

Introduction

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The present anthology deals with the crossroads between heritage and religion through the case study of Moravian Christiansfeld's listing as a World Heritage site. The anthology reaches back to the eighteenth century when the church settlement was founded, assesses its importance for Danish culture, and brings this history into its UNESCO heritage listing on 4 July 2015. Finally, it explores the consequences of the listing for the everyday life of a religious community in a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Christiansfeld, a small Moravian Church settlement, began as a utopian town on the periphery of European civilization during the blossoming of the Enlightenment period. It was founded by a radical international religious network, the Moravians, at the invitation of the liberal *Geheimkabinetminister*, or de facto prime minister of Denmark, Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737–1772) and his brother, finance minister Carl August Struensee (1735–1804).¹ The society's founding process shows a bringing together of seemingly incompatible elements and thus challenges dominant popular views and theories on a number of issues regarding the relationship between religion, everyday practices, and the shaping of modern European secular cultures.²

While many religious minority societies are characterized by voluntary isolation, the Moravians generally—and in Christiansfeld in particular—have enjoyed a dynamic, open relationship with the surrounding society from their foundation. Moravian communities influenced and interacted with their local national cultures, but at the same time, their members understood themselves as part of a larger, closely knit, transnational

society. With the original town of Christiansfeld and the living cultural heritage of the place declared a UNESCO World Heritage site, this particular religious take on life and society has been legitimized and emphasized as important for our common awareness and care.

The present book reflects the debates and knowledge exchange concerned with understanding the history, religion, and sustainability of a community such as Christiansfeld. What are the effects of the World Heritage inscription? How may Christiansfeld live up to the UNESCO ideals? What are some possible ways to strengthen and ensure care for the site into the future?

Christiansfeld is a suitable site for studying ongoing processes of “heritagization,” meaning the processes by which heritage is socially constructed and culturally practiced.³ Questions of the past and its relationship with the present have been increasingly problematized in scholarly debate in recent decades, as scholars investigate how pasts are selectively recalled and used in the present and how they are performed and lived.⁴ Through the case of Christiansfeld’s designation as a UNESCO World Heritage site, this book does not investigate heritage as something stable or a well-defined object, or as something to be taken for granted or possessed by a limited group. Instead, we consider heritage as continuously created and re-created owing to all those actors engaged in heritagization processes and in what Sharon Macdonald calls past presencing: “the ways in which people variously draw on, experience, negotiate, reconstruct, and perform the past in their ongoing lives.”⁵ We regard the uses of Moravian heritage in the past as well as in present everyday practices as a particular way to mediate between the religious and the secular in constituting Christiansfeld in practice—as crossroads of secularization and sacralization of heritage-making and place-making since the origin of the church settlement.⁶

As all of the book’s chapters will demonstrate, Christiansfeld represents a unique opportunity to study the unfolding, continuous, and complex entanglement of religion and the formation of modern European cultures, the everyday life and modeling forms of social and individual subjectivity, the aesthetics and materialization of such ways of living, and not least the processes and effects of continuous heritagization processes. In the remainder of this introduction, we briefly present the context of the formation of Christiansfeld and the theological background of the Moravian congregation, including its organizational structure and specific titles and vocabulary, in order to define its particularity and self-perception.

Moravians' Historical and Theological Background

The renewed Moravian Brethren are part of the general Pietist movement that swept across Germany and northern Europe after the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) and advocated social and educational reform and, above all, individual piety. The Moravian Brethren trace their origins further back, namely to the Reformation movement led by Jan Hus (1372–1415) in Moravia and Bohemia in the fifteenth century. After Hus was burned at the stake for heresy, many of his followers went underground and, after the Thirty Years' War, sought refuge in the neighboring Protestant states. So, in 1722, thirty Moravian refugees arrived in the Oberlausitz region at the estate of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf (1700–1760) in Berthelsdorf and founded the village of Herrnhut.

Herrnhut soon attracted seekers from all over the German states, and Moravians also kept coming in a steady stream. Count Zinzendorf, a known Pietist, had, after ending his law studies in Wittenberg (1716–1719), settled in Dresden and was appointed councilor to the court of the Elector of Saxony. It was during this time, in 1722, that he bought the estate in Berthelsdorf and granted, through his estate manager, the Moravians permission to settle. Zinzendorf, however, remained mostly in his position in Dresden for the next five years, while the village was taking shape. He traveled back and forth but did not engage himself fully in the goings-on in Herrnhut before 1727, when he left Dresden, arrived in the Oberlausitz, and took charge. By 1727 the population of Herrnhut had grown to around three hundred members, who had different ideas about what it was and was to be. Out of the ongoing conflicts in Herrnhut, Zinzendorf and other leaders managed to create a community, whose spiritual birth is dated 13 August 1727. This was confirmed in the signing of the Seigneurial Precepts and Prohibitions (*Herrschaftliche Gebote und Verbote*) and the Statutes of the Brotherly Agreement (*Statuten des Brüderlichen Vereins und Willkür in Herrnhut*). The first was a legal document, binding for all residents of Herrnhut; this agreement placed them under Zinzendorf's protection and granted them free subject status. The second document was more constitutional for the community as such.⁷

The mobility afforded by free subject status was a crucial part of the mission of the Moravians not only in Europe but also in the colonies. After Herrnhut, other settlements followed in the eighteenth century, including twelve in counties, states, and dutchies later to be part of the German realm, one in the Netherlands, two in the United States, and four in England and Northern Ireland.

The theological background and profile of the Moravians is complex and unique.⁸ As they understand themselves to be descendants of the

pre-Reformation Protestant church of Bohemia, they share some of the theological traits of that movement. They see the church as subject to the norms of the praxis of Christ and the early Christians as witnessed in the scriptures. In other words, lifestyle as evidence of faith is important. They did not adapt the distinction made by reformers such as John Wycliff or Martin Luther between visible and invisible church. However, other central issues of the Reformation left their mark, and although Orthodox Lutherans contested Moravians' observance, they share core Protestant beliefs. Christocentrism—that is, the emphasis on Christ as the only way of redemption and salvation—as well as a strong focus on the relation between the individual and God/Christ are at the center of Moravian faith and religious praxis. This facilitated the so-called blood and wounds devotion prevalent in eighteenth-century Moravianism, with a strong focus on the life, suffering, and sacrificial death of Christ as the instrument of redemption of the Christian individual. Thus, the violent blood and wounds of Christ were conceived of as an entry point or access to salvation and interpreted as refuge and consolation to the human being.⁹

Whereas Hallensian pietists stressed the penitential struggle as the way to rebirth, Zinzendorf asserted that rebirth occurs when the believers realize in their heart that they are already saved by Christ's suffering and death. In other words, the Christian can appropriate the atonement of Christ through faith, which is stimulated by contemplation of the aspects of the humanity and passion of Christ. This idea produces meditations, hymns, liturgies, and images with a dominant and sometimes graphic focus on Christ's passion. At the same time, it leads to a joyous character of playful relief, since all work is done and salvation secured through the death and resurrection of Christ. Although the more explicit blood and wounds devotion was dismissed in the nineteenth century, the Christocentrism, passion-symbolism, and personal surrender to Christ remained strong. The classical soteriological theme of the Christian believer's union with Christ, sometimes depicted with a bridal mysticism, is another, related prominent characteristic of Moravian beliefs during Zinzendorf's leadership.¹⁰

The Moravian Church did not issue an independent confession but regarded the Apostles' Creed, the first twenty-one articles of the Lutheran *Confessio Augustana*, and Luther's Shorter Catechism as their platform. Nevertheless, doctrine was not attributed a strong role; rather, an ecumenical sense of community was promoted. In fact, the early congregation in Herrnhut could be perceived as a super-confessional community, including various traditions and orders of worship, all sharing a "communal idea" of a community in Christ. A synod in Herrnhag in 1745 decided that the church should not have an independent confession

but consist of three “tropes”: a Lutheran, a Reformed, and one in accordance to the Bohemian branch. This would, in time, allow congregations in Copenhagen and Christiansfeld to blend into the Lutheran state church. However, Moravians can be said to differ from mainstream Lutherans in questions related to both the sanctified life of the believer and the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper. They tend to interpret the latter with more emphasis on a mystic element and to define the presence of Christ as a spiritual presence.

The Moravian Communities and Lifestyles as Evidence of Faith

During Zinzendorf’s life, the leadership consisted of an idiosyncratic mixture of feudal lordship and Moravian village administration. From 1739 the various leaders from the communities met regularly in synods. There had been one synod earlier, in 1736, but none further until the 1739 synod in Ebersdorf, after which it became regular practice. The synods were gatherings where the leaders discussed all manner of problems, ranging from troublesome members to finances, missions, and industry.

After Zinzendorf’s death in 1760, there was some expectation that Johannes von Watterville, Zinzendorf’s charismatic son-in-law, would take over. Instead, it was decided by senior members that the community would be governed by council and elders between the general synods, and the Unitäts Ältesten Konferenz (UAC), or Unity Elders Conference, was established at the founding General Synod in Marienborn in 1764.

One of the ways in which the leaders of Herrnhut successfully managed the social schisms of the 1720s was by dividing the community up into smaller groups in which personal issues and conflicts were talked through. These early groups were called *Banden* (bonded groups) and/or *Gesellschaften* (associations) and were informally structured and led by one of the members. This structure had been more or less discarded by the late 1730s and early 1740s, replaced by what is called the choir structure, where the community is divided into larger overarching groups known as choirs according to sex and marital status (adult choirs) and sex and maturity/age (children’s choirs). The basic choirs were organized as follows: Children’s choir, Boys’ choir and Girls’ choir (sometimes divided into younger and older children), Single Brothers, Single Sisters, Married choir, Widowers, and Widows. The only two choirs that contained both sexes were the Married choir and the Children’s choir.¹¹

Each choir had a leader and an office that was eventually divided into two offices, the *Pfleger* and the *Vorsteher*.¹² Each choir also had several helpers, members who helped the other members to transition into their

new choir (for example, after the death of a spouse the transition into the Widows' or Widowers' choir) or prepared them for the next one (when a Single Brother or Sister was to be married, or a child about to move into either the Boys' or Girls' choir). The choirs served as both pastoral groups and social structures and would have frequent meetings where they were addressed and instructed according to their particular choir status. These gatherings are called *Chor-viertelstunden*, which translates as "choir quarter-hours." In most communities the Single Brothers and Single Sisters' choirs lived in large communal houses, and in many communities the Widows also had a communal house. Herrnhut had communal houses for all six unmarried choirs, and Christiansfeld had them for the Single Sisters, Single Brothers, and Widows.¹³

In Moravian communities like Christiansfeld, everyday life was and is liturgical, or part of the (public) Christian worship.¹⁴ As such, it is permeated with specific ideals about the true Christian life that organize the community as a whole and define every individual's place and tasks to be practiced every day. The religious choir system and its gender and age segregation, along with communal dwellings, were manifest in the urban layout, in institutions, buildings, and interiors, in clothing and tools, industry and housework, music and literature, meals and sleeping practices, and even in the *Gudsager*—the cemetery.¹⁵ The religious discourse was, and still is, not just an overarching structure but rather performed, embodied, and negotiated in daily micropractices by the inhabitants. Thus, it saturates everyday life in the ways it is practiced and materializes in rituals and routines from the overall design to the tiny details.

One of the distinct Moravian ritual practices is the *Liebesmahl* (Lovefeast), which is a small gathering at which refreshments are served and a song or hymn is sung. These were commonly held in connection with an annual occasion, such as a birthday, where the member whose birthday it was gave a Lovefeast for his or her nearest.

In the course of a week, a Moravian community had a number of liturgical events. Apart from morning and evening prayers, choir meetings, Lovefeasts, and community gatherings (or Sunday service), there was also the weekly *Singstunde*, literally an hour of singing, a song service, where the verses were topically ordered.¹⁶

Finally, there is the *Lebenslauf*, the memoir, which several of the chapters in this volume mention or discuss.¹⁷ The memoir became a traditional Moravian practice in the 1740s. Members would write about their life and faith, which would later be complemented by an account of death added by a choir Brother or Sister, to be read at the person's funeral.¹⁸ If, say, a Single Sister had not left anything in writing, the choir Sisters would compose a memoir based on what they knew of her life. Thus, the

Moravian archives hold thousands of memoirs dating back to the mid-eighteenth century, narrating the life, conversion, sometimes profession, life in the congregation, and then death of a vast amount of Moravian Brothers and Sisters.

The Moravian Brethren in the Danish Context

Moravian thought was introduced in Denmark in the late 1720s.¹⁹ In the eighteenth century, the conglomerate state of Denmark-Norway was made up of Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and finally the colonies. It was a mono-confessional state, considered by many a very powerful Lutheran stronghold. It was one of the largest, and possibly *the* largest, Protestant kingdoms of that time. It was an absolutist state with a Lutheran Protestant state church as the only legitimate religion.

The king, Christian VI ([b. 1699] 1730–1746), was married to Sophie Magdalene of Brandenburg Kulmbach. Her mother's second cousin was the aforementioned Count Zinzendorf. The crown prince Christian met Zinzendorf as early as 1728, and when Frederik IV ([b. 1671] 1699–1730) died, Zinzendorf was invited along with the rest of the new queen's family to take part in the anointment ceremony in 1731. He appears to have made a splendid impression, and Zinzendorf and the Moravian missionaries were subsequently granted access to the Danish colonies. Apart from the Danish West Indies (1732) and Greenland (1733), they also went to the Danish Gold Coast (1737) and Tranquebar (1759). In 1736, Zinzendorf asked the Danish king for permission to build a new colony in the Holstein. The king gave his permission and in 1737, the Moravian Church established Pilgerruh between Lübeck and Hamburg. In 1739 a society of Moravians was established in Copenhagen under the name "Brødresocietetet," or "The Fraternal Society."²⁰

However, the presumably pious king and perhaps some of his administrative staff gradually became suspicious of "sectarianism" and feared separatism. Therefore, they took initiatives to slow down or obstruct religious ideas and societies that may challenge the monolithic Lutheran state church—at the time, in the late 1730s, dominated by Hallensian pietism.²¹ In January 1741, the king banned religious gatherings, or *Konventikler*, without the presence of an official clergyman. On 20 November 1744, he gave a decree directed specifically at the Moravian influence, stating that one could not hold an office in the Danish state church if one had visited Herrnhut or any other Moravian colony, had sent one's children to be educated in a Moravian colony, or had had any dealings with the

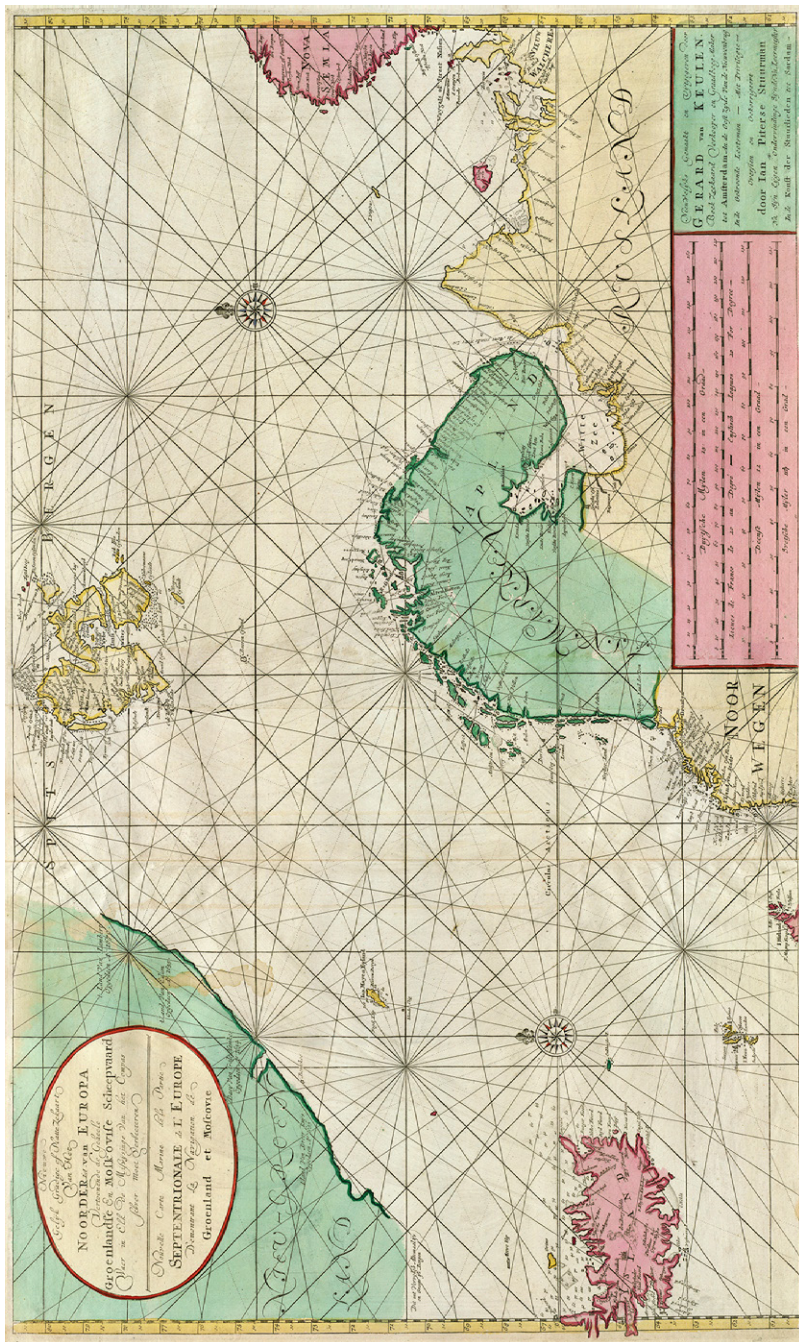


Figure 0.1. This Dutch nautical card shows the extent of the Danish Empire in the early eighteenth century. Gerard van Keulen (1668–1726), c.1722. From the collection of the Royal Danish Library.

Moravian Church. A few months later, on 29 January 1745, the king found need for another decree, which stated that any citizen immigrating to a Moravian colony would lose all civil rights, along with rights to property and inheritance. This illustrates the new attitude toward Moravians by the regime, but the very need for the decrees also indirectly proves their impact or the seriousness of their threat.

Two decades later, in 1766, the grandson of Sophia Magdalene, Christian VII, became king at the age of fifteen. In 1768, he and his entourage visited the Moravian colony of Zeist. The high level of industrial and commercial development impressed the king and his company. This inspired Christian VII and his close adviser, Johan Friedrich Struensee, along with his brother Carl August Struensee, to try to “import” the Moravian phenomenon and, in particular, their industrious know-how and modern spirit.²² They approached the Justice Councillor, Lorenz Prætorius (1708–1781), who was also a prominent member of the Moravian Society in Copenhagen. After having assured the leadership in Herrnhut that the hostile decrees of 1744 and 1745 would be annulled, they began negotiations. In December 1771, a concession was signed to secure the colony. In June 1772, the king confirmed the purchase of Tyrstrupgaard, where the new Moravian colony was to be established. On 1 April 1773 the first foundation stone of the town was laid.²³ Lorenz Prætorius was appointed the pastor of the town, and the chairman of the Society in Copenhagen, Jonathan Briant (1726–1810), became the first chairperson of the settlement. The concession of the town secured for the congregation a number of privileges to stimulate its development and success. Thus, the Moravian colony in Christiansfeld represents a rupture with the previous religious politics of the Danish state and the advent of a new, more liberal or modern standard.

Moravians lived in and influenced life in not only the settlement of Christiansfeld but also the so-called diaspora, that is, Moravian circles outside the town itself. Up until the founding of Christiansfeld, this had been the organizational form in which the Moravians tended to operate in the northern countries of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Known as a societies, these were congregations of Brethren in larger towns, who met according to the liturgical and organizational structure of the Moravian congregations (i.e., gender segregation and choirs), but were not settlements. These were more or less well defined societies or communities of *auswärtige Geschwister*, Brothers and Sisters living scattered in “The World.” The work and principles of these people were highly regarded, and after the founding of Christiansfeld the diaspora grew to include groups in the countryside, especially in Jutland and on Funen. Also, during the last decades of the eighteenth century, the

Moravian Society in Copenhagen flourished and a number of theological students, later to become pastors, were thereby influenced by Moravian ideas. With the intention of vitalizing the congregations rather than creating a new religion, the Moravians published and distributed numerous pamphlets for laymen, many of which were translations of German prototypes.

Activities of the diaspora sparked debates over whether these represented a foreign or new religion or simply new energy for the existing Christianity of the area. In principle, the work in the diaspora was directed centrally from Herrnhut, but in reality, it was largely orchestrated from local settlements like Christiansfeld. Emissaries were appointed from Herrnhut but often recruited locally and sent out to perform missions and share their ardent Christian love through humble and modest living, often as craftsmen. They sought to integrate into the surrounding local communities and families and, through conversation as well as by showing mercy, patience, and love to the people there, to perform the work of God. The emissaries created networks and communities that later would constitute epicenters of the broader religious awakenings in the nineteenth century.

Christiansfeld between German and Danish: A Religious Island in a Sea of Nationalism

In 1817, the tercentenary of the Lutheran Reformation was celebrated in Schleswig-Holstein, including Moravian Christiansfeld. The three days of celebrations concluded with a prayer for the congregation, for land and people, for ministers and king, for all Catholic, Orthodox, Reformed, and Lutheran Christians, for all the smaller denominations of the church, and for all humankind. This clearly signals a type of Christianity that perceives itself as universal.²⁴ Of course, the congregation paid its respect to the Danish king, Frederik VI, as the members were good patriots and nationalism in its nineteenth-century version did not play any significant role—yet.²⁵ In Schleswig the daily use of German as well as Danish, along with numerous blends in local dialects, had long been the case. In towns, the official language in court, churches, and schools was more often German than Danish, and German-speaking Moravians were by no means considered strange.²⁶ However, from the 1830s onward, issues of nationality increasingly set the agenda in the Danish king's realm and especially in Schleswig—or Southern Jutland, as it was renamed by the “Danish” side in the conflict. Language, in particular, became politicized.

In 1829 a Danish-speaking preacher was appointed to the Brothers' House in Christiansfeld, to provide services in Danish for local people

outside the congregation as a supplement to the main German-language services. These Danish services became popular and gathered people from the southern part of Jutland, where religious lay awakening movements were flourishing as part of a general awakening.²⁷ However, the leaders of the congregation were, in terms of religious questions, oriented toward Herrnhut and Germany and considered questions of language and nationality as worldly matters and thus of minor importance. Gradually, resentment grew against the engagements with Danish-speaking participants and other new and more politically oriented institutions and initiatives in the duchy.²⁸ The leaders shared what a newly appointed Danish-speaking preacher in 1846 characterized as “Antiphatie für Alles, was Dänisch heist” (antipathy toward everything that is Danish).²⁹

Because national issues—and especially the question of whether Schleswig and Holstein should be part of Denmark or Germany—were entangled with claims for a democratic constitution, civil war broke out in 1848. Conflicting national moods as well as patriotic loyalty to the Danish king pervaded Christiansfeld. However, incensed by the Danish removal of German-speaking civil servants—including clergymen—the German vicar Roentgen made a sudden about-face and saluted the German army. After international pressure brought the war to an end in 1851, the Danish government continued the new line toward civil servants. German-speaking pastors and officials who had supported the insurgents in even the slightest way were mercilessly dismissed. In Christiansfeld a number of teachers at the boarding schools were dismissed, including the warden of the Brothers’ House, and the vicar Roentgen was silently relocated to a position in Königsberg.³⁰

The Danish government—elected after a new democratic constitution, Grundloven (1849), granted freedom of religion to all citizens—considered the population of Schleswig to be Danish by heritage. The contemporary inhabitants had simply forgotten their “true language.” Thus, they would have to learn it anew and, by means of directives, Danish became the official language in church and school. Christiansfeld did not receive a new concession and kept to its former rights as much as possible, but the German religious orientation and language at assemblies were a problem. The Danish national movements condemned Christiansfeld for being part of the institutions for “Germanification.” In retrospect, some regretted that the town and congregation had not chosen a more neutral strategy in the national conflict. However, during the 1850s the boarding schools regained some of their influence and attraction with many pupils coming from Southern Jutland and the Scandinavian countries.³¹

After a new war and a Danish defeat in 1864, both duchies became part of Prussia. A new national border was drawn only three kilometers north

of Christiansfeld, and the town became peripheral and isolated from its surrounding rural area. Also, the traffic and trade between south and north was noticeably diminished.³² The issues of language and religious orientation were turned upside down. In 1865 the UAC in Berthelsdorf dismissed the Danish co-pastor of Christiansfeld under accusation of anti-German activities. This was the beginning of a struggle between Danish members of the congregation and their German leaders.³³

From 1864 to 1920, when a plebiscite again made Christiansfeld part of Denmark, the Moravian congregation played a minor role in the German modernization and development of Schleswig. Several new religious institutions were founded in the region, among them the Evangelical Lutheran Deaconess Institution in Flensburg (1874), which soon became the leading institution, with affiliated institutions in towns and villages throughout Schleswig. Also, the *Innere Mission*, or Home Mission—with both German and Danish orientation and recruitment—had many activities in the region. In Northern Schleswig, the Moravians of Christiansfeld chose to join the work of the Home Mission and the Bible and Treaty Society. However, the aggressive project of Germanizing Schleswig from 1898 to 1903, when more than nine hundred persons were expelled from Northern Schleswig, also had consequences. The policy proved to be counterproductive, as it led to a political awakening—and also an awakening of the old religious movements. By the first decade of the twentieth century it was obvious that the majority of the population of Northern Schleswig was in favor of Denmark.

It was impossible for Christiansfeld and the Moravians, with their international views and contacts, to join this struggle. They remained an island in a sea of nationalism and, unable to compete with the new, efficient institutions of the modern, dynamic German Empire, Christiansfeld became insignificant.³⁴ The town turned silently into a relic; an interesting old-fashioned model of a church and society. Still, many people from the surrounding area gathered for the Mission Bazaar and meetings in support of the Moravians' foreign mission work. The early twentieth century was in fact an era of optimism; "the evangelization of the world in our time" was the motto in 1910.³⁵ As a result of nationalism, Christiansfeld was considered a German outpost in Northern Schleswig. After the plebiscite and its reincorporation in Denmark, a gradual process of Danification accelerated. In 1920, there were 301 members of the congregation, 126 of whom were living outside Christiansfeld. At the plebiscite there was a Danish majority of 247 Danish against 124 German votes in the town. The council of elders, which now had a Danish majority, urged German members to stay in the town—referring to the international character of the Moravian settlement and organization.³⁶ Starting in 1920, Danish

services were initiated in turns; the German minister remained in office, but the congregation was supplied with an assistant Danish minister until 1924. Since the Second World War the language of the congregation has gradually shifted to Danish—with Moravian concepts in German, like *Liebesmahl* (Lovefeast), *Singstunde* (hour of singing), and *Gottesacker* (God's acre, i.e., cemetery), integrated naturally.³⁷

As this brief history of Christiansfeld demonstrates, its location in the border region of southern Denmark and Germany meant that Christiansfeld was never entirely Danish, nor was it entirely German. It was both and perhaps neither. It was a community of a universalistic character in a region permeated by nationalism, and with practices of unique internationalism in an age of distinct confessionalism.³⁸ With the UNESCO World Heritage designation, this universalistic character of Moravian Christiansfeld was further legitimized.

Outline of the Book

The book consists of eleven chapters, which express the interdisciplinary profile of the publication and the broad interest from many academic disciplines in a topic such as the Moravian Church settlement of Christiansfeld and its UNESCO World Heritage status. Further, the authors of two of the chapters are scholars who belong to the Moravian community, namely two ministers of the Moravian congregations in Herrnhut, Germany, and in Christiansfeld. The chapters are divided into two sections reflecting the book's two overarching topics: first, religion and everyday practices and their legacy in modern Danish society; and second, processes of heritagization and sustainability. The two sections are concerned with these topics as they unfold in the case of the Moravian Brethren, and of Christiansfeld in particular.

The first section—on religion and its legacy within modern society—examines the complexity of the mutual entanglement of Moravian religious practices and broader society. Exploring historical material, these chapters focus on the specific values ascribed to Moravian Brethren within Danish traditions of church and music history and discuss how everyday practices of the eighteenth-century Brethren were intertwined with new expressions of both civic and religious selfhood. The second section—on heritage and sustainability—explores the processes of heritagization. The chapters discuss whether these processes have the potential to make the site and the congregation sustainable beyond the immediate attention given Christiansfeld when it became a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Part I: Religion and Its Legacy within Modern Society

Church historian Tine Reeh opens the collection with an outline of the standard works on Christiansfeld from the field of Danish church history. She examines how their representation of Christiansfeld and its legacy are, on the one hand, defined by the authors' theological outlook and, on the other hand, a potential resource for non-theologians' secular claims of significance of religious sites and movements. In the case of Christiansfeld, Reeh suggests that the Danish Grundtvigian concepts of church and Christianity stimulated a historiographical focus on the life of the congregation in the vernacular that facilitated the assessment of the surrounding Christiansfeld as valuable cultural heritage.

In chapter 2, church historian Sigrud Nielsby Christensen investigates the arrival of Moravians as well as the construction of individuality and community in the early Moravian Society in eighteenth-century Copenhagen. Based on a study of the diary of the Single Brothers' choir in 1746 and the practice of so-called watchwords (biblical words of guidance), the chapter demonstrates how the Moravian Society introduced new, individualized ideas of Christianity that coexisted with a strong sense of congregational community, which would be an inspiration for the later Danish Grundtvigian awakening movement.

The legacy of Christiansfeld within a broader Danish context is also discussed in ethnologist Tine Damsholt's contribution. Taking examples from *Instructions for the Moravian Choir Helpers* (1785–86) and the memoirs of Norwegian author Camilla Collett on her stay in Christiansfeld, Damsholt examines how everyday practices shaped a distinctive and emotional self. The overall objective is to demonstrate that religious and political discourses were not separate spheres; instead, they were deeply entangled in the development of a new form of emotional and civic selfhood in the late eighteenth century and onward.

From the very beginning, Christiansfeld was a tourist attraction with wider implications for Danish-Norwegian society. In chapter 4, music historian Peter Hauge demonstrates how the Moravian approach to music, as well as the aesthetic values, led to important discussions among Danish music-cultural intellectuals, reformers, and educators. By employing Countess Anna Sybille's description of an outing to Christiansfeld in 1796, Hauge takes a closer look at the music as a cultural practice within and outside the Moravian Church as represented through the music archives of Christiansfeld. The daily routines and musical education of the community constitute an important legacy through contemporary debates on how to improve hymn singing, music aesthetics, and education in Danish society at large.

Part II: Heritage and Sustainability

Opening the second part of the book, sociologist of religion Margit Warburg examines the sustainability of the Moravian congregation historically and, in particular, in Christiansfeld. She discusses the Moravian Brethren within the framework of another transnational minority religion, the Baha'is, and the similarities with regard to their establishment, spreading, and consolidation. With a global outlook, the Christiansfeld community must balance inclusiveness and exclusiveness in order to remain sustainable.

Anthropologist Rasmus Rask Poulsen examines in chapter 6 the responses of local Moravians in Christiansfeld to the increasing external interpretations and valuations of their identity and heritage. Based on fieldwork conducted in 2016 and 2017, Poulsen demonstrates that the increase in tourism that resulted from the World Heritage listing has given rise to negotiations and struggles over the authority of knowledge on Moravian heritage between the Moravians and the non-Moravian tour guides.

In chapter 7, ethnologist Marie Riegels Melchior explores how the local tradition of making honey cakes—and the ways this tradition is narrated and practiced in the everyday life of the place—is part of Christiansfeld both being heritage and becoming World Heritage. Melchior argues that in the larger scale of things the seemingly insignificant honey cakes are, so to speak, the “sweet glue” that connects past and present for both the visitors to Christiansfeld and its local community. In short, she shows how the honey cakes are past presencing acts and, as such, are part of sustaining Christiansfeld as an acknowledged heritage and religious community.

As co-minister of the Moravian congregation in Herrnhut, Jill Vogt describes in chapter 8 the activity and tradition of writing one's memoir, the so-called *Lebenslauf*. Here, Vogt offers a very rare inside view into religious community practices as she explores the tradition of the *Lebenslauf* and the question of the sustainability of this living tradition among the Moravians. She argues that this tradition is an important part of the cultural heritage of the Moravian community, as it continues not only a testimony of members' lives in connection with the larger Moravian community but also their narration of the story of God within the community.

In chapter 9, minister Jørgen Bøytler further explores the situation of Christiansfeld in terms of the legacy and sustainability of the settlement, in light of the Moravian Church congregation being included on the UNESCO World Heritage list. He focuses on the concepts of tangible

and intangible heritage and argues that even though Christiansfeld is inscribed as tangible World Heritage, intangible perspectives are important for a thorough understanding of the site. This leads Bøytler to discuss the very differentiation between tangible and intangible when talking about cultural and religious lifestyles and the challenges of remaining sustainable.

From an interdisciplinary perspective, Christina Petterson's chapter examines the local archives in Christiansfeld. Petterson demonstrates how the organization of the local archival material is parallel to the communal structure of Christiansfeld and to global Moravian aspects, analyzing how the epistemological structures are embedded in community organization and vice versa. This leads to a discussion of whether the processes of heritagization and their implied understanding of history can adequately grasp and represent this complexity.

In the last chapter, Katherine Faull explores contemporary issues in research methods and, more specifically, how the digital medium affects the experience of heritage and what ethical responsibilities fall to the digital creator as well as the critic of digital heritage. Drawing on her extensive experience as leader of "Moravian Lives," the digital humanities project on Moravian *Lebensläufe* (memoirs), Faull investigates the intersection of the digital and archival and asks the following questions: What happens when personal documents are instrumentalized by different readers? How does the digital research affect the different parties involved as well as heritage productions?

Finally, some concluding remarks wrap up some of the perspectives and discussions that cut across the chapters and reflect on the future sustainability of Christiansfeld as a religious and historic heritage site.

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Notes

1. Thyssen, “Det store og det lille herrnhutersamfund,” 42–43; Berg, Marcussen, and Stoklund, “Christiansfeld,” 89.
2. Pagden, *Enlightenment*.
3. See Harrison, *Heritage*; Kuutma, “Between Arbitration.”
4. Macdonald, “Presencing.”
5. Macdonald, 234.
6. See chapters by Bøytler, Poulsen, Melchior, and Faull in this volume.
7. On early Herrnhut, see Uttendörfer, *Alt-Herrnhut*; Wollstadt, *Geordnetes Dienen*; see also Peucker, *Herrnhut*.
8. See chapter 9 in this volume.
9. Peucker, *Herrnhut*, 26–28.
10. Principal figures such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Johannes Tauler, and Martin Luther influenced Zinzendorf in this regard.
11. See Petterson, *Moravian Brethren*.
12. For the Sisters’ choir in Herrnhut, this happened in 1747, when Maria Henrietta von Pustar took up office as the “business manager.” See Homburg, “Glaube,” 56–57.

13. See chapter 10 in this volume.
14. See chapters by Hauge and Bøytler in this volume.
15. *Gudsager* is the Danish word for God's Acre. Both are translations from the German *Gottesacker*, which was a common German term for cemeteries. In its translated forms, it is connected with the Moravians.
16. See Hauge's chapter in this volume.
17. See the chapters in this volume by Bøytler, Damsholt, Faull, Reeh, and Vogt.
18. McCullough, "Most Memorable."
19. See Christensen's chapter in this volume.
20. See Christensen's chapter.
21. For an overview of the line of Pietism developed within Halle with August Hermann Francke as one of the key figures, see Shantz, *Introduction to German Pietism*, chap. 5. See also the section "Herrnhut and Halle" in Peucker, *Time of Sifting*, 17–19. For an analysis of the situation in Denmark, see Engelhardt, "Pietismus und Krise," 341–69.
22. This was a well-known strategy in the Danish-Norwegian absolutist state. In the seventeenth century, Dutch peasants were invited to the island of Amager to produce vegetables for Copenhagen, and in 1719 the provincial town of Fredericia welcomed French Huguenots in order to improve local commercial life.
23. This accounts for the fact that some articles refer to Christiansfeld's founding in 1772 and others in 1773.
24. Some of these sections come from Bach-Nielsen, "Christiansfeld 1864–1920," an unpublished paper generously made available to the editors in place of a contribution.
25. On Danish-Norwegian patriotism, see chapter 3.
26. The question of language was by the mid-nineteenth century already politicized and all accounts, investigations, and cartographies already part of the conflict. Daily language often did not follow the official language. In the northern part of Schleswig, Danish church language was more frequent, but there were differences between towns (more German speaking) and the countryside (more Danish speaking). On a map by German cartographer Frans Geertz from 1838, Christiansfeld is marked as having German church language; see "Franz Geertz's kort over sprogforhold i Sønderjylland 1838," danmarkshistorien.dk, accessed 20 February 2022. <https://danmarkshistorien.dk/lek-sikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/franz-geerzs-kort-over-sprogforhold-i-soenderjylland-1838/>.
27. See chapter 1.
28. By the mid-nineteenth century the popular religious lay movements had gradually become affiliated with *grundtvigianism* (see chapter 1), Home Mission, and other church organizations inspired by English, American, and Swedish religious movements.
29. Thyssen, "Det store og det lille herrnhutersamfund," 81–82.
30. Bach-Nielsen, "Christiansfeld," 2; Thyssen, "Det store og det lille herrnhutersamfund," 84.
31. Thyssen, 84–86.
32. Regarding the development of commerce, see also chapter 7.
33. Bach-Nielsen, "Christiansfeld," 4.
34. Bach-Nielsen, 5–6.
35. Bach-Nielsen, 8.
36. Thyssen, "Det store og det lille herrnhutersamfund," 92.
37. Thyssen, 90, 95.
38. Bach-Nielsen, "Christiansfeld," 9.

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