman who had anointed his feet and dried them with her hair, but he anoints the believer with "bloody foam" and dries them with "sweat-soaked hair." Moreover, both blessing and rebirth come from the wounds. Elisha laid his living body on a dead child to bring him back to life (2 Kings 4:34); Christ lays his dead body on the believer in order to bring him to new life. The wounds also have an eschatological significance. The wounded hands show where the names of the saved are written in the book of life, and the wounded feet will be seen standing on the Mount of Olives. The glorious Son of God coming in the clouds will bear the marks of his passion as the proof of his identity so that even in the eschaton a theology of glory will be tempered with a theology of the cross.

The second part of the litany is the hymns to the wounds of Jesus. These stanzas were used independently for decades following the Sifting. This section is unusual in that it is neither Christ nor the other members of the Trinity who are addressed but the wounds themselves. They have become a symbol for Christ, the atonement, and all of the fruits of the atonement: rebirth, eternal life, security, and healing. They are the "worthy wounds" which merit honor from the believer because they are the source of salvation. They are "dearest" and "wondrous" because they "make sinners holy and thieves from saints." This last line is intentionally
provocative, shocking the worshiper out of a conventional theology of self-righteousness. The paradoxical nature of the joyful worship of the wounds of Christ is united with the paradox of being a graced sinner. It is only the sinner, such as Mary Magdalene, who is saved. The self-righteous saint must first be made a thief (in other words, acknowledge his sinfulness) in order to be saved through the power of the wounds.

The ability of wounds adoration to affect the heart of the believer is acknowledged directly in the petition, “Powerful wounds of Jesus, So moist, so gory, bleed on my heart so that I may remain brave and like the wounds.” The wounds themselves are a source of truth because they produce the self-knowledge that comes with spiritual rebirth. The wounds reveal the sinful state of humankind far better than any listing of human depravity because they show the lengths to which God must go to redeem his lost creatures. At the same time, though, the wounds display the glorious mercy of God. Thus, they are “clear” and “glistening.” They light a torch in the heart which is brighter than lightning beams. The wounds are the source of forgiveness; therefore they are nourishment for the soul; they are “juicy” and “succulent.” The worshiper is strengthened by sucking at the side of Christ; she “licks it, tastes it.” Furthermore, since the wounds are the symbol of salvation through the atonement, they are a source of security and comfort. They are a warm and soft bed in which to lie. They protect God’s children from the cold world, so that the worshiper says, “I like lying calm, gentle, and quiet and warm. What shall I do? I crawl to you.” The believer longs to return to the womb, to crawl inside the “deep wounds of Jesus” and lie there safe and protected. Zinzendorf made explicit the connection between the side wound and the womb in a number of sermons. For example, he preached, “Now I will see whether you are a divine child. That I will see in your longing for your Mother’s womb, whether you have entered into the new world through the right door, through which the Πληρωμα of the new Spirit exited, namely through the side of Jesus.”

This vision of the wounds is focused on the individual but not exclusively. Therefore there is an interplay between “My wounds”
and “Our wounds.” The heat from the wounds, the saving power of Christ’s atonement, will cover the world, and all classes of people will come to salvation; “slaves, beggars and kings, farmers and counts” will become pilgrims to worship at the corpse of Jesus. This is a good description of the Brüdergemeine and its worldwide scope. African slaves in St. Thomas, natives in Pennsylvania dispossessed from their ancestral homes, Moravian peasants, and more than one count came together before the image of the wounded God which was painted in worship service after worship service.36 The brothers and sisters of Bethlehem joined the “many thousand kinds of sinners” who sat in the “treasure hoard” of the “cavernous wounds of Jesus.” It is a glorious vision of Christ’s redemption for all the peoples of the earth.

The Litany of the Wounds may indeed strike us as bizarre or even disgusting, but it has an internal logic and is an example of Zinzendorf’s “heart theology” as practiced in the Brüdergemeine. In order to better understand the theology of the litany, it will help to look briefly at the theology of Zinzendorf, particularly his Christology and view of the atonement.

Zinzendorf and the Atonement

Zinzendorf recalled that from an early age he was devoted to the Lutheran theology of the cross communicated through images of the crucified Savior in Evangelical-Lutheran hymns.37 Zinzendorf’s devotion to the cross was strengthened after a long dispute (from 1729 to 1734) with the radical pietist, Konrad Dippel, who promoted an exemplarist theory of the atonement. Zinzendorf was forced to reconsider the role of the cross in Christian theology and piety, and he concluded that the sufferings of Jesus were necessary for salvation. The atonement must be the center of the Christian proclamation. Zinzendorf argued that philosophical Christianity, such as Dippel’s, ignored the plain evidence of the New Testament that Christ came “to give his life as a ransom (λυτρον) for many” (Matt. 20:28).38 Christ did not die to appease a wrathful deity but to purchase his creatures from “sin, death, and the power of the
devil; not with gold or silver but with his holy, precious blood” (I Peter 1:18). For Zinzendorf, the whole life and ministry of Jesus must be viewed from the cross because salvation was achieved in the death, not in the resurrection, of Jesus. The purpose of the incarnation was so that God could reconcile the world to himself through the death of Christ. “The origin of all grace is to be sought only in the merits and satisfaction of Christ alone who must become everything for us in his bloody form on the cross, and must be the only cause of our blessedness.”

Therefore Christmas and the Passion must be joined together, as Zinzendorf told the young girls in Herrnhut on Christmas Eve 1755, because unless children meditate upon the cost of their redemption Christmas is meaningless.

Zinzendorf argued that all humans have been freed from the ancient curse of original sin because Christ “died for the sins of the whole world.” Since the blood of Christ “flowed out of his body and cascaded like an damned stream which flooded over and blessed the entire world in an instant,” all souls have been purchased from the devil, even those of wicked people; however, most people do not know this. They do not even know they are lost, much less redeemed; therefore they do not enjoy the benefit of this redemption. The blood of Christ must melt their hardened hearts so that people may truly see their situation and then turn in love to the Savior who has already suffered for their healing. Salvation for each individual is effected by Christ with absolutely no contribution on the part of the creature. Zinzendorf viewed self-righteousness as the great temptation of his day, even among Lutherans who should know better, and the cure for self-righteousness is a feeling for the atonement and the wounds of Christ.

As stated earlier, after 1734, Zinzendorf gave special attention to the suffering and wounding of Christ which he saw as salvific in several ways. First of all, the suffering of Jesus served as a penance for human failing. For Zinzendorf, the Bußkampf of which the Pietists spoke so often is not an action performed by humans on their own behalf but was performed by Jesus through his passion. This penitential struggle for all people reached its height during
the agony in Gethsemane when Christ bore the weight of the world’s sins and faced all temptations. His blood-like sweat was the sign and seal of this penitential grace which continues to bless and heal the believing community. Second, the suffering of Christ keeps people from loving him for any other reason than in response to his love. Christ does not want people to love him because of “his miracles, his glory, and his benefits” but only because he first loved his creatures and suffered for them. “As he is described in Isaiah 53, no man would desire him. Why? Because the Creator absolutely refuses to be loved for any other reason than because one does love [him].” The terrible suffering and disfigurement that Jesus endured ensures that no one can create a theology of glory which is merely a “reasonable Methodism, just a little bit better than pure morality.” The historical reality of the cruelties endured by Jesus serves constantly to turn the believer away from all theologies of glory and self-righteousness. Zinzendorf imagines Jesus speaking thus to the individual: “Do I please you better in the idea of a mangled slave who is thrown to the wild beasts in the circus, or in the form of the emperor who sits high on the throne and takes pleasure in the destruction of the poor creature? How do I please you the best?”

A third important reason for the suffering of Jesus was that this has a profound and lasting effect on the human heart. The natural heart is so hardened that it could not respond to a simple decree of forgiveness; it must be melted and convinced of the extent of human ruin and the cost of human redemption. “Like wax before the fire, I / Want to melt in Jesus’ suffering.” An easy death would have proven nothing and, more important, would have no effect on the heart. Christ had to suffer everything that humans as a race must suffer, including physical pain, anxiety and the fear of death. A final reason for the wounding of Jesus was that the wounds are an everlasting sign of the atonement. The cross has long since been destroyed, but the marks of the cross on the person of Jesus remain since his body did not decay in the grave. Therefore “the Saviour is never in all eternity without his sign, without his wounds.” When Christ returns to earth, the five cross wounds “will be the
sign of the Son by which the nations, the tribe of Israel, and the entire world will recognize who the man on the clouds is.”

Zinzendorf was very fond of the legend that Satan had once appeared to Martin of Tours and tried to convince him that he was really Christ. Martin replied, “If you are Christ, then where are your wounds?” When Satan responded that he wanted to show Martin his glory, not his suffering, Martin answered, “You are the devil; a Saviour who is without wounds, who does not have the mark of his sufferings, I do not acknowledge.” In this regard, Zinzendorf has special praise for Thomas, commonly called the Doubter. Thomas refused to believe that Jesus had been resurrected until he could see and feel the print of the nails in his hands (John 20:25). Far from criticizing Thomas for his doubting, Zinzendorf uses him as an example for all Christians. Persons should not believe in Jesus until in their own hearts they see the marks of the nails which prove he was truly crucified. “If anyone asks me about his salvation, I say to him, ‘Do not believe, if you do not want to be deceived, do not believe until you see the prints of the nails and place your finger in the prints of the nails and place your hand in his side: then believe.’ ”

The wound in the side of Jesus caused by the centurion’s spear at the time of Jesus’ death became an important compact symbol for Zinzendorf. Salvation was purchased by the wounding and killing of Jesus; therefore it is easy for Zinzendorf to identify the physical hole in the body of Christ with a metaphorical portal through which individuals must pass in order to enter into heaven. There is no way to the Father except through Jesus, which Zinzendorf describes as a literal entering through the side hole of Jesus. “No one is directly adopted by the Father, he passes first through the Savior; no one is directly born through the Holy Spirit, he goes first through the Canal of the Savior.” The side-wound is the narrow door, the portal to paradise, the means of entry into the body of Christ. The piercing of Jesus’ side is thus compared to the ripping of the curtain to the Holy of Holies. Those who know they are redeemed have experienced being “led with body and soul into the side hole.” This is the place of healing and salvation, a place where Christians are as safe as a child in its cradle,
or a dove in the crevice of the rock. Whenever Christians are in trouble or fearful, they should crawl into Jesus' wounds and find peace and comfort there.

There is a final set of images and meanings attached to the side-wound of Christ which merits attention. This orifice becomes the organ of spiritual birth in Zinzendorf's theology. To help clarify his understanding of souls being born out of the side of Christ, Zinzendorf introduces a rather unusual concept. Little souls are created or "begotten" in "the matrix (womb)" of the side-wound and then proceed through that orifice into the individual believers. The Holy Spirit was given to the world along with these little souls when "the spear went into the little Lamb" (John 7:38–39) and the blood and life of Jesus poured. The flowing out of the Holy Spirit on the cross shows that the church originated in the side-wound of Christ because there could be no salvation without the cross. The church is thus a "Cross Community" which depends entirely on the wounds of Jesus. The water and blood that flow from the ever-open side of Jesus are the true baptismal and eucharistic grace.

In summary, Zinzendorf uses the graphic and compelling symbolism of the wounds of Christ to communicate his Lutheran theology of the cross. The language of the wounds was intended to keep the Brüdergemeine as a Creutz Gemeinschaft in constant contact with the source of the salvation and free from the temptation of a theology of glory. The wounds of Christ are a potent symbol of salvation, and as such are a fitting object of veneration and meditation. The Christian should never lose sight of the wounded hands and feet of Jesus, because they are the proof of redemption and thus the source of health and life. In fact, all knowledge of God is focused on the wounds of Christ; the numerous wounds of Jesus were the catechism and the rosary of the Brüdergemeine.

Conclusion

In the Litany of the Wounds an entire Christian theology is focused on a single compelling symbol: the wounds of Christ, par-
particularly the side-wound. The doctrine of the atonement, which easily becomes a philosophical abstraction or debate on whether a substitutionary atonement is truly moral, is transferred into a contemplation of the historical account of the wounding of Jesus. The doctrine of the soul’s eventual union with God, which easily dissolves into some type of mystical annihilation or pantheism, is portrayed in terms of a physical/spiritual entry into the very being of Christ through his wounds. The doctrine of providence, which easily develops into a view of impersonal fate, is anthropomorphized into an image of eternal protection in the womb of Christ. The doctrine of justification by grace through faith, which in Lutheran Orthodoxy had become a sterile academic debate, is recast in terms of the ever-present paradox of the beautiful and horrible wounds of Christ. The paradox is that the wounds of Christ are repulsive and gory to the world but simultaneously beautiful, glistering, and succulent to the believer. It is in the light of this primal paradox that the paradox of being a justified sinner is to be understood and experienced. Salvation comes through the death of the incarnate Son of God. The paradoxical theology of the cross, which is forever at odds with a theology of glory, is painted again and again in the Litany of the Wounds. The Wundenlitanei places Christ and his cross at the center of Christian life and worship.

THE LITANY OF THE WOUNDS OF THE HUSBAND

First Choir
Hail!
Christ,
Glory

Second Choir
Lamb of God.
Have mercy!
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, Son, Savior 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.

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 unbleeding 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
May your holy first wound
May your childlikeness
May your first exile
May your first maturity
May your diligence with your study
May your youth
May your faithful sweat of labor
May your faithfulness to your craft
May your astonishing simplicity
May your proper Bible foundation
May your meritorious ignorance
May your exemplary temple devotion
May your powerlessness and weakness
May your theology of the cross
May your righteousness to the last will

Make us love our humanness!
Help us circumcise our hearts!
Help us to have childlike joy!
Teach us to be at home everywhere!
Make our adolescence holy!
Make us learned for the Kingdom of God!
Bless the unmarried choirs!
Make all labor easy for us!
Make us true on our part!
Make reason hateful to us!
Make us all know our Bible!
Fence in our understanding!
Make us faithful people of religion!
Make our weakness welcome to us!
Remain our confession of faith!
Make us faithful to your will!
May your will, validated by your death
May the fulfillment of your will
May your fear of suffering and death
May your reliance on your heavenly Father to suffer and not to suffer
May your willing passion
May your holy baptism of blood
May your sweat in penitential struggle
You scratches from the crown of thorns,
Pale lips,
Mouth dripping spittle,
Cheeks spat upon,
Dead eyes,
Bloody foam from your back,
Sweat-soaked hair,
Open arms,
O your holy five wounds
Pierced hands,
Nail-bored feet,
You sign of the Son of Man,
You large side hole,
But also side chasm,
May your pierced heart
May you unnamed and unknown wounds,
Worthy wounds of Jesus,

Remain the rule of your heirs!
Bring the scattered children of God into the ark of holy Christianity!
Put to shame the courage of the martyrs!

Be our decree on your own divinity!
Teach us tolerance!
Ignite all of God's earth!

Pour over us in body and soul!
Mark us on our foreheads!
Kiss us on the heart!
That you would not have to spit out anyone!
That the Father may not spit upon us!
Look out through our eyes!
Wash our feet!
Dry them!
Receive us!
Do like Elisha! We want to be the child!
Show us where we are written!
When you stand again on the Mount of Olives!
Appeal to Israel according to the flesh, before you come in the clouds!
Take in the entire world!
To you I pray especially, oh, keep your people, and me!
Beat and leap over us!

Be greeted, all of you!
Who will keep us from honoring you here and there forever? You have earned it.
Covenant wounds of Jesus,  

Dearest wounds of Jesus,  

Wondrous wounds of Jesus,  

Powerful wounds of Jesus,  

Closing wounds of Jesus,  

Mysterious wounds of Jesus,  

Wound-Shadow of Jesus  

Clear wounds of Jesus,  

Glistening wounds of Jesus,  

Cavernous wounds of Jesus,  

Purple wounds of Jesus,  

Juicy wounds of Jesus,  

Near wounds of Jesus,  

Painful wounds of Jesus,  

Warm wounds of Jesus,  

One must praise God, who has preserved us up to your time, where one has something.

Whoever does not love you, and does not give his whole heart to you, holds nothing dear.

Holy fissures, you make sinners holy, and thieves from saints. How amazing!

So moist, so gory, bleed on my heart so that I may remain brave and like the wounds.

If I could rest and feed my soul between you, close again.

I thank the pastors, who made me known with the bruises and gashes of my Lamb.

By your Light, may I still paint many an image of your tortured visage in the heart.

With whom it is true, the way is white, when it is clear in heaven and the word looks at it.

You make my heart a dazzling candle of grace before the rays and lightening.

In your treasure hoard, roomily sit many thousands kinds of sinners.

You are so succulent, whatever comes near becomes like wounds and flowing with blood.

Whoever sharpens the pen and with it pierces you just a little, and licks, tastes it.

I do not want to be even a hair's-width from your hole.

Sensitive to the Lamb, and for that reason, so grounded to the cure and so proven.

In no pillow can a little child feel itself so secure before cold air.
Dainty wounds of Jesus, So tender, so delicate, you are to such children proportional to little beds.

Soft wounds of Jesus, I like lying calm, gently, and quiet and warm. What should I do? I crawl to you.

Hot wounds of Jesus, Go on heating, until you are able to cover the entire world with your warmth.

Treasure wounds of Jesus, To them, the slaves, beggars and kings, farmers and counts make a pilgrimage.

Eternal wounds of Jesus, [You are] my house to dwell in. In a million eons you will still be new.

Our wounds of Jesus, Which are traveled upon by every band, young and old, great and small.

My wounds of Jesus, Mine, yes mine! To me it is then, as though you were there entirely for my heart alone.

At the end of all trouble, Anoint us, you red wounds.63

In the meantime, I believe the death-streaked eyes, the spit-dripped mouth, the fire-baptized 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! Lamb of God.
Christ, Have mercy!
Glory to the side wound!

NOTES

1. This article arose out of research conducted for my dissertation at Princeton Theological Seminary. The contributions of my advisor, James Moorhead, members of my committee, and other members of the history department are gratefully acknowledged.
2. Bethlehem, Pa., was the first permanent and most important settlement of the Brudergemeine in America. From its founding in 1741 until Spangenberg's recall to Europe in 1762, Bethlehem was a carefully regulated communal society with a vigorous mission to the native American tribes of the middle colonies. For more information on Bethlehem's history and unique social structure, see Beverly Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem from Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1989). Throughout this article, the German word Brudergemeine will be used to describe Zinzendorf's international religious community rather than the more familiar word Moravian. The former was used by the followers of Zinzendorf themselves, while the latter is an anachronism. The Moravians were a minority within the largely Lutheran Brudergemeine. The American denomination that grew out of this movement began calling itself the Moravian church in the nineteenth century.


4. Craig D. Atwood, “Blood, Sex, and Death: Life and Liturgy in Zinzendorf's Bethlehem” (Ph.D. diss. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1995), 151. The only liturgical piece that was more frequently used during this period was the *Brudergemeines* version of the Great Church Litany, which was used almost every Sunday morning.

5. Jan. 6/17, 1750; Feb. 15, 1752, Bethlehem Diary, Mor Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

6. Nov. 8/19, 1748, Helpers Conference Minutes, Mor. Archives.

7. Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, *Vier und dreißig homilien über die Wundenlitanei* (Barby, 1748), reproduced in Erich Beyreuther and Gerhard Meyer, *Hauptschriften in sechs Banden,* vol. 3 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), hereafter ZH. Zinzendorf was a German nobleman and lay theologian who was heavily influenced by Halle pietism. He eventually was ordained as a Lutheran minister, but he never held a regular call. Most of his life was spent in the context of the Brudergemeine. His major works have been republished in *Hauptschriften.* For biographical information see Erich Beyreuther, *Die Große Zinzendorf-Trilogie:* vol. 1 Der junge Zinzendorf (1957), vol. 2 Zinzendorf und die sich allhier bessammenfinden (1959), and vol. 3 Zinzendorf und die Christenheit (1961), (Marburg an der Lahn: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 1988), and John R. Wimlick, *Count Zinzendorf* (New York: Abingdon, 1956; reprint, Bethlehem, Pa: Moravian Church in America, 1989).


des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf"; und ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der extravaganten Lehre Zinzendorfs (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1911), pp. 37 ff. argues that Zinzendorf's wounds language originated in seventeenth-century Lutheran hymns, especially those of Paul Gerhard. While this may be true, Reichel overstates his case, I believe. The language in the Wundenlitanei and hymns of the Brethren differs from that of the older Lutheran hymns in its intensity. Moreover, for over twenty years, the entire devotional life of the Brethren was centered in this wounds theology.

11. In the space of twenty years they sent missionaries to four continents, established relations with the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church in Constantinople, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Patriarch of the Coptic Church in Cairo, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Brudergemeine specialized in missions to inhospitable areas, such as among the Inuit of Greenland and Labrador, the slaves of the Caribbean, the Berbice of Surinam, the Hottentots of South Africa, and the native tribes of North America. J. Taylor and Kenneth G. Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722–1957 (Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education of the Moravian Church in America. 1967) gives the details of these enterprises. Wilhelm Bettermann, Theologie und Sprache bei Zinzendorf (Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1935), 62, quotes Martin Dober, one of the Moravian residents of Herrnhut, who identified the mid–1740s as the crucial period in the development of the Brudergemeine and its theology: *In der Lehre wurden wir kindlicher, sonderlich aber 44 kam die Pleura, Bruder Lammelein, Papachen, Mamachen, Schnurchen, das Vateramt, das Mutteramt, die Sponsa auf, da der Common Prayer verfertigt wurde, alles mit seiner besonderen ausnehmenden und mit dieser wichtigen Erkenntnis affordernden Gnade. Anno 46 kam der lichte Begriff von unserer seligen Gemeinokonomie, den der liebe Papa bekannt und dem Synodo in Zeist vorgelegt hat. anno 47 brach die Kreuzluft-vogleinsmaterie hervor, welches vollends aller eignen Heiligkeit, allem menschlichen Formen und Gestalten, allem gemachten Ding den Boden hinaustöpt und also Jesus seinen Wunden, seiner Gnade und dem Werk der lieben Mutter allein die Ehre von allem und jedem, was wahres Gutes an uns ist heimbringt.*

12. Cranz, 298; Faull, 34–35. The experience of Nitsche is an indication that persons outside the Brudergemeine were also worshiping the wounds at this time. He came to Herrnhut specifically because the Brethren there knew the significance of the wounds. Reichel, Frommigkeit, 71, builds his defense of Zinzendorf on the fact that there were many wounds hymns in the Lutheran church in the seventeenth century. This was particularly true of the very influential Freylinghausen Songbook of 1704. *Wenn man von dieser Rolle weiß, die die Seitenwunde Jesu schon in der Lyrik der lutheranischen Kirche gespielt hat, so beruht es einen fast komisch, wenn Pfister der Tatsache solche Bedeutung beimißt, daß schon in einem Gedicht des Knaben gelegentlich einmal die "Seiten-holchen" vorkommen.* Unfortunately, Reichel argues at cross purposes. On the one hand he wants to defend Zinzendorf by showing that his imagery was part of a popular strain of Lutheran piety and was therefore not unusual, but on the other hand, he argues that the side wound imagery was largely confined to the Sifting Time and was therefore abnormal for Zinzendorf.

13. Reichel, Frommigkeit, 52. While Reichel's claim may distance Zinzendorf from the Litany, it also distances the Litany from the so-called Sifting Time, which is discussed below. Polycarp Müller was one of the old Moravians who most resisted the Sifting in Herrnhaag and de Watteville was the lieutenant given the task of restoring order to the Brudergemeine after the Sifting.
Bettermann examines Zinzendorf's understanding and use of language as a tool for religious experience in his seminal work *Theologie und Sprache bei Zinzendorf*.

June 14/25, 1746, Beth Diary, Mor Archives

Mar 11/22, 1747, Engere Conf Minutes, Mor Archives


Zinzendorf acknowledged that his way of speaking about the suffering of Jesus aroused opposition, but that this was misguided: "If one or another reader should wonder at the newness of the expressions and at the candid utterance of such paradoxes then I would not have much really to suggest in return and would only have to be sorry that I cannot send such a person my glasses, through which I see when I speak." Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion Preached in Fetter Lane Chapel in London in the Year 1746*, tr. and ed. by George W. Forell (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973), p. xxxii.

On the opposition to wounds language, see Faull, 25.


Faull, 36 ff. Peter C. Erb in *Petitsit Selected Writings* in the *Classics of Western Spirituality* series edited by Richard Payne (New York: Paulist Press, 1983) has presented a translation of a portion of the *Wundenlitanei*, namely the *Litanei von Leben, Leiden und Sterben Jesu*, which was separated from the "hymns to the wounds" and used in Germany until the mid-nineteenth century. The version Erb used represents a significant revision of the litany used during Zinzendorf’s life. A number of shocking or paradoxical expressions have been significantly toned down. In order to understand Zinzendorf and the piety of his community, it is important to examine the litany before it was made more orthodox and palatable for a general audience.


Pro memoria: Wer in künftigen Zeiten diese Diaria lesen will und gebeichte, die uertreiben Redens-Arten, vom Seiten-holgen, Braunen Hertzen, schwarzen Herzen, der Ehe, p zu übersehen. Wer Zeit und Lust dazu hatte, sie zu copiren und solche Worte und Phrases weg zu lassen, thate der Nachwelt einen Guten dienst damit.

E.g., J. E. Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church*, 2nd ed. (London: Moravian Publication Office, 1909), 276. Faull, 26 f., also identifies the *Wundenlitanei* with the Sifing, however, her thesis that wounds theology was part of Zinzendorf’s anti-enlightenment anthropology would be strengthened if it were recognized that the cult of the wounds was an enduring part of both Zinzendorf’s theology and the piety of the Brethren.

The dating ranges from 1746–1750 (Cranz and Spangenberg), 1743–1750 (Plitt and Bettermann), to 1738–1752 (Kinkle and Hutton). There is insufficient opportunity here to discuss all of the methodological and historical problems related to the Sifing Time idea, but my research leads me to question whether this is a helpful historical concept. The only substantive treatment of Herrnhaag is that of Hans-Walter Erbe, *Herr-
haag: eine religiose Kommunitat im 18. Jahrhundert (Hamburg: F. Wittig, 1988), cf. Atwood, “Zinzendorf’s Stralbrief of 1749,” Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 1996. It should also be noted that Spangenberg, whom many identify as an opponent of the Sifting, regularly used the Wundenlitanei in Bethlehem until 1762.

25. The litanies of the Brüdergemeine were generally sung, not said. According to Faull, note 50, p. 54, the usual setting for the Wundenlitanei was Martin Luther’s Agnus Dei.


27. The translation of Jacob Rogers reads “From all Dryness of Chastisement” (Mor. Archives), and that in the English litany books, “From the dryness of discipline.” The German version was changed to read zucht-trokkenheit after 1753. The phrase “dryness of discipline” expresses Zinzendorf’s theology better than the original German version.


31. The translation of Rogers is helpful. He translates “Fence in our understanding” as “Bridle our penetrations,” thus emphasizing the speculative aspect of reason rather than “understanding.” This line was dropped completely in 1752 during the post-Sifting purge of worship materials.

32. Zinzendorf, Einundzwanzig Diskurse über die Augspurgishe Confession (1748), ZE 6, pp. 134 ff.

33. Bettermann, 55, makes the bold, but justifiable, claim that the expressions of the 1740s, in particular wounds theology, represent the highpoint of Zinzendorf’s overturning of Pietism through Lutheranism.

34. This oft-repeated prayer in the litany is analyzed by Faull (45) as a means of visualizing Christ with feelings rather than sight.


36. This perspective was literally painted by John Valentine Haidt in a series of works entitled “First Fruits” which depict actual converts of the Brüdergemeine from various races worshiping at the feet of Jesus who is pointing to the hole in his side. One of the original First Fruits can be seen at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem.

37. Beyreuther, Studien zur Theologie Zinzendorfs (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Kries Moers, 1962), 11. It is interesting that Zinzendorf and the Brüdergemeine connected Christmas and Easter. As Sarah Beckwith reminds us, late medieval mysticism concentrated attention on “Christ the incarnate God, and more specifically Christ both as an infant and as crucified . . . the two moments of birth and death, which insist on the claims of the body most emphatically and obviously.” Christ’s Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 17. This was the case for the Brüdergemeine as well, but in a radically altered theological and historical circumstance.
38. Bernhard Becker, Zinzendorf und sein Christentum im Verhältnis zum kirchlichen und religiösen Leben seiner Zeit, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: F. Jansa, 1900), 268–281, gives the history of Zinzendorf's encounters with Dippel and his followers. Zinzendorf relates the experience thus. "But when I myself came into exact examination of my own conversion, I noticed that in the necessity of the death of Jesus and in the word Lytron there lay a great mystery and very profound matter where Philosophy must simply stop, but over which Revelation hold unmoved. That gave me an entrance into the entire salvation doctrine." Als aber ich selbst in die genaue Untersuchung meiner Bekehrung kam, merkte ich, daß in der Notwendigkeit des Todes Jesu und in dem Wort Lytron ein besonder Geheimniß, und große Tiefe stecke, wo die Philosophie zwar simplicher stehen bliebe, die Revelation aber unbeweg ich darüber halte, daß gab mir einen Aufschluß in die ganze Heilslehre. Budingsche Sammlung, Vorrede, n., p. 23 (unnumbered) ZE 7.

39. Die Ursach aller Gnade, ist allein zu suchen in dem Verdenst und Gnugthuung Christ, der muß uns in seiner blutigen Gestalt am Creutz allem alles gelten, und die eintzige Ursache unserer Seligkeit seyn; Berlin Reden (Men) 2, p. 25.

40. Kinder Reden 11, p. 54f.

41. Einundzwanzig Diskurse 5, p. 124. This includes the souls of those who died before the coming of Christ. Zinzendorf affirmed the doctrine of Christ's harrowing of hell ibid., p. 127f.

42. Sein Blut (das heilige Mittel der Versöhnung) aus seinem Leibe heraus geflossen und gestürzt ist, wie ein aufgehaltener Strom, der die ganze Welt in einem Augenblick beflosse; Wundenlitanei Homilien 1, p. 10. Cf. Berlin Reden (Men) 7, pp. 82–89. Zinzendorf comes very close to a doctrine of universal salvation in this discourse, however, he quickly draws back from this implication in the following discourse, asserting that those who do not believe are surely damned. Throughout the rest of his career he attacked universalism. He handles the question of election by proposing a doctrine of "first fruits." The first fruits are those who have been set aside for salvation from the foundation of the world. All other people must be saved by their own acceptance of Jesus' redemption; Nine Public Lectures, 15f.

43. Wundenlitanei Homilien 3, p. 31. Zinzendorf relates that he had difficulty with the Lutheran censors in publishing hymns and sermons that preached the doctrine of justification by faith without benefit of the law; 21 Discourses 11, pp. 208f.


45. Zinzendorf states that the sweat in the garden was not only poured out in penance for humankind but is also the medicine for human healing; Der Schweiß, den der Heiland geschwitzt hat, der Ihm so heiß herunter floß, der hat dem ganzen menschlichen Geschlecht die Arzney zuwege gebracht; Kinder Reden, p. 203.

46. Nine Public Lectures, 90.

47. Nine Public Lectures, 67.

48. Nine Public Lectures, 83. The transfigured body of Christ, on the other hand, leads one into various forms of mysticism; Kinder Reden, Intro, p. xxxi.


50. Weil sie einmal des Sohnes Zeichen seyn ward, woran die Nationen, die Stamme Israel, und die ganze Welt erkennen ward, der Mann auf den Wolken ist Wundenlitanei Homilien 1, p. 4; cf. Kinder Reden 42, p. 211; Kinder Reden 69, p. 340; Nine Public Lectures, 28.

51. Nine Public Lectures, 28; Kinder Reden 42, p. 209. The wounds of Christ are his
true identifying feature which Satan cannot imitate because Satan is a spirit. *Kinder Reden* 42, p. 210. It is interesting that Zinzendorf here acknowledges the possibility that humans can experience the stigmata.

52. *Nine Public Lectures*, p. 82. Many medieval devotional treatises placed the reader in the role of Thomas. It is interesting that William of St. Thierry records that “like Thomas, that man of desires, I want to see and touch the whole of him and—what is more—to approach the most holy wound in his side, the portal of the ark that is there made, and that not only to put my finger or my whole hand into it, but wholly enter into Jesus’ very heart, into the holy of holies, the ark of the covenant, the golden urn, the soul of humanity that holds within itself the manna of the Godhead—then, alas! I am told: ‘Touch me not!’ and I hear that word from the Book of Revelation: ‘Dogs go outside!’ ” *On Contemplating God: Prayer: Meditation*, vol. 1 of *The Works of William of St Thierry*, translated by Sister Penelope, in Cistercian Fathers Series: Number 3 (Spencer, Mass.: Cistercian Pub., 1971), p. 38f. Unlike William, Zinzendorf had no compunctions about entering the holy place.

53. *Es wird niemand so immediate vom Vater adoptirt, er passirt erst den Heiland; es wird niemand immediate durch den heiligen Geist ausgebohren, er geht erst durch des Heilands Canal Einundzwanzig Diskurse* 4, p. 102.

54. *Wundenlitanei Homilien* 5, p. 64; *Gemein Reden* 3, p. 68; *Gemein Reden* 13, p. 216; According to Zinzendorf, there are many “Thomas Christians” who have laid hands in the side of Christ. *Gemein Reden* 32, p. 72.

55. Zinzendorf remarked with pleasure that the sisters had the “clear image on the holy side of Jesus, which was opened on the cross, when he had birthed our souls.” *Erbe, Herrnhaag*, p. 102 n. 14.

56. “His side is the womb in which my spirit is conceived and is carried until that moment when it is partitioned into my humanly individuality.” *Seine Pleura ist die Matrix, in der mein Geist gezeugt und getragen worden ist his auf den Moment, bis auf den Augenblick, da Er in mein menschlich Individuum repartirt worden ist. Einundzwanzig Diskurse* 4, p. 104. Zinzendorf goes on to explain that this creates a hypostatic union between the inner man and his spirit, producing the rebirth of the individual.

57. *Wir sind darinn besondere leute. Es kommt uns nicht sowol darauf an, daß wirs hübsch machen und gute kinder seyn, als daß wir keinen tag alleine seyn, daß wir allezeit in Seiner gesellschaft seyn, und in bestandiger gegenwartigkeit unserer Tauf-gnade. Denn ein jedes kind, das in der Gemeine geboren und, wird gleich mit des für uns am creutze gestorbenen Freundes seinem Blute besprengt, und zu seinem eigenthum geweyht. Kinder Reden* 39, p. 188.


60. I.e., circumcision.

61. I.e., silhouette.

62. This rather confusing petition is replaced in later versions by *We want to paint still more crucifixion scenes under your streams, only bring more in the hearts!* and the previous petition is omitted.

63. This is probably an allusion to extreme unction.