
¹² Nine Public Lectures, p. 22. Acts mentions only that he was baptized. The insertion of the wounds was made by Zinzendorf.

¹³ Nine Public Lectures, p. 72.

¹⁴ Atwood, "Blood, Sex, and Death: Life and Liturgy in Zinzendorf's Bethlehem" (Ph.D. diss. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1995).

¹⁵ Atwood's article, "Zinzendorf's 1749 Reprimand to the *Brüdergemeine*," Transactions of the Moravian Historical

Society 29 (1996): 67-81, included the first publication of the entire Zinzendorf letter in either English or German.

¹⁶ Reprimand, pp. 71 and 73. He did write that "a single brother who can be convicted of having contemplated or spoken of the Holy Side of the Savior in the manner that our enemies describe it or according to a way in which an example has become known to me, be it ever so innocently explained, shall be excluded from the Holy Communion for one year" (p. 70).

Responses

Arthur Freeman

Weber presents the development of Zinzendorf's theology during a crucial period, 1738-1746. The Berlin Sermons (dealing with Luther's explanation of the second article of the Creed and thus Christology) were preached in 1738 just following the period of Zinzendorf's significant Bible studies and "conversion" to the thought of the early Luther. The Nine Public Lectures were presented in England during what has been called the "Sifting Period," a time characterized by language about Jesus' wounds. Fortunately the Nine Public Discourses are still available in modern English translation, but the Berlin Sermons are only available in libraries in an eighteenth century translation: *Sixteen Discourses on the Redemption of Man by the*

Death of Christ. This presents the problem faced by the average North American who is interested in the rich heritage of Zinzendorf but cannot read German. Presently in the Olms reprint series there are seventy volumes of Zinzendorf's or supplementary materials, little of which has been translated. In my book on his theology, *An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart*¹ I try to make available a great deal of material in translation. Fortunately, Julie Tomberlin Weber, Riddick's wife, has translated, and Craig Atwood edited, a volume of sermons Zinzendorf preached in Pennsylvania.² We are deeply indebted to scholars such as the Webers who recognize the importance of the Moravian Church's significant theological heritage to its present life and mission and have dedicated themselves to research and translation.

Riddick Weber's article makes a significant contribution to this. We cannot meet the present without knowing the past and the answers forged in response to its issues. We appreciate the significant roles in this of two journals, *The Hinge* and TMDK (*Transatlantic Moravian Dialogue Correspondence*), which provide Moravian theological dialogue. In its invitation to dialogue, TMDK speaks of doing theology as "formation."

Theological formation is the process of a community where individual insights are respected as gifts and the community provides the balance of shared wisdom. We call this theological formation because theology is not merely a matter of developing concepts and constructing a theological system, but of being formed by the theological reality we seek to describe. Thus theology is close to prayer.

Weber challenges the idea that Zinzendorf could have lived through his many-dimensioned life without responding to his experience and thus being engaged in process. By this he not only argues for development in Zinzendorf's Christology but also legitimizes our need for a Christology relevant to our time. He indicates that Bishops J. Taylor and Kenneth G. Hamilton in their *History of the Moravian Church* focused on the Berlin Sermons as the primary expression of Moravian theology in Zinzendorf's day and did not take seriously the additional developments within the Sifting Period as part of a natural theological process. This has long been a Moravian atti-

tude to this period and materials concerning the Sifting have even been destroyed. As Weber points out, recent research indicates that much of the language of the Sifting Period continued long afterward, even after Zinzendorf's death, although Zinzendorf and the Church called a halt to some of the practices and expressions of that time. Thus both Zinzendorf and the Church were engaged in a process which was intentional, natural and continual.

Weber focuses primarily on a movement from speaking about the blood of Jesus in the Berlin Discourses to the increasing use of the term "wounds" both in the preface to the Berlin Discourses (of course later than the Discourses themselves) and in the content of the Nine Public Discourses of 1746. When one observes the paintings by Haidt of Christ with his wounds they are very real but the blood is represented largely by a red line around the wounds. There is little flow of blood. One of Haidt's paintings places Zinzendorf before the various members of the community, including children, and light rather than blood, streams from the wounds of Jesus to Zinzendorf's head, mouth and heart. I would guess that though the wounds language was very significant for Moravians, "blood" was only part of the terminology of the atonement and was not as significant as the wounds themselves. As Weber indicates, the wounds portray the nature of the Savior. His suffering form is key to his meaning.

There are also other interesting Christological developments, not discussed by Weber, such as the movement towards preference for the term "Lord" for Christ

(Lord as "Housefather") in the late 1750s and the role of the Holy Spirit as Mother of the Church which had its beginnings in 1738 and was given a specific festival date in 1756. Both of these seem to suggest a diminishing of the November 13th celebration concerning Christ as Chief Elder. The Spirit was understood to mediate the Savior to the Church and care for it as a mother would care for the estate while the husband was away (Christ's Ascension). Yet Jesus was not seen as really absent. In the paintings of Haidt, he is shown as present among the "First Fruits" of Moravian missions and in the midst of Choir groups. He is sometimes located in the balcony of the church, just above the worshipping congregation, thus retaining the ambiguity of the experience of Christ and the experience of Christ through the Spirit. I would like to think that the retention of various ways of describing the experience of the presence of God in life ministered better to the needs of various persons.

In a sense, the consistency of Moravian Christology lies in the person of the Savior at its center. This was the experience of Zinzendorf during his childhood. The meaning of the Savior was then developed in various ways as the significance of his presence and the relationship with him and the biblical witness were worked through. Even the language of the wounds can be understood as a way of keeping Jesus at the center by the presentation of his vivid, unforgettable reality. Weber's presentation of the significance of wounds theology is important for the present Moravian Church. As he indicates: "The wounds that emphasize the humanity of Christ emphasize his

relationship to this complicated and imperfect world. Just as we are, Jesus Christ was a human participant in the world, with the positive and negative potentials that entails."

I have struggled with what it might mean to take the imagery of the wounds seriously. Some of the language about Jesus' wounds and the mystical marriage with Jesus may be offensive to those unaccustomed to it and similar language in mysticism. Yet over the years I have constantly found myself strangely moved by it. It leaves me with images in my head and heart which somehow make Jesus and what he did a part of me, or me a part of him. I find myself changing under its impact. This language was the language Zinzendorf used to paint the Savior before the mind and heart of believers so that they could experience the objective, not subjective, reality of the Savior and thus be equipped for life. In some sense, the first Tablet of the Law enters my heart. I see him in his suffering which, more than his resurrection, makes him God to me. His side-wound becomes the womb of my birth and life. His blood flows in mine as well as tingeing the earth with atonement where it fell. In his dying I not only live but die. And I feel his eyes upon me and hear him ask, "Do you love me?" And as the Mother Spirit comes upon me I surrender to her care and find myself in the family of Father, Mother and Son. If this language at all works for the reader, what does this say about our over-intellectualization of the Christian message, though the raising of this question should not be seen as anti-intellectual?

Thank you Riddick Weber for raising significant issues. Keep on.

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¹ An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart: The Theology of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (Bethlehem and Winston-Salem, The Moravian Church in America, 1998).

² A Collection of Sermons from Zinzendorf's Pennsylvania Journey (Bethlehem and Winston-Salem: the Moravian Church in America, Department of Communication, 2001 anticipated).

Keith Stanley

The era of AIDS has reminded us of the dual potential of blood, keenly felt by ancient Greeks and Jews alike, as source both of life and of deadly pollution. This has had marginal effect on ordinary Christian practice—much less consideration of Zinzendorf's wounds-theology—except upon those who fear contamination from their fellow-believers and prefer to drink the Blood of Christ by intinction rather than the common chalice.¹ But we continue to prefer an empty cross and a Reformed risen Christ — washed and draped in unstained white — to the wounded, tormented figure of Byzantine and Western mediaeval devotion. Riddick Weber's welcome paper prompts both a brief glance at the precursors of Zinzendorf's wounds-theology and a further suggestion for its relevance today.

I. Though it has strong earlier roots, emphasis upon the wounds of Christ is especially characteristic of Western devotion in the 14th century, a time of ecclesiastical abuse and conflict that cried out for reform. One result was a remarkable spiritual renewal, inspired by the ideal of authentic individual religious experience, that has given us some of the great mystical writing in Christian history, from *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Richard Rolle to Julian of Norwich and Catherine of Siena; this is also the ferment out of which the *Unitas Fratrum* and, ultimately, Zinzendorf's wounds-theology, will emerge. A significant expression of the new devotional emphasis may be found in the prayer *Anima Christi*, an anonymous composition of the early 1300s, which is still well loved and much used by Roman Catholics and Anglicans as a post communion meditation: