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Pietism and War

Abstract: The motto, which conveys the idea and the objectives of the next edition of the conference on the political science of religion, and which refers, inter alia, to the title of Aldous Huxley's book and to the astonishingly continuous emergence of ideas for a better world, which generally ended in tragedy, inspired the author of this text to take up the theme of Pietism, whose representatives developed – both intellectually and practically – the question of building a better world, in the context of numerous wars, and religious wars at that. This seemingly historical movement within the Lutheran Church and other Protestant denominations pointed to the message of the Gospel of Christ and continues to evolve. This makes it still relevant today, since the Christian message – as in Pietism – is primarily directed towards the inner transformation of man and the formation of community relationships. The context in which Pietism emerged was that of the above-mentioned wars, but also of migrations, which makes Pietism heuristically relevant even today, given the many wars and refugees in situations of political and religious tension. Due to the limited length of this text, the author deals only with selected issues. These include: the definition and classification of pietism, the ideas of classical pietism, and an example of radical pietism. In both classical and radical pietism, the question of attitudes to war is highlighted.

Keywords: Pietism, war, transformation of man and of the world.

A new, even more brave world...
The hope of faith and the hope of politics

In the past, various utopias and ideas have systematically emerged as a response to disillusionment with existing human relationships and the circumstances in which human societies found themselves. Many of these utopias, once put into practice, ended in tragedy, especially when they were implemented by force. Sometimes, as in the case of Pietism, successfully developed ideas for the transformation of humanity quickly met with opposition and resistance. They were pushed to the

margins of the mainstream life of the churches. Pietism is one of those movements whose ideas, when closely analysed, can be found in various periods of Christian history and are still alive in Christianity today. What is particularly interesting and ever-present in Pietism is the need, which flows from the central message of Christianity, to transform man, his heart, and his life according to the spirit of love that flows from the Cross of Jesus. A love that gives birth to community.

The author is aware of the immense difficulty faced by the researchers of religious movements within Christianity, since the number of new currents that are constantly emerging and the transformations they undergo is enormous. For this reason, the subject is limited to classical and radical Pietism.

Addressing the issue of war is all the more interesting in this case because today the war is being fought just across the Polish border, and most scholars point out that the Reformation was the cause of numerous religious wars, including the importance of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) for the emergence of the movement that was Pietism. A discussion of all the issues related to both the religious wars and Pietism is beyond the scope of this article. Of the war-related issues, only the question of the cause of the war and the attitudes of the main figures of German Pietism towards it will be addressed, as well as the question of pacifism within radical Pietism. We would therefore like to outline the question raised in the title concerning the attitude of Pietism, as a devotional movement of religious renewal, to war and military service as such. More specifically, we will try to answer some questions that arise in connection with this devotional movement: 1. What were the causes of the emergence of Pietism as a movement in the Protestant churches? 2. What were the sources and causes of the war identified by the leading Pietists of the classical stream? 3. Did radical pietism retain its peace-oriented identity in the 20th century? 4. What does pietism bring to the understanding of contemporary civilization? Let us therefore examine a selection of the issues we wish to highlight here: 1) Introduction – religious wars; 2) The definition and classification of pietism; 3) The ideas of classical pietism; 4) Radical pietism, and 5) Conclusions.

Introduction – religious wars

Piety is not always associated with war. In the case of pietism, understood in the broadest sense, a crisis within a religion gives rise to the need for a deeper religious experience. In the case of Christianity – but not only – a crisis situation such as war naturally calls for a closer relationship between man and God. The Pietist

movement we are dealing with here is linked to its German roots, especially to the Lutheran Church. This movement arose in a "tragic era, in which the most fundamental existential and moral questions were multiplying, [when] philosophy, which could console elite circles, had more to offer. The official, formal Lutheran Church was incapable of providing any form of spiritual support for people living in the aftermath of war, often in poverty or hardship, who remembered the rapes committed by soldiers, the fires, and loss of property, and finally the death of their loved ones" [Maciuszko 2014: 10]. The "tragic era" referred to in the quote is the period of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), one of the many religious wars fought in Europe, mainly in Germany and France, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a major cause of which was religious differences between followers of Protestant denominations and Catholics. These generally took the form of civil wars [Wójcik 2002]. In the second half of the 16th century, the Counter-Reformation in Germany raised fears of forced re-Catholicization. The Protestant princes believed that the provisions of the 1555 Peace of Augsburg would be repealed. These provisions had established the principle of *cuius regio eius religio* ['*Whose realm, his religion*'], which guaranteed religious peace in Germany, but at the same time introduced a division into Protestant and Catholic lands. The fear of secularization of the estates, which the Protestants would have to return to the Church, contributed significantly to the tension. It was also exacerbated by fears on both the Catholic and Protestant sides of a strengthening of central power. The German Empire, made up of one hundred states, was part of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, where the power of the emperor had been greatly reduced in the 14th century. At the beginning of the 17th century, two camps formed: the Protestant Union (France, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark) and the Catholic League (the Habsburgs and Spain). The division between these two camps meant that the conflict between Protestants and Catholics became highly internationalized. The immediate cause of the war was the conflict between the Protestant Bohemians, who had been Hussite since the 14th century, and the Habsburgs. The Kingdom of Bohemia was part of the Habsburg Empire; however, it was a country with a large Protestant population. At the beginning of the 17th century, the Emperor issued a majestic letter guaranteeing religious freedom to the Protestants of Bohemia. The violation of these guarantees led to the defenestration of Prague (1618). The representatives of Emperor Matthew I were thrown out of the windows of Hradčany Castle. The incident marked the beginning of the anti-Habsburg war in Bohemia. This first phase of the Thirty Years' War took on a pan-European dimension, involving all the major states. It caused incredible losses in the German states, especially among civilians, but also huge material

losses. The war ended with the Peace of Westphalia, signed on 24 October 1648 in Münster between the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of France and its allies, and in Osnabrück between the Habsburgs and Sweden. It was one of the most important international treaties in modern European history – it changed the geopolitical face of Europe for many years to come. In its wake, the idea of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation virtually ceased to exist [Wilson 2017].

For a deeper and more complex understanding of the phenomenon of religious wars, it is worth turning to the thought of Jean Delumeau. In his book, *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme* [*Birth and Consolidation of the Reformation*], the French historian presents an original account of the history of the Protestant and Catholic Reformation, highlighting the complexity of the issue of the extremely brutal religious wars of the 16th and 17th centuries. Luther's views on this issue changed according to the context and nature of the bloody battles. As Jean Delumeau has noted, polemics occupy a great deal of space in Luther's voluminous writings. "So he wrote against the Anabaptists, against the rebellious peasants, against Erasmus [*De servo arbitrio*, 1525], against Zwingli's theories on the Eucharist, against the belief in purgatory, against the powers that the Roman Church was «appropriating» for itself" [Delumeau 1968: 94].

Delumeau described in detail the rifts within the Lutheran Reformation milieu and the resulting conflicts and wars. The French historian portrayed Luther as an opponent of war. When an uprising of Lutherans led by Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen broke out in 1522 in the hope of spreading the true faith throughout Germany, Luther did not support them because he did not want religious reform to be identified with political strife. In June 1524, an uprising broke out in which bands of peasants, urban artisans, princes and former monks fought bloody battles across Germany. Following the 'Twelve Articles', which the peasants addressed to Luther and to which he responded with the 'Admonition to Peace' (dated April 1525), Luther wrote to the nobility: "It is not the peasants, dear lords, who are resisting you; it is God himself"[1] [«*Ce ne sont pas les paysans qui se soulèvent contre vous, mais Dieu lui-même*»]. To the peasants, on the other hand, he addressed the following words: "«All who take the sword will perish by the sword» [Matt. 26,52]" (…) The fact that the rulers are wicked and unjust does not excuse disorder and rebellion [against them]"[2] [«Celui qui se servira du glaive

[1] Quotation in English from: [Luther 1967a: 20].
[2] Quotation in English from: [ibid., p. 25].

périra par le glaive; même si les princes sont méchants et injustes, rien n'autorise à se révolter contre eux»] [Delumeau 1968: 97]. But as the fighting became increasingly bloody, Luther took a stand against the peasants. In another work, he wrote: "It is just as when one must kill a mad dog; if you do not strike him, he will strike you"[3] [«Qu'on les étrangle; le chien fou qui se jette sur vous, il faut le tuer, sinon il vous tuera»] [ibid.].

Two currents emerged within Anabaptism. One was militant and led to bloody battles in Münster (1533–1536). The other, peaceful, arose around 1523 in the Zurich area and spread to southern Germany, Austria, and Moravia. This latter movement sought to establish communities and refused to take on the responsibilities of secular authority, since it was under the law of the sword. After the battles of Münster, Menno Simons and David Joris condemned violence and led their followers to pacifism. The communities founded by Simons and Joris continued to exist after their deaths (e.g. the Mennonites in the Netherlands).

With the end of the Peasants' War (1524–1526), Luther demanded that the princes institutionalize the reformed worship, losing faith in the people organized into congregations. He wrote in 1523: "For faith is a free act, to which no one can be forced. Indeed, it is a work of God in the spirit, not something which outward authority should compel or create"[4] [«Lorsqu'il s'agit de la foi, il s'agit d'une œuvre libre à laquelle on ne peut contraindre personne. Oui, c'est une œuvre divine dans l'Esprit, il est donc exclu qu'un pouvoir extérieur puisse l'obtenir par la force»] [Delumeau 1968: 99].

Luther also spoke out against Zwingli, who, when he became pastor of Zurich Cathedral, embarked on a radical reform of the church at the same time as Luther. Zwingli organized two campaigns against the Catholic cantons (1529, 1531), and died in Kappel am Albis on 11 October 1531. After Zwingli's death, Luther said: "Zwingli died like a brigand … He drew the sword, therefore he has received his reward"[5] [«Zwingli a eu la mort d'un assassin... Il a menacé de l'épée; il a eu le salaire qu'il a mérité»] [Delumeau 1968: 103].

[3] Quotation in English from: [Luther 1976b: 50].
[4] Quotation in English from: [Luther 1974: 61–62].
[5] Quotation in English after: [Hartmann Grisar 1914: 384].

Luther was not a proponent of war, and this aspect of his views had important implications for the Pietist perspective on war and pacifism. In particular, it influenced the views of the radical Protestant communities.

Jean Delumeau's significant insights into the Counter-Reformation reflect the nature of the religious wars caused by the many schisms created by the Reformation and the religious motivations that drove both Protestants and Catholics. Let us use a lengthy quotation from the French historian's book – for it reveals the drama of the divisions and the horrific methods of bloody repression of religious opponents. This must have led to the search for forms of religious life that would offer the possibility of its evangelical implementation, which was, *inter alia*, Pietism. Delumeau notes:

> In order to fulfil what they considered to be their religious duty, the rulers took decisions that were most obviously against their own interests. The Spanish kings stubbornly plunged into the mad 'War of Flanders', a cancer that would consume their country's fortunes for eighty years. When Louis XIV realized that from 1685 many Protestants were emigrating and that France's economy and international position were in danger of suffering as a result, he refused to listen to Vauban's advice and declared that he would never renew the Edict of Nantes "even if the enemy were on the Loire". [King] Philip III [of Spain] was even less sympathetic to the Moors [*Moriscos*], who had only outwardly converted to Catholicism. Between 1609 and 1614 he expelled some 275,000 of the Moorish population.
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> In the West, hatred of heretics became law. Francis the 1st allowed 3,000 Vaudois to be massacred in the south of France. Philip II exterminated all Protestants and Erasmists in Spain in five great *autos-da-fé*. In France, some 30,000 of the Reformed fell victims to the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day and its aftermath, both in Paris and in the provinces. In the Netherlands, in the autumn of 1572, the Duke of Alba ordered the destruction of Mechelen, which had previously opened its doors to the Prince of Orange, and the armed slaughter of the Protestants at Zutphen. But intolerance reigned on both sides: the executions demanded by the Bloody Mary were met in roughly equal numbers by those ordered by Elizabeth. *Iconoclastic fury* broke out almost everywhere in 16th-century Europe: in Wittenberg in 1522, in Provence and the Dauphiné in 1560,

> and in the Netherlands in 1566. In the latter region, in 1572, the Beggars [Les Gueux: the confederacy of Calvinist Dutch nobles opposed to the Spanish rule in the Netherlands] buried monks alive but left their heads above ground; they then used these heads as targets for a sinister game of bowls. In Elizabethan England, Catholic martyrs were disembowelled while still alive in order to rip out their hearts and entrails; a woman who had hidden a priest was crushed under planks covered with large stones. In Vivarais, around 1579, the Protestants locked Catholics in bell towers and left them to starve; children were put on spits and roasted in the presence of their fathers and mothers. It is impossible to say which of the two opponents was the cruellest, and in which country barbarism was pushed to its furthest limits. In the religious intolerance of the time, Lutherans and Calvinists exchanged violent pamphlets about the 'real presence', but they also shared the persecution of all those who dissented from Protestantism, first and foremost the Anabaptists. Even the most pacifist Anabaptists were unanimously rejected by the orthodox in Rome, Wittenberg, and Geneva.
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> Of the 877 victims mentioned in 16th-century Dutch Protestant martyrology, 617 were Anabaptists. Around 1530, Sébastien Franck estimated that 2,000 Anabaptists had been executed in Germany by that time. The Protestant towns and cantons of Switzerland were no less hostile to the Independents. Geneva had Servetus burnt. Mélanchthon, Théodore de Bèze and all the Helvetic churches approved the death sentence Calvin had requested. (…) In Presbyterian Massachusetts, the first Quakers were persecuted and some were put to death. Religious intolerance persisted. While foreign policy became more secular after 1648 and Catholic Spain allied itself with the Protestant powers against France, at the end of the 17th century England continued to oppress the Catholics and France – the Protestants [Delumeau 1968: 161– 162].

Jean Dulumeau described the two faces of the Counter-Reformation, one of armed struggle and the other of converting the broad Protestant masses by various methods (missions, the creation of colleges and universities, various forms of coercion) in order to eradicate a hostile religion. The French historian points to the aspect of the armed conquest of lands lost by the Roman Catholic Church, which allows him to make observations such as the fact that political ambitions were always intertwined with religious intentions. According to him, "[b]ecause all

military action, even religiously motivated, has political implications, the history of religious wars is replete with «unnatural» alliances" [Delumeau 1968: 163].[6]

The French historian draws attention to Rome's support for armed action by Catholic princes against Protestants, such as in the 17th century, when the papacy supported the emperor financially during the Thirty Years' War. The secular rulers, mainly the Habsburgs, took steps to regain lost territories, as this was the understanding of the Counter-Reformation. After the initial successes of the Habsburg emperor, Rome hoped that Ferdinand would unite the eastern and western empires. These expectations turned out to be in vain when Gustav II Adolph, King of Sweden, who believed that his mission came from God, led his army against Ferdinand II in defence of the Protestants. The Thirty Years' War thus began as a religious war and never lost this character, even though it increasingly became a political war. The victories of each side had confessional consequences.

For the Protestant Churches, the seventeenth century – after the most dramatic and destructive upheavals of the Wars of Religion – was a period of rebuilding church organization and normalizing religious life. Routine and schematism associated with orthodox ritual crept in, as they usually do after a period of storm and stress, and rationalism unhinged the piety of the faithful congregations. This lack gave rise to individualism, born of the need for an inner experience of faith. Mysticism, on the other hand, found its expression in the Catholic countries; Jansenism originated in France and spread mainly in the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy; Quietism was a doctrine formulated in Spain and developed in France; Labadism was born in France and the Netherlands, Independentism developed in England and finally Pietism appeared in Germany. These currents persisted alongside orthodoxy, which fought ruthlessly for its dominant position; hence, none of the aforementioned spiritual currents gained a permanent position. This does not mean that they did not have an impact on religious life; by awakening the

[6] Jean Delumeau provided examples: "In France, Henry III, who had no intention of leaving the Roman Church, finally had the Guise family (leaders of the ultra-Catholic party) murdered and allied himself with the King of Navarre, a lapsed reformer. In Germany, Maurice of Saxony fought for a time alongside Charles V against the other Protestant princes of the empire. Similarly, John George of Saxony, a Lutheran, initially opposed the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, a Calvinist, whom the Czechs had crowned King of Bohemia in November 1619. More than anyone else, Richelieu sought to 'de-confessionalize' the Thirty Years' War, and he partially succeeded. The fact remains that, from the Roman Church's perspective, France played a strange double game and saved German Protestantism" [Delumeau 1968: 163].

critical sense and thus reflection, these movements were a preparatory stage for the changes brought about by the Enlightenment [Gierowski 1972; Brecht 1993a].

Pietism was historically a heterogeneous phenomenon. As a religious movement, it sought a revival of inner piety and was therefore the cause of tensions that arose along the lines of rationalism and spirituality in the effort to reform the Church. Pietism emerged in Germany, which had been devastated by the Thirty Years' War. Its founders discovered that the two orthodox doctrines, Lutheran and Calvinist, had become embroiled in pointless disputes and distanced themselves from the religious aspirations of the faithful. The origins of Pietism are complex: Pietists were inspired to varying degrees by English Puritanism, by active movements in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and by prominent figures in many European denominations.

The subject of our interest is the Pietism that developed at the end of the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century, whose luminaries were Philip Jacob Spener (1635–1705), August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) and, above all, the current led by the latter. Encyclopaedic definitions associate Pietism mainly with the three luminaries mentioned above: "Pietism [Latin *pietàs*: 'piety'], a religious current in Protestantism in the 17th and 18th centuries, whose aim was to arouse religious feelings and deepen faith through the organization of common prayer, reading, and discussion of Scripture, and educational and charitable activities; initiated in Germany by Ph. Spener (1635–1705), Superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Frankfurt am Main, whose work *Pia desideria* ['Pious Desires'] (1675, Polish ed. 2002) became the doctrinal basis of the movement; soon, in addition to Frankfurt Pietism, Halle (A. H. Francke), Württemberg (J. A. Bengel) and Herrnhut (M. L. von Zinzendorf) currents developed; Pietist ideas also spread to other countries (especially Switzerland, England, North America and the Scandinavian countries)" [*Pietyzm* 2005a: 402; see also: *Pietyzm* 2005b; Warda 2017].

The concept of pietism

The subject of Pietism is complex and multi-faceted. Specialists in the study of Pietism not only point to areas that need to be explored, but also address many controversial issues. Without going into the details of this discussion, we will briefly look at the definitions of pietism, starting with the etymology of the word, pointing out dictionary and encyclopaedic definitions, and concluding with its definition in the strict, broad and widest sense.

The word 'pietism' itself "is a Latin-French-Greek hybrid. The French word *piété*, which, like the German word *Pietät*, comes from the root *pietat* and is formed from the Latin word *pietàs* ('sense of duty', 'awareness of duty', 'obligatory behaviour towards gods and people', 'reverence', 'fear of God', 'piety'), is a Latinization of the Greek ending *-ismós* in the case of intensified attitudes, a way of thinking or an ideology" [Breymayer 2003]. The word 'pietist' was allegedly first used as a positive self-identification in 1689 by the Leipzig professor of poetry, Joachim Feller, who described a 'pietist' as one who studies the word of God and accordingly leads a godly life (Feller 1689; 2008; cf. Brecht 1993a).

The dictionary definition describes 'Pietism' as a Protestant revival movement (*Erweckungsbewegung*) in the 17th and 18th centuries, a reaction against ossified orthodoxy; the movement aimed at emotional piety and active love [Wahrig 1968:2726; Chyliński 1969:344]. The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* recognizes 'Pietism' as "a renewal movement within Protestantism, initiated by Ph. J. Spener, which emphasized prayer, the reading of *Scripture*, human involvement in the transformation of socio-economic structures, missionary activity and community life" [Konieczny 2011: 550].

In a strict sense, Johannes Wallmann links 'pietism' with Philipp Jakob Spener, whom he regards as the founder of the devotional movement sometimes called Baroque pietism. According to Wallmann, with Spener a transformation took place from Old Protestantism (*Altprotestantismus*) to New Protestantism (*Neuprotestntismus*). Wallmann's criterion for this transformation was 'anticipating better times'. Whereas the old Protestantism was stuck in the medieval waiting for the Last Day, the new Protestantism opens up a historical future for Protestantism through the hope for better times, in which the 'work of the kingdom of God' (*Reich-Gottes-Arbeit*) becomes possible and Luther's anti-Jewish writings of 1543 fall into oblivion [Wallmann 2005: 7].

Johannes Wallmann's textbook definition of 'Pietism' reads: "Pietism is a movement of religious renewal (*religiöse Erneuerungsbewegung*) in Protestantism in continental Europe, which began in the 17th century and reached its full flowering in the 18th century; next to Anglo-Saxon Puritanism, it is the most important religious movement within Protestantism since the Reformation. Emerging in both Lutheran and Reformed churches, Pietism emphasized the individualization and internalization of religious life, developed new forms of personal piety and community life, led to radical reforms in theology and the church, and left a profound mark on the social and cultural life of the countries it enveloped" [ibid.: 21].

Pietism, as understood by Johannes Wallmann [2005: 7; cf. Sträter 1995] in a broad sense, covers the period of Johann Arndt, a figure of great importance for Protestant spirituality (and beyond) because of his works, especially *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* [*The Four Books of True Christianity*], the first volume of which was published in 1605 and the entire work in 1610.

According to recent literature, Pietism is therefore the most important renewal movement within Protestantism since the Reformation, and this movement was not confined to Germany, but spread from the beginning throughout Protestant Europe and later far beyond. The movement affected not only the church, theology and piety, but also society, politics, and culture. Since its beginnings in the second half of the 17th century, the development of the movement can be divided into several periods, since when it has undergone numerous transformations: from the classical pietism of the Baroque period, through the late pietism of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the revival movement of the 19th century and the communitarian movement, to the evangelical movement of the second half of the 20th century. The ecclesiastically critical current within Pietism is called Radical Pietism and manifests itself in the form of separatism, i.e. a move away from the state church [Brecht 1993a; Wallmann 2005; cf. Gierowski 1972: 238].

Finally, in view of the discussion of what pietism is, it is worth acknowledging that pietism, in the broadest sense, is any kind of piety, as an attitude and current, related to the need for devout adherence to a religious message.

Ideas of classical pietism

Pietist views and attitudes had various origins. They were already present in Calvinism in the Netherlands, Germany, and England. Ethical problems came to the fore in attempts to define principles that would encompass the totality of human life. The Calvinist Dutch theologian Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) formulated a set of rules for Christians that covered dancing, theatre, usury, intemperance, and even the types of wigs that could be worn and the amount of tobacco that could be smoked. Apart from Calvinism, Catholic mysticism was important in the development of Pietism, as were the chiliastic tendencies of various religiously obsessed radicals such as Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), who saw the source of faith in intuition. The period of the Thirty Years' War encouraged the spread of eschatological views. There were reformist tendencies in Lutheranism. Pietism enjoyed the support of the Hohenzollerns, but its origins were directed against the absolutism supported by Lutheran orthodoxy in many German lands.

Johann Arndt (1555–1621) is not considered by all authors to be part of the pietistic movement in the strict sense, but the devotional movement had been growing since the beginning of the 17th century and was reflected in religious educational literature. Many authors of devotional books, prayer books, meditation books and spiritual songs created a new language to compensate for the lack of Lutheran religious experience. Orthodox Lutheranism at this time had become very rational and routine. These writers drew on pre-Reformation, early Christian literature and medieval mysticism. This was done most comprehensively by Arndt, whose aforementioned *Four Books of True Christianity* became the most widely read single-volume religious book after the Bible in the seventeenth century. In Lutheranism, Johann Arndt has been cited alongside Martin Luther since the time of Philipp Jakob Spener. Luther is considered a reformer of Christian doctrine, Arndt as a reformer of Christian life [Wallmann 2005: 29]. *The Four Books of True Christianity* were structured in such a way that they could serve the reader as daily reading for meditation. The first three books form a whole and constitute a three-stage mysticism: purification of the soul, illumination of the soul, union of the soul with God (*via purgativa*, *via illuminativa*, *unio mystica*). The fourth book, *Lieber naturae*, speaks of nature as a book that testifies to God and leads to God. According to Arndt, the macrocosm of creation points to God and finds its perfection in the human soul. Man, as the image of God, has the duty to love God: this is the essence of *The Four Books of True Christianity*. Arndt sought to define a relationship between the State and the Church that would be favourable to religious life. It is also worth mentioning that Pietist ideas were also inspired by the Polish Brethren, whose views were popularized in Germany by Jan Crell (1590–1633), a teacher and rector of the Rakov Academy, who settled in Poland in 1612. The Moravian Brethren in Poland, led by John Amos Comenius (1582–1670), contributed their views to the Pietist movement [Gierowski 1972: 239]. Pietism thus had many precursors in different countries, both within the Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church.

The theses of the father of Pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener,[7] did not therefore emerge in a vacuum. After his studies in Strasbourg, Spener was called to Frankfurt am

[7] Born in 1635, Spener's piety was shaped from an early age by religious literature. His favourite reading was Johann Arndt's *The Four Books of True Christianity* and, in addition, from the English religious edifying literature, Lewis Bayly's *Praxis Pietatis* [*The Practice of Piety*] (1613; 1628; 1631 and numerous later editions) and Emmanuel Sonthomb's *Gülden Kleinod der Kinder Gottes* [*Golden Treasure of the Children of God*] (1632). Spener consistently recommended English religious literature, which had been widely circulated in the Lutheran Church since the Thirty Years' War. This literature included instructions on meditation, self-

Main as *Senior Ministerii*. The twenty years he served there saw a shift from orthodoxy to pietism. According to Spener, the apparent reforms, because they were official outward reforms, prevented the pursuit of true Christianity in the spirit of Johann Arndt.[8]

He came to believe that the path taken by orthodoxy to reconstruct the Church after the wars, especially the Thirty Years' War, was a dead end rather than a path to rebuild Church piety and morality. Such a model leads to social discipline by decree, and consequently to outer Christianity. He recognized the need for change in the clergy in particular, since the theological faculties were in deep crisis. He pointed to the need for a reform of theological education. As his hope for a general renewal of the Church faded, another hope arose from his experience with the small groups in his parish community who gathered around him after his controversial sermons on false righteousness. In 1670, Spener founded a discussion group in his senior house, which became known as the *collegium pietatis* [*piety society*]. These Frankfurt *collegia pietatis* were the first pietistic conventicles and also the seedbed of Lutheran pietism. In fact, they were the beginning of both Spenerian ecclesiastical pietism and radical separatist pietism, the origins of which in Lutheranism are also closely linked to the Frankfurt *collegia pietatis*. The Frankfurt experience of the formation of these groups was reflected in Spener's 1675 programmatic work, commonly known as *Pia Desideria*, which he wrote initially as a preface to a new edition of Johann Arndt's sermon book *Gospel Postils*, and later that year published as a separate book entitled *Pia Desideria*

-analysis and Sunday observance. However, Spener considered the best book next to the Bible to be Arndt's *The Four Books of True Christianity*, with instructions for man's growth in piety and close union with God. For the rest of his ministry, his sermons discussed the first three books of Arndt's *True Christianity*. By the time Spener entered the University of Strasbourg, the foundations of his thought had been laid, and his devotion was already pietistic. "His piety was shaped by Arndt's movement and Puritan edification literature; theologically, he was deeply committed to Strasbourg Lutheran orthodoxy throughout his life" [Brecht 1996: 612]. Theophil Großgebauer also influenced Spener's ideas. Großgebauer's views stimulated Spener's thinking about the need to reform the Lutheran Church.

[8] In his sermon on a verse from Matthew 5:20, preached on 18 July 1669, "Spener condemned the average Frankfurt church-going Christian (*Kirchgängerchristentum*) as merely an outward, false Christianity, as a dead faith and a false, Pharisaic righteousness by which no one could be saved. (…) He referred to Luther's statement on the true, living faith in his Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, which can be found in all Bibles. Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, occasionally quoted by Johann Arndt, has since become the *locus classicus* of the pietistic understanding of faith in the work of the Reformer" [Wallmann 2005: 75]. Since this sermon on false Pharisaic righteousness, Spener lost hope of a general amelioration.

oder Herzliches Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Besserung der wahren Evangelischen Kirchen [*Pia Desideria, or Heartfelt Desire for a God-pleasing Reform of the True Evangelical Church*]. This twenty-eight-page *folio* contains three sections: the deplorable state of the Church (diagnosis), future improvement (prognosis), and remedies for improvement.

Spener's programme for the reform of the Church, as set out in *Pia Desideria*, can be summarized in six points. (1) Spener placed the Word of God in the foreground, to be present among the faithful. Congregations should become familiar with all parts of the Bible by having the texts read during worship. Private reading of the Bible should be encouraged. Bible classes should be organized for the illiterate. The "ancient and apostolic kind of church meetings" [Spener 1964: 89] should be reintroduced, as Paul described it in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 14.26–40). In addition to the worship services, there should be organized "exercises" led by preachers, during which anyone with the cognitive aptitude to do so could speak on Scripture, and anyone could express their questions and doubts. *Ecclestolae in ecclesia* should be established. This *ecclestola in ecclesia* (little church in the church) should be a circle in which those who seriously want to be Christians study the Bible together and are strengthened in their Christianity by mutual exhortation. They were to form their own community, but within the Church, and by their example they were to draw ever larger circles of the congregation (*Gemeinde*). Spener thus abandoned the orthodox reform programmes that had been introduced throughout the Church, but he also opposed the movement of de Labadie and others who called for separation from the Church. A congregation of the pious, with responsibility for the whole Church, was to become another feature of ecclesiastical pietism. (In 1670, the *Collegium Pietatis* was founded, a pietist home group (*Hauskreis*) whose meetings were initially held in Spener's flat, but from 1682 onwards, as more and more people became interested, they were moved to the church). The *Collegium Pietatis* is an epochal oeuvre of pietism [Wallmann 2005: 82-83]. (2) Second in importance is the practice of the spiritual priesthood, which should be seen as mutual guidance and admonition. Luther had emphasized this, but it had been forgotten. Spener saw it as a turn towards the papacy that Christians gave the name "priest" to preachers, and that even in the Protestant Church a distinction was made between "priests" and "laymen". All Christians are priests. (3) The third point of the reform programme is the strong emphasis that Christianity is less about knowledge (intellectualism) and much more about *praxis*. Christianity is love of the neighbour. First and foremost, brotherly love between Christians, then love towards all people. (4) Spener then

recommends that theological disputes be kept to a minimum. Not only disputes between denominations, but also disputes within Lutheranism over doctrine. Those who stray from the faith can be won over more quickly by an exemplary life than by doctrinal discussions. (5) The next point on the reform agenda concerns the reform of theological studies. Not scholarship, but *praxis* – the *praxis pietatis* [*practical piety*] of personal religious life, including the *praxis* of future offices of power (*kunftige Amtes*) – must be included in the formation of future priests. Spener's proposals are directed towards the promotion of religious life and provide for academic *collegia pietatis*. (6) Finally, the simple but powerful proclamation of the Word of God is prescribed [Brecht 1996; Brecht 1993b; Wallmann 2005].

In Lutheranism, views on war are linked to the expectation of an imminent Last Day, inherited from Luther and revived by the Thirty Years' War. Spener shared the view of history, prevalent in the Western Church since the time of Augustine and confirmed by the Reformation, that the present period of the world is the last before the Last Day. According to Spener, the messianic promises of the Old Testament and the prophecies of the course of church history contained in the Revelation of John, which Luther and Lutheran orthodoxy had regarded as fulfilled, had only been partially realized. Before the Last Day, Christ's glorious kingdom on earth can be expected, as promised in the Bible. According to Spener, Luther was good at interpreting the apostle Paul, but not so good at interpreting the Old Testament prophets. Spener – he expresses this cautiously in *Pia Desideria*, more explicitly in his concurrent letters, and with increasing determination as the years went by – conceded the right of the hitherto suppressed Chiliasm to join the Lutheran Church [Wallmann 2005].

Spener quotes from the text by Dr. John Georg Dorsche[9] addressed to Jacob Helwig[10] the following passage, which articulates, *inter alia*, the cause of the war:

> Just as the Jews, insofar as they were able to do so, once prohibited the proclamation of the Gospel to the Gentiles, so the Christians today not only throw away their own salvation but also hinder the salvation of Jews and other unbelievers (which they ought to promote and bring about) by

[9] Johann Georg Dorsche, Latin form: Dorscheus (1597–1659), professor of theology, a leading representative of Lutheran orthodoxy in the 17th century; author of many works on theology and biblical literature [for Dorsche's biography, Schüssler 1959: 87].

[10] Jacob Helwig (1631–1684), rector and pastor in Berlin, German pastor in Stockholm, bishop of Estonia, president of the Consistory of Revel [Spener 2005: 95 fn 3; 374 fn 23].

> the most harmful offenses, such as impiety, hypocrisy, injustice, frauds, unchastity, and other shameful acts, schisms, hatred, strife, monstrous and cruel wars, and (what is the chief thing) the sad tearing and breaking asunder of the bonds of holy, brotherly love. Since such things, which can never be reconciled with saving faith, are so prevalent among us, who will not bitterly bewail the corrupt, dangerous, and almost desperate condition of our churches? Who will doubt that ours are the last days, whose times are hard to bear? Who will not include most of the people who profess the name of Christ in the number of those who are to be cut off by God's severe judgment on account of their unbelief? For what else is the dissolute and ungodly life of today's Christians (who simulate the form of piety but deny the power thereof, and who through an abuse of the longsuffering and goodness of God heap up wrath as a treasure) but a testimony and public witness to their wickedness and unbelief? [Dorscheus 1658; quoted after: Spener 1964: 68–69].

Spener shares this opinion of Dorsche. It implies that wars incur the wrath of God, are an expression of godlessness, and are caused by the renunciation of the proclamation of the Gospel. Alongside godlessness, hypocrisy, injustice, impurity, and other terrible wickedness, division, hatred, quarrels – wars are testimony to the unbelief of Christians. Spener applies this criticism first to his own Lutheran Church and then also to the Roman Church. He writes: "Above all, it is known only to God with what sorrow godly people behold these distressing conditions and with how many thousands of sighs and tears they lament the ruin of Joseph, for they see the conditions with their own eyes, can foresee no improvement in them, and in fact observe that they are constantly becoming worse. How often do they borrow the words of their beloved David in Psalm 119? «Hot indignation seizes me because of the wicked, who forsake thy law» ([Ps. 119 – K. G.] v. 53). «My eyes shed streams of tears because men do not keep thy law» (v. 136). «My zeal consumes me because my foes forget thy words» (v. 139). «I look at the faithless with disgust because they do not keep thy commands» (v. 158), etc. The more sincerely such godly people love God and the more they desire to see advance in the hallowing of his name, the extension of his kingdom, and the doing-of his will— all of which they pray for daily—the more it pains them to see such abominations. They grieve over the many souls they know to be in such danger. It is hard for them to keep themselves unspotted from the world amid such scandals, and they worry lest, if not they, at least their children may in time be seduced and carried away on the tide of evil. Those who by God's blessing live in outward tranquillity and wealth do not

enjoy their circumstances because they are dismayed by the general wretchedness. If they were not supported by the strong hand of God and if they were not thereby given assurance (even if they themselves would not live to experience a general improvement) that God would give them their lives as a prize of war (as he did Baruch, Jer. 45:5), they would drown in their sorrow" [Spener 1964: 69–70].

Spener's words are clear, the causes of war are the abandonment of the teaching of the Word of God. The cause of war is the corruptions that are taking place among Christians in contradiction to God's Word. Although the author of *Pia Desideria* does not explicitly state how to prevent war, his narrative can be summed up – to say the least – in the thesis that the witness of a life in accordance with the Word of God can also lead to the avoidance of war.

We now turn to the strand of Pietism which Spener influenced and which has left a particularly strong mark on the history of the Lutheran Church, not only in Germany.

The Halle Pietism – August Hermann Francke

The beginnings of Pietism in Halle on the river Saale, are associated with the most prominent figure of Halle Pietism, the follower of Spener, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727). He founded the circle of Bible lovers (*Collegia philobiblica*) at the University of Leipzig. Francke had to leave Leipzig because orthodox Lutheran theologians took a stand against Pietism.[11] Francke's work had a major impact on the spread of Pietism in Germany and beyond. Through him, schooling became a subject of worldwide dissemination. From the end of the 17th century, contacts were made with patriarchal Russia via the Baltic Sea. Pietists left via the

[11] He left Saxony and moved with his followers to Brandenburg, where he was supported by Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg. As mentioned above, Spener also moved to Brandenburg in 1691. Thanks to Spener's patronage, Francke became pastor of St Georgen's Church in the Halle suburb of Glaucha in January 1692, and also obtained a position as professor of Greek and Oriental languages at the University of Halle. In 1715, thanks to the support of Carl Hildebrand von Canstein, Francke was appointed pastor of St Ulrich's Church in Halle. Francke inspired Canstein to found the oldest Bible Society (*Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt*) in 1710 with the aim of publishing the Scriptures *en masse*. Canstein was a supporter of Pietism and gave financial support to August Hermann Francke's foundations. The *Franckesche Stiftungen* in Halle is Francke's major work. Already as a pastor in Glaucha, he founded a school for the poor (*Armenschule*), which in the course of time consisted of various institutions. An orphanage (*Weisenhaus*) and a form of scholarship for students in the form of the *Freitisch* (scholarships for meals) were established. Francke's foundations brought him worldwide fame [Brecht 1993c].

Netherlands and England for America and South Africa. Silesia was the route that led to Austria-Hungary, Transylvania, and Constantinople. Switzerland, on the other hand, served to direct the activities of the Halle centre towards France and Italy. To these parts of the world, Francke's disciples were sent to serve as teachers and promoters of new ecumenical views. This missionary activity stemmed from the idea of a fundamental transformation of the world through the power of Christian awakening and many plans for reform. In Upper Silesia, Cieszyn became a special place of Francke's influence, as will be discussed later in this article.

August Hermann Francke's attitude to war and military service is illustrated by his conversation with King Frederick William I of Prussia, who sought to control social and economic life and interfered with it through the use of officials. He paid most attention to the army, in which he introduced iron discipline, hence the famous "Prussian drill", the characteristics of which have gone down in history as Prussian militarism. This king was an ardent religious man and was the protector of the religious renewal of the Lutheran Church, the state church, which was undertaken by Pietism. The conversation below took place on 12 April 1713, when the king visited Francke's institutions in Halle, shortly after taking office. While being shown around, the king asked Francke if any of his students would become soldiers. Francke replied: "If they are craftsmen, they can easily be taken away by the recruiters" ("*Wenn sie Handwerker sind, so können sie leicht von den Werbern genommen warden*"). When the king asked Francke what he thought of war, he responded: "Your Royal Majesty must protect the land, but I am called to preach: Blessed are the peacemakers" ("*Ew.* [*Eure* – K.G.] *Königliche Majestät, muß das Land schützen, ich aber bin berufen, zu predigen: Selig sind die riedfertigen*") To this, the king replied: That is good. "But does it not stop his people from going to war?" ("*Aber seine Leute, hält er die nicht vom Kriege ab?*") To which Francke said: "The *Studiosis Theologiae*, as Your Majesty is well aware, are used to fill positions in the Church and in schools" ("*Mit Studiosis theologiae werden, wie Ew. Majestät selber wohl wissen, Kirchen- und Schulämter besetzt*"). The king continued: "But the boys, they are not made to believe that the devil will take them if they become soldiers?" ("*Aber die Jungens machet er denen nicht weis, daß sie der Teufel holen werde, wennn sie Soldaten werden?*"). To that, Francke responded: "I know many a Christian soldier. I have more supporters among the soldiers than among the clergy. They cannot bear that I do not approve of everything, they do" ("*Ich kenne manchen christlichen Soldaten. Ich habe mehr Gönner unter den Soldaten als unter den Geistlichen. Diese können nicht vertragen, daß ich ihr Thun nicht in allen Stücken billige*") [Hinrichs 1958: 270; Hinrichs 1971]. As Carl Hinrichs has noted,

there is a mutual distrust between the monarch and the leader of Halle Pietism in this conversation. The king's questions are very direct, but Francke is evasive and does not give a clear answer regarding war and the army. Uncomfortable and afraid of losing the king's favour, Francke wrote a letter on 15 April in which he declared that he agreed with the king on the subject of war, adding that in the Old Testament pious kings fought wars at God's command, and that in the New Testament Paul taught in his letter to the Romans (chapter 13, verse 4) that it was not in vain for rulers to bear the sword, but that they were God's servants to punish those who did evil [Hinrichs 1958].

Francke, given the many activities he was carrying out, did not want to fall out of favour with the king. He needed not only the king's goodwill but also financial support for his extensive activities. Despite his disapproval of the war, Francke could not oppose the sovereign because of the subordination of the Lutheran church to secular authority, which had already been established in Luther's time.

The Herrnhut Pietism – Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf

Another branch of Pietism is Herrnhut Pietism. It is associated with the figure of the Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, and the settlement established on his estate for Hussites persecuted in the Habsburg Monarchy, refugees mainly from Moravia, hence their name 'Moravian Brethren'. Count Zinzendorf was born in Dresden on 26 May 1700 into a family of wealthy and devout Protestants. His grandfather was a member of the Austrian Habsburg nobility. His mother was a personal friend of Philipp Jacob Spener. Zinzendorf's father died six weeks after his birth, leaving him with his twenty-five-year-old mother. When Nicholas was four, she remarried a Prussian field marshal.

The young count was brought up by his grandmother in the spirit of strict Pietist Lutheranism. She was fluent in Hebrew and Greek and listened to many theologians, including Francke. Francke had a great influence on the Count's life. He lived with his grandmother at the Gross-Hennersdorf estate in Upper Lusatia, east of Dresden. Biographers point out that as a young boy, Zinzendorf had a special personal relationship with Jesus (Miller 2010). An event that illustrates Zinzendorf's religious devotion relates to the invasion of Saxony and the capture of Dresden by King Charles XII of Sweden on 27 August 1706, after his army had passed through Imperial Silesia. At that time, some soldiers entered Hennersdorf

in search of supplies. They burst into a room where they saw Zinzendorf kneeling and praying, doing his daily devotions. Seeing the boy at prayer, the soldiers stopped their search.[12] This fact is connected with the Second Northern War. The King of Sweden, as the guarantor of the Peace of Münster and Osnabrück, which granted special rights to Silesian Protestants, forced Emperor Joseph I to make a concession in Altranstadt. The agreement was signed on 1 September 1707 and freed the Silesian Lutherans from the worst of the Counter-Reformation persecution. The agreement renewed the special provisions of 1648 for Silesia, which were to redress their violations, i.e. the churches in the Duchies of Liegnitz and Brieg (Księstwo Legnicko-Brzeskie) and Oels (Księstwo Oleśnickie), as well as in (Breslau) Wrocław, were to be returned. All churches in Lower Silesia were to be returned, while in Upper Silesia the Lutheran churches that had been taken away were to remain Catholic. Growing discontent led the Emperor to sign the Breslau Execution-Recess on 8 February 1709. Following the example of the Churches of Peace in Schweidnitz (Świdnica), Arnshalde (Jaworzno) and Glogau (Głogów), the Emperor established, *inter alia*, six new so-called Churches of Grace: five in Lower Silesia (Freystadt in Schlesien/Kożuchów; Hirschberg/Jelenia Góra; Landeshut in Schlesien/Kamienna Góra; Militsch/Milicz, and Sagan/Żagań) and one in Upper Silesia in Cieszyn. The Church of Grace in Cieszyn was to become a prominent centre of Pietism in Upper Silesia [Ploch 2007].

In May 1722 Zinzendorf bought the estate of Rittergut Mittelberthelsdorf in Upper Lusatia from his grandmother. Here he welcomed Moravian Brethren who had fled from the region of Moravia [Tschakert 1900; Meyer 1995]. The Moravians claim to be the oldest Protestant organization directly descended from the ministry of Jan Hus; the Moravian Church was founded as a community a century before Luther's Reformation. Hus was a graduate of the University

[12] At the age of eight, Count Zinzendorf began organizing prayer meetings for friends and family. From 1710 to 1715, he attended the *Pedagogium* at the *Franckesche Stiftungen* in Halle. Here he was greatly influenced by August Hermann Francke. He then studied law at the University of Wittenberg from 1716 to 1719, after which he spent two years travelling in the Netherlands and France. While in Paris, he continued to study French and law and met many Protestant and Catholic leaders. He became friends with the Catholic Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Louis Antoine de Noailles (1651–1729). A turning point in his spiritual life occurred in an art gallery in Düsseldorf. The Count came across a painting by Domenico Feti depicting Christ with a crown of thorns [*Ecce Homo* 2024]. The caption under the painting in Latin read: "*Ego pro te haec passus sum; Tu vero quid fecisti pro me*" (*This have I suffered for you; now what will you do for me?*) Zinzendorf came to realize that his previous life for Christ had been unproductive. From 1721 to 1732 he was court councillor and legal adviser in Dresden in the service of Augustus II the Strong, King of Poland [Meyer 1995].

of Prague. Like Luther, his sermons criticized the sale of indulgences by the Pope to support the war against the King of Naples. In his sermons he also criticized the excessive privileges and wealth of the clergy, the supremacy and primacy of the Pope over secular power, and called for the abolition of simony and a return to evangelical poverty. In his view, the head of the Church is Christ, not the Pope. He also opposed the supremacy of the Pope over secular authority. Hus gained many supporters, but was accused of heresy and burned at the stake in Constance on 6 July 1415. The aftermath of Hus's burning was an uprising in Prague that spread throughout Bohemia and sparked the Hussite Wars (1420–1434). Hus's followers split into two groups – the moderate Utraquists and the radical Taborites. The Utraquists sought to reform the Catholic Church, while the Taborites wanted to force change by military means. The Taborites were defeated by the Catholics in Bohemia and Poland; the few survivors joined the Utraquists. After forty years of trying to reform the church, Petr Chelčický initiated the Bohemian Brethren movement. By opposing nationalist attitudes to war, the Brethren became a non-violent community. They embraced apostolic poverty and formed a community of love in a remote area of north-east Bohemia. On 1 March 1457, the Brotherhood of the Gospel of Christ was founded, seeking independence from the Catholic Church. On 26 March 1467, at a synod of the Bohemian Brethren, the new Unity of the Bohemian Brethren (Czech: *Jednota bratří českých*, *Jednota bratrská*; Latin: *Unitas Fratrum*) was established in Bohemia, granting believers two forms of communion and recognizing Hus as a martyr. Opposed to the national approach to war, it became a non-violent community. This church developed a doctrine similar to later Calvinism. In Poland, they are known as the Bohemian Brethren or Moravian Brethren (a name referring to the Hussites active in Moravia). The Brethren elected their own bishop from among the Waldensians. By the mid-16th century, almost half of the Protestants in Moravia and Bohemia belonged to the Church of the Brethren. With the arrival of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, as a result of the Thirty Years' War and the Battle of the White Mountain (1620), the Brethren congregations in Bohemia and Moravia were destroyed. Catholicism became the law of the land, and for the next hundred years Protestants operated there illegally. Hidden congregations were formed, and the Brethren met in secret. Their movement was led by Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670). Much of his work was written in Poland, where he had fled after being exiled from Bohemia [Miller 2010]. Working in secret, the Brethren inspired many religious communities to welcome Luther's Reformation, including in Upper Silesia [Gładkowski 2009].

The exceptional figure who prompted Zinzendorf to offer refugees shelter on his estate was Christian David (1692–1751)[13]. The experience with Pastor Johann Christoph Schwelder was to have a profound effect on Christian's life. Concerned about the situation of the persecuted Moravians he had known as a boy, David travelled to Moravia in 1718, where he met the Neisser brothers and Michael Jaeschke and their respective families. They were secret members of the *Unitas Fratrum*, and later became the first to emigrate with David to Berthelsdorf. David became known as the "forest preacher" (*Busch Prediger)* during this journey. Christian David promised to do everything in his power to help the Brethren emigrate. In 1722 David's wish was fulfilled. Christian David was mentioned during a conversation between Count Zinzendorf and Rothe, who was to become the parish priest of the Zinzendorf estate. Zinzendorf took an interest in the matter and invited David to meet him in Dresden. The count listened as Christian shared his experience and passion. In April 1722, Zinzendorf promised David that he would consider finding a place for the Brethren to live and practice their religion. Christian David returned to Moravia, from where he brought ten people to Berthelsdorf. They were given a place to settle near Hutberg. Here, on 17 June 1722, the first tree was felled to build a house. The place was named Herrnhut.[14] The influx of Moravians grew steadily, and a small town developed. These groups came from both Bohemia and Poland, although they were all called Moravians because they were the most numerous, but representatives of other faiths arrived in search of religious freedom. Among them were Lutherans, Calvinists and Schwenkfelders. The Count was ordained a Lutheran priest after passing his

[13] He was born into a Roman Catholic family in Moravia. His home town of Senftleben (Czech: Ženklava) was the first town where Comenius had started his educational reform. The family, where Christian David learned the carpentry trade, had a great influence on his faith. As a result, Christian became suspicious of Catholic customs. In 1710, he managed to get his first Bible and studied it avidly. He developed a desire for fellowship with Protestant believers and travelled through Brandenburg, Silesia, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and Saxony. However, many of the people he met seemed morally deficient, and Christian David became disillusioned. He befriended Pastor Johann Christoph Schwelder, who had a giant impact on Christian when he fell ill. For twenty weeks, the pastor nursed Christian back to health, sharing the love of Christ with him. This was to have a profound effect on Christian's life. He felt he had finally found what he was looking for. He soon married Anna Elisabeth Ludwig, a member of the Schwelder congregation, and subsequently decided to travel the world sharing the love of Christ.

[14] The name was intended to express the protection of God over the place, to indicate that it was placed "under the care of the Lord" ["*unter die Obhut des Herren*"] (the name of the town is also translated as "the Lord's Watch" and in Upper Lusatian it is *Okhranov*, reflecting the fact that these persecuted Moravian Brethren found refuge there). When the first house was built, Christian David went back to Moravia, from where he returned with eighteen other immigrants.

university exams, and the Moravians of Herrnhut decided to formally establish the Church of the Brethren. Recognizing the rediscovered unity, Zinzendorf gave the Herrnhut settlement an organizational structure that allowed the community to develop with a focus on religious matters. Zinzendorf reinterpreted the social ethics of *Unitas Fratrum*. From his perspective, God's love was a deeply lived personal relationship of love with the Saviour. The result of this experience is a desire to share His love with others and to draw them into His saving embrace. The Brethren emphasized that every Christian is a missionary and should bear witness to this through their daily vocation. The settlement developed remarkably quickly. Orphanages were built, Christian literature was printed, a temporary college was established, free food was provided for the needy, and 56 missionaries were sent out. Zinzendorf's activities and the development of Herrnhut aroused suspicion. The Duke of Saxony, Johann Adolf II, banished Zinzendorf for disturbing the religious peace. In 1737 Zinzendorf was consecrated bishop of the Moravian Brethren by the elder of the Brethren, Daniel Ernest Jablonski. Jablonski was an Evangelical Reformed court preacher who also served as bishop of the Polish Brethren, known as the Arians. Zinzendorf's move to Marienborn created a new centre for the Moravian Brethren. The count founded a seminary to train missionaries. Visitors came from all over Europe. The congregations in Herrnhut and Marienborn carried out extremely successful missionary work. The Moravians did not try to change the culture or traditions of the people they ministered to. In fact, they were persecuted in the American colonies for living among the Indians and not trying to convert them to the European way of life. At a certain point, "49 brothers and 17 sisters serving in 13 stations in Greenland, North and Central America, and the West Indies, with responsibility for 6,125 souls" [Schattschneider 1984: 64; quotation after: Miller 2010: 19].

It is also worth noting that Francke and Zinzendorf became involved with persecuted Protestants in Silesia, which was part of the Habsburg Empire until 1740. Pietism reached Silesia through Francke's network of connections with Halle and the Herrnhut community founded by Zinzendorf. Under the Habsburg monarchy, between 1653 and 1654, its rulers, taking advantage of legal loopholes in the 1648 Peace of Münster and Osnabrück, implemented their intolerant policy of religious re-Catholicization in order to unify the Catholic population in Silesia. In the Duchy of Cieszyn and its authorities in Upper Silesia, Emperor Ferdinand III ordered the Religious Reform Commission to close 49 Lutheran churches in March and April 1654. This commission, renamed the Commission for the Liquidation of Religions, effectively eliminated Protestantism in the northern part of the region,

namely the duchies of Oppeln/Opole and Ratibor/Racibórz. At that time, many Lutherans went into internal emigration and, like the aforementioned Moravian Brethren, practised their faith in secret as crypto-Protestants. They secretly organized Protestant services presided over by itinerant preachers, known as forest preachers (*Buschpredigern*), or read inspirational Protestant literature while hiding in meetings. Evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession had a degree of legal protection and, to maintain it, did not recognize Pietism, lest they be suspected of departing from the Augsburg Confession. The largely orthodox Lutheran clergy regarded Pietism, as a reform movement, under general suspicion of false teaching and heresy, a view shared by the Catholic Church. Its appeal was strengthened by religious persecution, and Pietism had many ardent followers among the nobility and commoners of Silesia. By promoting a personal, individual and inner faith, it allowed them to maintain their religious beliefs. Pietism gained adherents most quickly among the rural non-religious. Francke established a network of connections with the Silesian nobility and contributed to the establishment of the Church of Grace in Cieszyn, which may have been built as a result of the already mentioned Altranstadt concession concluded during the Second Northern War. For Francke, the church in Cieszyn was of strategic importance in his plans for an outreach to south-eastern Europe. As noted above, Halle had contacts with the Netherlands, England and America, but also Denmark, Hungary, Transylvania, Silesia, Slovakia, and Galicia. German clergy on the Volga River and in the Caucasus also drew spiritual nourishment from Halle. The church in Cieszyn, as the only Lutheran church in Upper Silesia, influenced the remnants of Evangelicals who secretly clung to their confession in Falkenberg/Niemodlin, Leobschütz/Głubczyce, Oderberg/Bohumin, Pleß/Pszczyna, Neustadt/Prudnik, Hillersdorf/Holčovice, Tarnowitz/Tarnowskie Góry and Rösnitz/Rozumice, but first and foremost in Cieszyn and its surroundings, as well as Bielitz/Bielsko, where many surviving evangelical residents. The influence of the Church of Cieszyn extended beyond the borders of Upper Silesia to the covert Protestants of Eastern Moravia and to Poland.[15] Francke, aware of the importance of the appointment of clergy for the spread of Pietism, endeavoured to fill preaching posts with adherents of Halle Pietism. The imperial court, fearing the influence and claims to Silesia of Brandenburg-Prussia, which had given Francke considerable support, forbade the appointment of non-Silesian pastors to posts in Silesia. Conventicles were also forbidden.

[15] Of the 40,000 or so parishioners in Cieszyn, 30,000 were Polish-speaking and 10,000 German-speaking. As a result, the church was designed to accommodate between 7,000 and 8,000 worshippers, five pastors were envisaged, and a Latin school was built next to the church. This evangelical centre in Cieszyn influenced the neighbouring regions.

The activities of the Cieszyn Pietists came to an abrupt end with their expulsion by imperial decree on 21 January 1730. Three Pietist pastors: Steinmetz, Muthmann and Sassadius, and two teachers, Sarganek and Jerichovius, had to resign from their posts and leave the country. After the expulsion of the Pietists from Cieszyn, the Herrnhut Brethren became the source of Pietism in Silesia. Zinzendorf visited Upper Silesia for the first time in 1725. There he met the patrons of the Cieszyn Church of Grace, Henckel von Donnersmarck in Oderberg (Bohumin) and Counts Karl Joachim and Johann Heinrich Morawitzky in Branitz (Branice). They were the "pillars of Pietism in Upper Silesia". In 1726, Zinzendorf undertook a risky mission to free David Nitschman, who was imprisoned in Moravia, and set off on another journey to visit Pietist churches in Upper Silesia.[16]

For ten years following their expulsion from Cieszyn, they could only function underground. It was only after the occupation of Silesia by Frederick II and its incorporation into Prussia following the First Silesian War (1740–1742) that they gained religious freedom in Prussia. The Herrnhuters wanted to establish their church in Rösnitz (Rozumice) and even started building a church, but for fear of splitting the congregation into two factions, the construction was eventually abandoned. And the awakened from Rozumice and the surrounding villages went to Herrnhut. In time, they co-founded the Herrnhuter settlement in Gnadenfeld

[16] In the diary of this journey, published in *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte* [*Correspondence Journal of the Association for Silesian Church History*], Jerichovius described Zinzendorf's courage in strengthening the faith of oppressed Lutherans. His account leads to the conclusion that, thanks to Pietism, the Jesuit Counter-Reformation did not completely triumph in Rösnitz (Rozumice), Saudiz (Sudice) and Branitz (Branice). The introductory words of this diary show the bonds and fraternal relations among the Pietists in Herrnhut: "Diary kept from the 9th to the 14th of August 1726, at the request of his dear fathers and brothers, under the good hand of God, designed for his glory, by an unworthy and even quite miserable shepherd [*Vom 9. August bis den 14 ejusd. 1726 geführtes Journal auf Verlangen seinen Lieben Vätern und Brüdern, unter der guten Hand Gottes, zu seinem Preise entworfen von einem unwürdigen und noch gar elenden Hirtenknaben*]. On Friday, 9 August, the road from Oderberg to Branitz went via Rösnitz, although I had not really intended to go there the day before, but the longing of the lambs prevailed [*Freitags, als den 9. August, ging der Weg von Oderberg nach Branitz über Rösnitz, als dahin tags vorher der Sinn nicht eben stand; die Sehnsucht dasiger Lämmer aber überwog*] [Jerichovius (1726) 1902: 39]. At that time, Zinzendorf was evangelizing in Rösnitz (Rozumice). This village, situated between Ratibor (Racibórz) and Troppau (Opava), had been a meeting place for the awakened (*Erwegten*) from the surrounding area, as well as from Bohemia, Moravia and Poland, since the beginning of the 18th century. From the diary of Jerichovius we learn that sparks of awakening came to Rösnitz from Cieszyn, and that Christian David stayed in Rösnitz for five days and kindled the local population with his commentary on the First Epistle of St. John.

(Pawłowiczki) and some of them became missionaries on other continents [Noller 2019; Gładkowski 2009; Karczyńska 2012].

It is impossible to discuss all the issues related to Halle and Herrnhut Pietism here. It is clear from the analyses made that classical Pietism in Germany, in the spirit of Luther, reserved questions of politics, including wars, to the state. Pietists were concerned with evangelization and the desire to transform the world in the spirit of the Gospel through the formation of religious communities. On the question of war, we should also mention radical Pietism, whose pacifist ideas led to a change in the law on military service.

Radical Pietism

Of the many currents and representatives of radical Pietism, one was chosen for analysis, which arose at the beginning of the 18th century. Today there is a Pietist community in the USA – the Schwarzenau Brethren (German Baptist Brethren, Dunkard Brethren or Tunkers); this is a Pietist-Anabaptist movement founded by Alexander Mack, which, among other things, practises the baptism of believers by triple immersion ('Dunk', 'Tunken'). Some are also known as *Schwarzenau Neutäufer*, Dunkers, Dunkards or German Baptists. The Schwarzenau Brethren movement today consists of several Brethren congregations in North America.

The movement originated at the beginning of the 18th century within the radical Pietist movement. The moment of its birth was the baptism by immersion of eight adults in the river Eder near Schwarzenau (today Bad Berleburg – North Rhine-Westphalia), which took place in August 1708. This newly formed group called themselves the Brethren. Among them was Alexander Mack, who was given a leading role in the group. Under his leadership, the movement quickly spread to other parts of the country after 1708. The missionaries reached Württemberg and Switzerland, among other places. The theology of the movement was strongly influenced by Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau, a representative of mystical-spiritual pietism, who founded a Christian house community in Schwarzenau. There were also contacts with the Anabaptist Mennonites. A group of Tunkers from Krefeld, who were not politically accepted, emigrated for the first time to Pennsylvania in North America under the leadership of Peter Beckers.

One of the critical moments in the history of the Brethren was the attempt by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf in the 1840s to unite all Germans in America in one main church. The Brethren rejected this project. And it was the

confrontation with Zinzendorf that gave rise to the Brethren's desire to protect their own identity by strengthening church discipline.

During the American War of Independence, revolutionary forces tried to recruit the Brethren, but the 1778–1779 annual conference refused to take the oath and pay war taxes, for which they were punished with fines and confiscations. Despite the repression, the Brethren tried to remain true to their principles. In many places, they helped the wounded and poor on both sides of the war. They also spoke out against the war. Together with the Mennonites, they petitioned the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1777, expressing their belief in preserving life rather than destroying it – a testament to their anti-war stance. Their experiences during this period taught them to stay away from society. In the 19th century, the desire to preserve their own identity remained strong. The Brethren (like the Quakers) opposed not only war but also slavery. During the Civil War (1861–1865) in the North and South, those who opposed the war could pay a fine to be exempted from military service. The longer the war went on, the more limited this option became, however. Many Brethren were forced into military service, especially in the South in Virginia. In Kansas and Missouri, slave owners attacked Brethren estates and in the Shenandoah Valley and at the Battle of Antietam and Gettysburg, the fighting destroyed these estates. Pastor John Kline was killed by Southern troops in 1864.

After the war, the unity of the Brethren was threatened and divisions arose. In the twentieth century, many new communities of Brethren were established, including in large cities where there were great missionary opportunities. With the beginning of foreign missions, the Brethren spread from Europe to Asian countries such as India and China. In the 20th century, the community underwent significant changes. No longer a rural, German-speaking community, it became a church characterized by urban life, professional administration and an ecclesiastically peaceful identity. In 1908, they called themselves the Church of the Brethren. There were also changes with regard to military service and participation in the war. From 1917, conscientious objectors were allowed to serve in separate work units. In 1918, they could serve in medical, supply, and engineering units. Most of the Brethren served in these units, with only a small number serving in combat units. The Brothers (several hundred) also refused to take part in any armed conflict. Those who refused military service were threatened with imprisonment (sometimes for life) or even the death penalty. Brethren were also killed in training camps and imprisoned. In January 1918, ministers and members gathered in

Goshen, Indiana, for a special conference in which they reaffirmed their church's commitment to peace and its willingness to reject any involvement in war. This statement was withdrawn when the US War Department threatened imprisonment and fines (July 1918). After the Second World War, the Church of the Brethren was the most active in providing aid to countries affected by the war. They also helped Poland. As its membership grew, the Church of the Brethren concentrated on work within the Church. The Church of the Brethren works with other churches on issues such as peace, education, culture, building homes for the elderly, and health care. (Schneider 1995; Meier 2008).

Conclusions

As can be seen from the analyses and descriptions presented in this article, the Pietist activity, despite the numerous wars that took place in Europe between the 16th and 18th centuries, was the fruit of a genuine religious awakening – hence its name: the Awakening Movement (*Erweckungsbewegung*). It gave rise to various currents within German Lutheranism. In addition to the main ideas developed by the father of Pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener, this article discusses two of the classical Pietisms that had a strong influence in many countries in Europe and around the world – the Halle Pietism and the Herrnhut Pietism. It is clear from Spener's views on war, as we have pointed out, that he saw war's sources in "the most harmful offenses, such as impiety, hypocrisy, injustice, frauds, unchastity, and other shameful acts, schisms, hatred, strife, monstrous and cruel wars" (Dorscheus 1658; quoted after: Spener 1964:68

Francke's diplomatic stance, driven by the need to secure material resources for his educational and evangelistic work, could be described as opportunistic. However, his reasoning is characterized by a common-sense rationalism. He articulates his position on the war with references to the Bible.

Zinzendorf, on the other hand, was deeply spiritual from an early age. He lived in total trust in God. He overcame wars and confessional conflicts with prayer and sought to unite all Christians, which he achieved in the renewed Unity of the Brethren at Herrnhut, but failed in his missions outside Europe. Karl Barth rightly called him "the first genuine ecumenicist" [Barth 2009:171 (683)]. Both Francke and Zinzendorf are proof that, guided by an evangelical spirit and love, it was possible for people to achieve difficult things in dangerous and life-threatening circumstances, including wars and religious conflicts. From this point of view, classical Pietism appears as a Lutheran interdenominational movement. Traces of

its influence can still be seen today and in many parts of the world where Pietists have had and continue to have an impact. In Poland too.

The presented example of radical pietism in the midst of a dramatic search for its peace and anti-war identity shows that it has not abandoned its peace activism to this day.

As for the origins of the religious wars, the words of the Polish historian Professor Michał Kopczyński stand out. "«One has to reflect on where the horror of the religious wars came from; after all, every war is brutal and full of atrocities. The exceptional nature of these religious conflicts was due to their ideological nature». Professor Kopczyński adds, however, that religious wars did not become a thing of the past with the end of the Thirty Years' War. Their ideological character has continued in the conflicts of the last century. In the post-Enlightenment era, religion was replaced by ideologies: communism and xenophobia-laced nationalism. And these became the religions of the Age of Reason, in the name of which even more terrible massacres have been carried out than those perpetrated in the name of religion a few hundred years ago»" [quotations after: Szukała 2019].

With reference to the motto of the Fourth International Conference on Religion and Politics: *A New, Even More Brave World… The Hope of Faith and the Hope of Politics*, it can be seen in the context of pietism that even the most difficult situations can lead – through a living and authentic faith, through evangelization – to an inner renewal, the consequence of which is a better world. Although the dominant civilizational model is the technological, digital management of this world, directing attention to the human spiritual side is the same unchanging challenge that Pietism has sought and is seeking to meet.

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