Annex II

Moravian Church settlements and Moravian Church missions

Inventory

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Authorship and acknowledgements

Moravian Church settlements and Moravian Church missions has been compiled by Barry Gamble and Friederike Hansell, who attended all site visits that form the basis of this inventory. Rev Dr Jørgen Bøytler, Moravian Unity Board Worldwide Administrator, and Daniel Neuer, Architect from Herrnhut, joined many visits.

The team was supported by government representatives and municipality staff, together with bishops and superintendents, reverends and pastors, site representatives, historians, architects, and others, from living Moravian Church settlements and missions across the world. Their patience, professionalism and generosity are gratefully acknowledged during well over 100 visits to the following numbers of properties that were personally investigated: Denmark (1), Germany (10), Netherlands (1), Poland (4), UK (5), USA (6), South Africa (5), Tanzania (11), the Caribbean region (Tobago 6, Barbados 9, St Kitts 3, Jamaica 16, Antigua 12 and the US Virgin Islands 8), Suriname (10) and Guyana (8), Labrador (2), and Greenland (1).

The Free State of Saxony (Germany), together with a contribution from Historic Moravian Bethlehem, provided the necessary financial resources to conduct this scoping work as a basis for Comparative Analysis. This has been further facilitated by the Moravian Church. Photos are by Barry Gamble and remain copyright and the combined resources of the Moravian Church Settlements Transnational Working Group.

Barry Gamble, Friederike Hansell, January 2023

Hopedale Moravian mission,
Labrador, Newfoundland &
Labrador, Canada

Executive Summary

This up-to-date inventory of Moravian Church settlements and Moravian Church missions was prepared to support comparative analysis during the nomination process of *Moravian Church Settlements.*

It was substantially completed prior to commencement of the nomination dossier, but the revelation of the global richness of Moravian Church mission heritage means that research will continue and the inventory will be expanded to include much additional reference to historical background and significance.

The inventory gives an overview of each site, a 'portrait' of their current state through photographs. In many settlements there is substantial authentic heritage, and active congregations. Others not. In numerous missions, there is extensive original and distinctive buildings that are still being used in the function for which they were designed. Not only church hall, but missionary houses, schools, infirmaries/hospitals.

Direct comparison between Moravian Church settlements and Moravian Church missions shows that there are distinctive similarities and, unsurprisingly, large differences between the two categories: congregational settlements are small towns, whereas missions are simple and discrete ensembles of perhaps only a church hall, manse/missionary house, schoolroom (sometimes the basement of a church hall) and a God's Acre (cemetery). Settlements comprises a much larger area, contain many buildings, spaces, and features, have populations of many hundreds (into thousands in some cases), while the latter may comprise a simple hilltop enclosure, with four or five buildings and a resident population of just a pastor and family. Congregations in missions, however, are surprisingly large.

Analysis of what survives in settlements (and mission) is crucial because *Moravian Church Settlements* is a proposed extension of *Christiansfeld* and must correlate with its recognised Outstanding Universal Value, albeit with a slight and justified modification to accommodate the series of settlements.

Congregational settlements correlate closely with the justification criteria adopted for the inscription of *Christiansfeld* [(iii) and (iv)]. Missions, while they can partially sustain a broadly equivalent use of criterion (iii), they cannot be expected to meet the same full use of criterion (iv), for example in town planning values and the commonality of building types as demonstrated by the congregational settlements. In the case of missions, congregations were often living in plantations, adjacent settlements, or were dispersed in the territory.

Purpose of the Report

The purpose of this brief report is twofold:

1. to inform the nomination strategy through the provision of an up-to-date record of Moravian Church settlements, together with a selection of the most significant Moravian Church missions, worldwide.
2. to provide preliminary comparative analysis text, in both categories, as a foundation for deeper and more detailed study to determine eligibility for consideration on the World Heritage List.

The visits formed part of the timely technical exploration of the potential extension of the World Heritage Site *Christiansfeld, a Moravian Church Settlement* (Denmark). Many sites (congregational settlements and missions) were visited by a broadly consistent team, in each case attended by local Moravian staff, historians and members of the community. Those presented under the Missions category comprise a group of 'retained candidates' to inform a future potential transnational incremental serial nomination – *Moravian Church Missions*.

The inventory is supported by numerous photographs taken by the author during visits. Digital files of all sites that were included on tours, including those where little now survives, together with modern Moravian churches and missions, will be archived with the Moravian Church in Herrnhut.

The inventory is also intended to fundamentally illustrate the principal differences between the two categories of 'settlements' cited.

Moravian Church
mission house,
Tabora, Tanzania

Gemeinhaus, Ebersdorf,
Thuringia, Germany

Introduction

This inventory responds to a specific recommendation of the World Heritage Committee in 2015 (Decision: 39 COM8B.20) on the inscription of *Christiansfeld, a Moravian Church Settlement* (Denmark). It states: "Also recommends that the State Party, in cooperation with other State Parties which envisage participation in a larger serial nomination – and with the assistance of ICOMOS in the context of upstream process, develop a concept for a transnational serial nomination and prepares an overall composition of the future potential serial property and its nomination phases and integrate Christiansfeld during its initial nomination phase."

The inventory is intended to inform possible options and choices regarding the *"overall composition of the future potential serial property"* as requested by UNESCO and ICOMOS. Potential contributions to a proposed Outstanding Universal Value of a future transnational serial property references the attributes of *Christiansfeld* as the basis for comparators; but not exclusively. Additional attributes and the potential contributions to the series by candidate component parts are outlined under a framework of structural integrity.

It is acknowledged that Christiansfeld is the best-preserved Moravian Church settlement, and the most appropriate example in Northern Europe. Moreover, it is also acknowledged that the site has important historic linkages with other Moravian Church congregational settlements and missions, for example: the concession for the Moravian Church to build *Christiansfeld* came after King Christian VII of Denmark (reigned 1766-1808) visited Zeist Moravian Church settlement in the Netherlands in 1768 and was impressed by their organisation, order and industry; *Christiansfeld* may trace it's lineage to the 'mother' settlement of *Herrnhut* (Germany), from which it was also designed. Such a design was based on the model town plans of Moravian Church settlements at Herrnhaag (est.1738) and Gnadau (est.1767), both in German locations with relatively unconstrained flat topography on which each settlement was built; and the first stage of the Moravian Church missionary work began in 1732 under the Danish flag on the Caribbean island of St Thomas (Danish West Indies; US Virgin Islands since 1917), resulting in the foundation of the New-Herrnhut Moravian Church mission in 1738.

Moravian Church Settlements, *Bethlehem*, (Pennsylvania) was submitted to the Tentative List of the USA on 12 April 2017, as the country's preeminent example of a Moravian Church Settlement, being "the religious and administrative centre of

Moravian activities in North America. It consists of religious, domestic, and industrial components, reflecting the full scope of Moravian community life in a North American context."

Its integrity is highlighted in that "due to its excellent state of preservation, illustrates the highest number of characteristic elements found in any North American Moravian Church colony settlement".

The tentative listing of *Bethlehem* builds upon the efforts of an earlier initiative of the "Moravian Heritage Network", of which Danish Christiansfeld was a member, working towards a transnational serial nomination of *Moravian Church Settlements.* The current initiative aims to conclude and deliver these earlier aspirations, thus enabling a fuller representation on the World Heritage List of *Moravian Church Settlements* and their wider global significance.

During the course of the 39th World Heritage Committee proceedings in Bonn, Germany (4 July, 2015), 16 countries took the floor in support of inscription; thereby lending de facto support to the consideration of a serial nomination as embodied in the recommendations that concluded the ICOMOS report. Moreover, during the session, the Philippines declared direct support for the justification to nominate a future serial property.

The World Heritage Committee noted that large complex serial transnational nominations may benefit from an agreed nomination strategy before their official submission (41 COM 8B.50). The working team continued to pursue site visits and compilation of an inventory to inform debate and decision-making towards the concept for a transnational serial nomination and, further, as a basis for comparative analysis to guide its overall composition. The agreement to nominate any property is the prerogative of the Moravian Church and its communities, respective municipalities, and the State Party in whose territory it is located. This, together with the issue of nomination phases, is therefore influenced by a degree of complexity, especially regarding the agreement, or not, of the State Parties concerned.

The group of towns to which *Christiansfeld* belongs is religious settlements and mission stations (Christiansfeld Nomination Document, page 178). The two typologies, however, have different definitions, and manifestations, with implications to the acknowledged Outstanding Universal Value for *Christiansfeld*.

Congregational settlements are strictly religious, independent and self-contained communal settlements where only full members lived (an average of 500 people). They are **independent settlements of typological significance** and resemble villages or small towns.

Christiansfeld >

Mission stations, on the other hand, are just that - stations.

New Carmel Moravian
Church mission,
St Elizabeth Parish,
Cornwall County, Jamaica >

'Congregations' which were served by the mission stations lived in local estate plantations or in surrounding districts and did not become members who lived in the 'settlements'. With few exceptions, the stations were far more limited in extent as compared to congregational settlements. The few exceptions are the mission stations in South Africa and, to a lesser extent, Tanzania.

Congregational settlements in different geo-cultural regions and provinces, established at different times, follow broadly consistent characteristics that are exemplified in the *Christiansfeld* World Heritage Site. Every Moravian Church congregational settlement is clearly identifiable as a distinct urban typology. An extension to *Christiansfeld* would of course add further settlement patterns (usually the result of local topography), additional building types and styles, incorporate local variations including architectural style and materials, add various intangible values expressed through physical property, and importantly contribute geographical, cultural and temporal reach of the Moravian Church as the largest Protestant missionary movement of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Mission stations in different geo-cultural regions and provinces, established at different times, follow broadly consistent characteristics, for example: in the Caribbean they comprise a church, cemetery (sometimes following the design of a God's Acre, often not), a manse and schoolroom (sometimes beneath the church, sometimes a separate building); in South Africa they are far more extensive and may comprise a church, missionary house(s), workshops, schoolroom, facilities for teacher training, a printing house, store/shop, water-powered flour mill, residential houses, and a cemetery (God's Acre); in Tanzania they may include a church, missionary houses, school room, dispensary (hospital), workshops, residential houses and a cemetery (usually not in the pattern of a God's Acre).

The first mission in Tanzania was set up only in the 1890s, much later than the period of construction of Moravian Church settlements. New missions continue to be established and new churches built in existing Provinces. However, these are not considered in this report even though recently built churches were often visited during the scoping work.

Retained sites described are grouped primarily under Moravian Church congregational settlements and Moravian Church missions, and further referenced by Moravian Unity Provinces. Dates in brackets represent the foundation date of the congregational settlement or mission station and do not necessarily refer to the date of current built structures (especially in the case of missions). Even though some sites are presented here, upon the application of robust comparative analysis and explicit selection criteria for a series, they are not necessarily to be retained further.

Moravian Church congregational settlements

1. European Continental (Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, Poland):
Herrnhut (Germany, 1722), Herrnhaag (Germany, 1738), Niesky (Germany, 1742),
Zeist (the Netherlands, 1746), Ebersdorf (Germany, 1746), Neuwied (Germany,
1750), Kleinwelka (Germany, 1751), Neudietendorf (Germany, 1753), Gnadau
(Germany, 1767), Christiansfeld (Denmark, 1773), Königsfeld (Germany, 1807),
Gnadenfrei (Poland, 1743), Gnadenberg (Poland, 1743), Neusalz (Poland, 1745),
Gnadenfeld (Poland, 1780);

2. British Isles (England and Northern Ireland:
Fulneck (1744), Ockbrook (1750), *Gracehill* (Northern Ireland, 1765), Fairfield
(1785);

3. North America:
Bethlehem (1742), Salem (1771); Nazareth (1744), Lititz (1757), Hope (1769),
Bethabara (1753), Bathania (1759).

Moravian Church missions

4. Caribbean
US Virgin Islands - St Thomas: New Herrnhut (1732); St Croix: Friedensthal (1754);
Jamaica: Fairfield (1823), Bethany (1835);
Antigua: Grace Bay (1797);
Barbados: Sharon (1767);
St Kitts: Zion (1777);
Tobago: Spring Garden (1851), Black Rock (1869);

Africa   **5. South Africa:** Genadendal (1738), Elim (1824);

6. Tanzania: Rungwe: (1891), Usoke, Tabora (1906)

South America   **7. Suriname:** Paramaribo (1760);

8. Guyana: Queenstown (1902);

Canada   **9. Labrador:** Hopedale: (1776);

Denmark   **10. Greenland:** Lichtenau: (1774).

Moravian Church congregational settlements

The Moravian Church built a total of 28 congregational settlements in Europe and North America in the period 1721-1827 (17 on the European mainland, four in the UK, and seven in the British colonies in North America). Most were established within 50 years from 1736 (the Moravian Church was recognized as an orthodox religious community in the 1740s, first in Prussia followed by other Protestant states).

Consideration of a new transnational serial property in which to "integrate Christiansfeld during its initial nomination phase" requires close reference to the declared attributes of *Christiansfeld*:

The town's planning values are expressed primarily through the following attributes:

- *Christiansfeld* was planned as a complete ensemble of buildings and represents the realisation of an ideal city;

- The street system, with its long tangential streets and interesting lanes, compass oriented layout, long view out onto the landscape, and horticultural system in the streets;

- The building structure, including the buildings' placement relative to one another, relative to their functions, and relative to the streets;

- The garden structure, with the long rear garden spaces and horticulture, God's Acre, with its path system, grave plots, pavilion, gateway, and trees;

- The Kirkepladsen central square, with its path system, well, and horticulture.

The town's architectural values are expressed primarily through the following attributes:

Buildings and architectural expression:

- The buildings' proportions, including the forms of façades, roofs, gables, etc.;

- The building types, including church, choir houses, hotel, family houses, schools, workshops, and garden houses;

- The detailing in the brickwork of important buildings;

- The colours and materials used for construction, including wood, brick, and tile;

- High-quality craftsmanship and detailing such as: stairs, balusters, handrails, etc.; doors, gateways, hinges, door handles, etc.; window (facing out/facing in); exterior stairs; stoves;

- Interiors (entry of light, communal rooms, benches, chandeliers, etc.);

- 'Christiansfeld Baroque' style, combining Baroque, Rococo, and Classical elements.

The town's cultural values are expressed primarily through the following attributes:

- The Moravian Church's continued presence in and ownership of the town;

- The Moravian Church's liturgy, calendar, and interactions with the town and its buildings.

While the Moravians did not actually attempt to conceive the concept of the ideal city, their theology and societal ideals are clearly reflected in architecture, types of buildings and spaces, together with their inter-relationships. While "Herrnhut-type" town planning, architecture and standards of craftsmanship is evident in colony settlements, the layout, buildings and building construction types are also nationally, regionally and locally influenced. Sustainable approaches are governed by their site location, topography, climate and the suitability and availability of materials.

Concerning spatial plans, the use of a grid system is common to Moravian Church congregational settlements. This is the first basic layout of urban planning, developed in ancient cultures, used widely in medieval European new towns, and again in Baroque and especially Renaissance European towns. It was a common basis of colonial town plans in North and South America, usually where the square is made the central element in a strict ground plan. King Phillip (II) of Spain's Laws of the Indies specified a square or rectangular central plaza connected to principal streets, although merely echoing the practice of earlier Indian civilisations. In the construction

of Moravian Church settlements, the grid plan is common, so too the central square (or rectangle), but not exclusively. Functional structure, and its relationships to the centrally located church and other key communal facilities, together with attention to architecture and high standards of Moravian 'in-house' workmanship, reflect the Moravian Church pietistic, simple life of religion, work and community. A meeting of central European ('Herrnhut Baroque') and local building traditions is evident with regional geographical variation.

Moravian Church missions

This second site type of settlement that is key to "contribute to a full understanding of Moravian Church colonial expansion" is the Moravian Church mission. This category of Moravian Church heritage is simple - yet bears characteristic consistent patterns in different geo-cultural regions - and has a vast geographical, cultural and temporal reach.

The pioneering missionary movement of the Moravian Church (centred on *Herrnhut*) may also be considered as an originator of the prototype mission station.

The majority of sites visited represent vibrant living religious heritage, communities that continue to use and cherish historic buildings that remain at the functional core of the worldwide Moravian Church cultural tradition. Moreover, all active sites fall under the continuing overarching governance and care of the Worldwide Unity of the Moravian Church. The Moravian Church mission was built not as a congregational settlement but as the base for missionary work that reached out to cultural or social groups deemed "under-represented", "difficult to reach", or those ignored by other religious movements. The Moravian ideal was to go where no one else would go.

Cultural outreach included:

Greenland (1733) and Labrador (1771) and the Inuit; Pennsylvania (1741) and the Native Americans; Alaska (1885) and the Yup'ik; Danish West Indies (1732) and African plantation slaves; British West Indies (Jamaica 1754, Antigua 1756, Barbados 1765, St Kitts 1777, Tobago 1784, Trinidad 1890) and African plantation slaves; Suriname (1735) and British Guiana (1738) and African plantation slaves; South Africa (1737) and the Khoikhoi; Tanzania (1891) and Nyakyusa; and Victoria (1857) and Queensland, Australia (1891) with Aboriginal Australians.

European Continental

Herrnhut Moravian Church settlement,
Free State of Saxony, Germany

Church and
Church interior
(below)

Herrnhut may be seen as the archetype of *Moravian Church Settlements*, one of the defining elements of any relevant serial property. *Herrnhut* is essential for its evolutionary character which emerged in step with the evolution of Moravian theology and societal ideals. This had a profound effect on all Moravian settlements, providing their defining principles in blueprints issued by *Herrnhut*.

Herrnhut is located in Upper Lusatia, in the federal state of Saxony. It is intimately associated with, and is inseparable from, Zinzendorf's Berthelsdorf Manor (1.5 km NNE and connected by an historic road). This is rural open country, punctuated by low hills, with long vistas available from the Hutberg towards historic *Herrnhut* and the Upper Lusatian mountains overlooking the prototype Moravian cemetery (God's Acre, 1731).

Herrnhut was the 'founding town' of the Renewed Moravian Church, established in 1722 on the Zinzendorf Estate, and originally intended only as a temporary settlement for German-speaking Moravian exiles. Location was strategic, on the long-distance road between Löbau and Zittau – a characteristic of many subsequent Moravian settlements whereby skilled trades, not agriculture, lies at the core of an economic model of self-sufficiency.

The urban layout of *Herrnhut*, although planned somewhat *ad-hoc*, nonetheless demonstrates the primal use of the characteristic grid system – here also with the central square (or rectangle) at its centre that acts as a nucleus for key communal buildings of the self-contained Moravian community. The spatial relationship of key buildings and spaces is important - the square (almost always Zinzendorfplatz) with the church, the close proximity of former choir houses, school, etc. On the outskirts, but intimately connected, is the God's Acre. The important spatial connection with Berthelsdorf may also be seen reflected in certain other Moravian Church settlements where their establishment was tied to noble or aristocratic philanthropy.

The urban layout retains high authenticity and integrity

In terms of architectural style, Zinzendorf's Manor House in Berthelsdorf (which includes the original Saal), and subsequently Herrnhut, is the prototype of 'Moravian Church Civic Baroque', which may be seen to varying degrees in all congregational settlements and indeed many mission station buildings.

Zinzendorf's Manor House >

In terms of prototype buildings, Moravian Church architecture started from the first Herrnhut 'Gemeinhaus' (community building that included a Saal) of 1724, destroyed in 1945, but evident for example in Bethlehem (USA, 1742). The evolved design of the Gemeinhaus was the 'Kirchensaal', with the assembly hall as a separate building, planned in Herrnhut and first implemented at Niesky (1756, no longer extant), and recognisable as a church externally, although very different from other Protestant churches. Herrnhut Church (foundation stone 1756, built 1757, on a site parallel to that of the original Saal) is therefore not necessarily the prototype, but its elegant symmetry and refined functionality meant it became the most influential and replicated example - the model for the majority of historic Moravian churches, including Gracehill, Zeist, Sarepta, Kleinwelka, Christiansfeld, Neuwied, Lititz, Bethlehem, Königsfeld, and others, including Moravian mission stations in Labrador, Greenland, the Caribbean, Suriname and South Africa. Designs for choir houses originated in Herrnhut and were applied in worldwide Moravian Church settlements; surviving testimony in the Herrnhut Widows' House (1759-61) and as evidenced in the Archive.

Widows' House

In terms of spaces, aside from the central square, the God's Acre is of considerable importance. The architectural and structural aspects of this prototype cemetery serve as a much-replicated model, while the neat and regimented tablets record part of the (continuing) cultural tradition of Moravians: exceptional mobility in geographically diverse 'pilgrimages'. Formal gardens are also an important part of Moravian congregational settlements, exemplified first in *Herrnhut* where they survive with high integrity.

God's Acre

Herrnhut also expands on *Christiansfeld* as being pivotal in the organisation, coordination and centralised leadership of the Worldwide Moravian Church, the focal

point for networks of mutual aid and solidarity during the development of other Moravian Church settlements. It remains their spiritual home, a central point of global reference to which members return.

State of conservation is generally very good, and other than fire there is little in the way of natural hazards. The town has an active Moravian and non-Moravian community and is managed by the Moravian Church and the Municipality. Development is still selectively desirable but must be sensitively controlled.

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: *Herrnhut*
Date Established: 1722
Date of visit: March and October 2018, October 2019
Remarks:

- Essential for the series

- Historic and spiritual source of the Renewed Moravian Church

- Berthelsdorf Manor as the country seat of Count Zinzendorf, progenitor of the Renewed Moravian Church, and from where he and his closest followers organised and administered the process of establishment of the Moravian Church, and of building Herrnhut as the first settlement.

- Herrnhut evolved with, and reflects, the development of Moravian principles which define its theology and the fundament of Moravian Church Settlements including urban layout, architectural style, and prototype buildings and spaces.

- Central 'mother' settlement of no less than 28 settlements founded between 1722 and 1807.

- Herrnhut manifests the primal community organisational structure of the Renewed Moravian Church that was developed first in Herrnhut, and which influenced all subsequent settlements.

Herrnhaag Moravian Church settlement,
Hessen, Germany (1738)

Rear view of Gemeinhaus (left) and Sisters' House (right)

Herrnhaag, established in 1738, was the first Moravian Church settlement truly planned in a consistent manner. However, it no longer survives to any credible extent as, unfinished, it was forcibly vacated from 1749-51, with many buildings and-work-in-progress being 'recycled' to be used in other Moravian Church settlements during the three years that its 973 inhabitants were given to leave. Herrnhaag was sold in 1769, and the manor kept as the local count's summer house. Design originated in Herrnhut as the first of 28 planned congregational settlements in Europe and North America.

Herrnhaag is located in Büdingen (Lower Hessian Wetterau), in the federal state of Hessen in central Germany. It was established near the surviving Ronneburg Castle that belonged to the Counts of Isenburg-Büdingen and occupied a strategic site along the medieval High Road that connected Frankfurt and Leipzig. The castle, and Herrnhaag, are intimately associated with Zinzendorf and his followers as the base, for around a decade (1740s), for Zinzendorf and his Pilgrim Congregation after exile from Saxony in 1736.

This is rural open country with rolling hills, the visual connection between the remains of the Moravian Church settlement and the castle remaining intact, with little

intervening development. Herrnhaag has an important, but very short, history. Although it has suffered a substantial loss of integrity, there are still some important remaining values.

The central square survives, now grassed but once park-like and still divided by paths into four segments. There was also a circular path around the central congregation spring, a 38m-deep well lined with dressed sandstone masonry that also survives with its original sandstone circular wall with a reconstructed well-house. Peripheral streets are also original, the southern one once led past the Congregation Inn to the Single Brothers' House, while the northern one accessed craftsmen's houses. Spatial planning and architectural form and style, planned and implemented from Herrnhut, informed many later Moravian Church settlements.

Of the four sides of the square that were once lined with twelve blocks of elegant but functional buildings (1738-47), only one contains anything of consequence. This, however, contains two remarkable buildings: the Lichtenburg (Fortress of light 1744-45) designed by Siegmund August von Gersdorf, a Herrnhut Baroque manor-house with four wings and containing the Saal, a meeting room (on the upper floor) and a residence for Count Zinzendorf (1747-48); and the adjacent Sisters' House (1742-43), a fine example of a very large Choir House. Both buildings are being conserved. God's Acre survives intact and is well-preserved, connected by a tree-lined road that is grid-parallel with the western side of the square. The community garden, formerly

laid out as a baroque terrace complex, broadly survives in plan and morphology but is now grassed with fruit trees. Farm buildings to the southwest of the square mix with remnant walls of the former Brothers' House (1739-42). Closer to the High Road, the guesthouse (1742-45) survives, but is much altered.

The congregation left Herrnhaag and re-settled in other Moravian Church settlements such as those in Pennsylvania, or others closer-by, in Germany, such as Niesky and Neuwied, or Zeist in the Netherlands. In 1959, the Moravian Church and 'friends' of Herrnhaag purchased the buildings and some surrounding land. Conservation began in the 1980s and continues today.

Restored
Sisters' House

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Herrnhaag
Date Established: 1738
Date of visit: August 2018
Remarks:

- Significant historical narrative

- Legible highly significant spatial layout

- Two very important buildings

- Relatively high authenticity in remaining form and materials

- Integrity severely degraded with only a fraction of the buildings stock remaining (two out of eleven major buildings)

- No active Moravian congregation

Niesky Moravian Church settlement, Free State of Saxony, Germany
(Founded 1742)

Brothers' House

Niesky (Czech = 'humble') is located in the eastern part of the Free State of Saxony (near the Polish border) 30km NNE of Herrnhut, similarly in the historical region of Upper Lusatia.

The settlement was established in the Electorate of Saxony to provide refuge for exiled Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia. The land was made available to the Unity by Siegmund August von Gersdorf who, as a Dresden architect, also designed the farsighted urban plan.

Raschke House

Zinzendorf Platz is a large and open central square (rectangular) crossed by the settlement's main axis which extended 5.5km NNE to Gersdorf's Trebus Manor (which he sold in 1747). The square is dominated by the neo-Gothic Moravian church (1875) which replaced the Saal demolished in 1874. The Brothers'

House (second, 1752) survives to the left, while the Sisters' House was destroyed in 1945 and leaves an open plot. An outstanding Bohemian vernacular half-timbered house, of linen weaver and Moravian exile Johann Raschke (first leader of the settlement) survives as the oldest (1742) house in Niesky.

Located on the other side of the square (directly opposite the church) the foundation stone for the building originally intended as a house for unmarried brothers was laid in 1746 as the representative community house projected by Gersdorf. From 1751, until a new school was built, the boarding schools of the Unitat, the boys' institution and the pedagogy, had their domicile here. It is now the town library.

The large and well-preserved God's Acre, with its gateway facing the town centre, is well preserved and managed. It contains the grave of Georg Schmidt (1709-85), a Moravian missionary who set off from Herrnhut in 1726 and, after some eventful years, arrived in South Africa in 1737 to take the mission to the Khoikhoi. In 1738 he established the first mission station in Southern Africa at Baviaanskloof, subsequently named Genadedal, where the plot for his house and productive garden survives. Schmidt settled in Niesky in 1752 until his death.

God's Acre and the grave of Georg Schmidt who pioneered the Moravian Church mission in South Africa

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Niesky
Date Established: 1742
Date of visit: November 2021

Remarks:

- Important as the second permanent Moravian Church settlement, jointly along with Bethlehem (Herrnhaag was not permanent)

- Located in a cluster of early Moravian Church settlements in the Upper Lusatian region of Saxony

- Significant for its town planning under Gersdorf, and for Moravian architectural contributions by Reuter (in 1752-56) and Gersdorf (in 1755-56) when the first (1756) freestanding Moravian Saal or congregation hall was constructed

- Integrity suffered drastically in May 1945, with over 60% of the buildings on the Zinzendorf Platz destroyed

- Those that survived are authentic and are in a good state of conservation

- While non-Brethren were first allowed to settle in Niesky from 1842, today Niesky still retains an active Moravian congregation (amounting to around 2% of the population) and owns several properties

Zeist Moravian Church settlement,
The Netherlands (1746)

Sisters' House

Zeist is not a typical continental European Moravian Church settlement in terms of layout, materials, and overall aspect of architectural style. It is, however, the only example of a successful Moravian Church congregational settlement in the Netherlands (Evangelische Broedergemeente). It is a striking and harmonious, high-quality planned settlement in red-brick Dutch Baroque, laid out with precise geometry, and substantial symmetry and consistency in the noble grounds of a late seventeenth-century Baroque palace (1677-86).

Gemeinsaal

Zeist Moravian Church settlement (origin of name in the medieval van Zeist family) is located adjacent to the town of the same name, east of Utrecht in the central Netherlands. The terrain is flat, being situated on the Rhine delta plain, and the fine palace at the head of the main park axis provides a defining view and reference point.

Spatial layout is defined by the 300 m-long southwest-northeast oriented central park avenue that connects the palace with the town. In between lies the Moravian Church settlement. Originally Zinzendorf wished to mirror this development on the other side of the palace, in which he lived for a while, but this was never implemented. The Moravian Church settlement broadly occupies a square, three-quarters of which comprises two rectangular courts largely surrounded by buildings except on their long sides that are open to the central axial avenue. The Sisters' Square was to the west of the axis and the Brothers' Square to the east. The grid-layout is further accentuated by an extensive system of water-filled canals and parallel gravel walks. The southwest corner of the settlement contains the God's Acre (1747) which replaced two palace gardens - one laid out for Sisters and one for Brothers. Such a complete succession of burials in neat rows, each laid out chronologically, is rare in the Netherlands where (with the exception of Jewish cemeteries which are traditionally never cleared) most graves are cleared after 20-30 years due to shortage of land.

In terms of architectural style, Dutch Baroque with eighteenth-century Classisist houses prevails. The church (1766-68), located centrally in the long side of the Sister's Square, was built from plans of von Schweinitz and is architecturally consistent externally (even to the extent of a false central door) but was modelled internally on the present Herrnhut church. This includes the organ gallery, white-painted walls and ceiling, sanded wooden floor, moveable simple white benches and with little overall ornamentation.

Zeist Palace >

In 1967, a fire severely damaged the Brothers' House, which was subsequently reconstructed (for a new use - offices for the monuments protection authority), and further added to using the original blueprint for the Brothers' Square. Although this may raise a question of authenticity, rapid reconstruction and rehabilitation can be viewed as content continuity in a living religious settlement that had to be self-sufficient in economic aspects.

State of conservation is very good, and there is little in the way of natural hazards, other than fire.

Moravians in Zeist were also at the beginning of the modern Dutch missionary movement. In 1793 a missionary society set up in Zeist and soon focussed on South American Suriname (territory which England ceded to the Netherlands in 1667, becoming a plantation economy based on slavery). Here the Moravian Suriname Mission was led by Herrnhut 1735-1928 (mission activity among the Amerindians began in 1748 and continued long afterwards among the African slaves and fugitive

slaves). Active connections with Suriname remain. The town retains an active Moravian and non-Moravian community and is managed by the Moravian Church and the Municipality.

Church interior

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Zeist
Date Established: 1746
Date of visit: August 2018
Remarks:

- Unique urban plan and character

- Ultimate association of Moravian Church settlements with lands of the nobility and with (Dutch) Baroque urban and garden design and architecture

- Impressive range of key Moravian buildings and spaces with high authenticity and integrity

- High state of conservation

- Well protected

- Active Moravian community

- Managed by the Moravian Church and the Municipality

- Not part of any short-term transnational serial nomination of Moravian Church Settlements but, technically, the property should remain a retained candidate

Ebersdorf Moravian Church settlement,
Thuringia, Germany (1746)

Gemeinhaus (left) and
Widows' House (right)

Ebersdorf is located in the federal state of Thuringia, close to the Bavarian border. It is situated on the plateau of the Thuringian Slate Mountains, more specifically on a hillside spanning the main road to Lobenstein, part of an historical trade route between Nuremberg and Leipzig. The Moravian Church settlement is completely separate from the historic complexes of Ebersdorf village (with Lutheran parish church), and Ebersdorf Castle (1698), although the latter, especially, is intimately related.

Brothers' House

In terms of urban layout, the main road of Lobensteiner Street defines the broadly square (300 x 300 m) Moravian Church settlement: it almost perfectly bisects it in a straight course fairly steeply uphill from the northeast to the southwest. The development of Moravian Church buildings is dominated by an impressive triptych fronting the south side of the main road: central Gemeinhaus (1746) with Saal on the first floor, with Brothers' House (1736) to the northeast (the Brothers' House also has a massive

Brothers' House

adjoining extension to the south, 1847-98) and Sisters' House (1847-98) to the south-west.

Apart from this, the settlement evolution seems to have resulted in a somewhat disjointed pattern. Opposite the Brothers' House, and obliquely opposite the Gemeinhaus is Zinzendorf Square (1762, actually a long rectangle, on a slope), which is surrounded by an ensemble of Widows' House (1783) in the west and earlier Sisters' Houses (1745-51) in the north. Further up the hill (at/within the southwestern boundary of the settlement), also fronting the main road, is the former Moravian tobacco factory (1788). Other, extensive, trades were conducted from within the Choir Houses and other factory buildings.

The Saal is 'concealed' within the first floor of the Gemeinhaus. Its interior has some typical aspects such as the whitewashed walls and ceiling and sanded wooden floor with unfixed white wooden benches. Although it is not high enough for a gallery it has elevated gallery boxes. It also exhibits some unusual aspects, such as the low ceiling supported by columns and arches, which means that the organ is at floor level.
In terms of spaces, apart from the typical park-like square with central area and paths, the Brothers' Garden and a significant part of the Sisters' Garden survives.
The well-preserved God's Acre is in the southeast and was created in 1740 by Georg Steiner, a student of the Lenné Prussian court gardeners and landscape architects.

Zinzendorf's first wife (Erdmuthe Dorothea Reuss-Ebersdorf 1700-56), whom he married in 1722, was the pietist daughter of Heinrich X, Count of Reuss-Ebersdorf (1662-1711) who ruled the state of Reuss-Ebersdorf created in 1678. Erdmuthe managed Zinzendorf's Berthelsdorf Estate and the newly founded settlement of Herrnhut on Zinzendorf's behalf. She also ran the Ebersdorf Orphanage where Moravians first held their meetings from 1736, and which was subsequently incorporated into the smaller Brothers' House, wrote a number of Moravian hymns, and initiated the annual publication of Daily Watchwords.

Gemeinsaal interior >

Moravian Province: European Continental

Site Name: Ebersdorf

Date Established: 1746

Date of visit: October 2019

Remarks:

- Located along an historic high road

- Early and well-preserved Moravian Church settlement

- High authenticity and integrity

- Rare Gemeinhaus, and very large Choir Houses

- Ranking highly in the Christiansfeld comparative analysis

- State of conservation generally good

- Active Moravian congregation

Neuwied Moravian Church settlement, Rhineland Palatinate, Germany (1750)

Moravian Quarter

This large Moravian congregational settlement has strong urban character and forms a distinct Moravian Church Quarter in the larger city of Neuwied. It is famous for its historic educational facilities, an important attribute of Moravian Church cultural tradition.

Moravian Church carpentry

Neuwied is situated on a level terrace on the east bank of the Rhine River, around 12 km northwest of Koblenz, in the north of the federal state of Rhineland-Palatinate.

Spatial layout is a simple grid-like urban form of two principal developments: the first square block in the 1750s, followed by a second adjacent block in the 1780s; together with a third building phase in the 1860s. These blocks were insertions into an already greater planned geometric grid for a city that was known for religious tolerance. The northeast southwest Friedrichstrasse serves as the main street of the settlement, bisecting its two main blocks.

The Church (1783-85) is located on Friedrichstrasse. Internally it is characteristically light painted with high ceilings, large clear windows on both sides (facing the street and the hall garden which survives behind) giving abundant light, galleries at both ends (one

with pipe organ, the other with gallery and two gallery rooms) and sanded wooden floors with white moveable benches. From the outside it has a familiar mansard roof and bell turret but is further accentuated by being set-back from the row of buildings on the street (including the New Boys' Institute, 1833, on its left) to create a 'square' in front. On the opposite side of the street, in the common architectural style of Moravian Church Civic Baroque that is manifest in rows of two-storey buildings with mansard roofs, is the Gemeinhaus (1758) with pastor's apartment, and the Sisters' House (1759) on the corner of the row. In the centre of the court behind is the Brothers' House (1758/64). A long 'New' Sisters' House (1782) is located along the perpendicular Engerser Strasse.

Church interior >

Neuwied had many Moravian trades, and much cottage industry took place in the Choir Houses, including (in the Brothers' House) the manufacture of ceramic stoves, a Moravian winery (1759), brewery (brewing Herrnhuter Beer), and a bakery. Luxury cabinet- and furniture-making was famously made by the Roentgen family (who came from Herrnhaag), their house and workshop, now a museum, may be seen on Pfarrstrasse.

Education was highly significant in Neuwied and, during the nineteenth century, Neuwied became known as the 'City of Schools'. The first Boys' Institute (and the Moravian Children's House) was opened in 1756, and ultimately educated almost 5,000 pupils, over half of which came from England, Scotland and Ireland (substantially after 1820, and in 1838 there was an indoor swimming pool and in 1845 a gymnasium). Many of the teachers were French-speaking Swiss. The impressive three-storey, black-basalt-built Zinzendorf School (1871), located on Friedrichstrasse opposite the main settlement, had only British students by 1883. The Turn Institute (1874) is the oldest girls' gymnasium in Germany.

God's Acre

God's Acre ('New', 1794) replaces an older one overdeveloped by an expanding Neuwied municipality and is located almost a kilometre to the east. It remains in active religious use. Count Friedrich III, zu Wied (1706-91) a reformed Protestant, allowed seven religious groups to settle in Neuwied, the last of which were the Moravians (the only one granted a distinct quarter). Many came straight from the dissolved Moravian settlement of Herrnhaag.

The property is in a very good state of conservation and is managed partly by the Moravian Church and substantially by the town. There is a flood risk from the Rhine, although the settlement is protected by flood-prevention levees.

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Neuwied
Date Established: 1750
Date of visit: August 2018
Remarks:

- A two-block Moravian quarter in a larger town, representing a distinct aspect of town planniing

- High integrity and substantial authenticity

- Some significant Moravian buildings including important historic educational facilities, and Moravian manufacturing facilities

- Good state of conservation

- Maintains a Moravian congregation

- Managed partly by the Moravian Church, substantially by the town

Kleinwelka Moravian Church settlement,
Free State of Saxony, Germany (1751)

Church

Kleinwelka is located 4km northwest of Bautzen in Upper Lusatia, in the east of the federal state of Saxony.

Exceptional authenticity

The urban layout of the Moravian Church settlement comprises a central (rectangular) square, at the eastern end of which is located the Church (1758). The Church faces the long narrow cobbled square Zinzendorfplatz to the east. From each side, wide streets leave the square. On the opposite side of the street to the south is the Sisters' House (1770), while opposite the northwest corner of the square is the Brothers' House (1765), adjacent to which (south) is the Boys' School (1778). Diagonally opposite the southeast corner of the square is the Girls' School. In the east of the settlement is the Congregation Inn (1781), while in the south (connected by a straight road from Zinzendorfplatz) is the long and well-preserved God's Acre (1756), surrounded by trees and approaching the edge of open fields.

In terms of architectural style, the settlement is constructed in Moravian Church Civic Baroque. The Church has a high whitewashed ceiling and walls, two end galleries (one for the organ) with windows in each gable behind, narrow round-arched windows along the long walls, Brothers' and Sisters' doorways and sanded wooden floors with moveable white benches.

Church interior >

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Kleinwelka
Date Established: 1751
Date of visit: October 2019
Remarks:

- Slightly irregular settlement plan

- Generally high authenticity and integrity

- State of conservation in some buildings (e.g. Sisters' House) an issue, although its exceptional authenticity and architect-supervised gradual conservation work is preventing any further deterioration

- Active Moravian congregation

Neudietendorf Moravian Church settlement,
Thuringia, Germany (1753)

Zinzendorf Square

Neudietendorf is located in the federal state of Thuringia in central Germany. Although at the crossroads of two major trading routes, the urban layout of the Moravian settlement is centred on the 300m-long, east-west, Kirchstrasse, together with a road (1770) from its centre that runs perpendicular to the north (lined with late eighteenth-century Baroque-styled houses, and also the Moravian pharmacy of 1772, this became Bahnhof Strasse in the second half of the nineteenth century). Most of the Moravian Church buildings are associated with these two principal streets.

Church

Near the intersection of the two principal streets is the Herrnhut-style Church (1780), with internally light-painted walls and high ceiling, windows on both long sides (facing the road), with end galleries (one for the organ), with sanded wooden floors and moveable white benches; externally it is distinctively Herrnhut Baroque with ridgeline bell turret. Immediately adjoining to the east is the small rectangular paved Zinzendorfplatz with the imposing Moravian Church Civic Baroque three-storey Sisters' House with mansard roof (1760, now Zinzendorfhaus) fronting it to the south. Behind the Church (southwest) is the God's Acre (1743) with the first burials in that year recorded on stone tablets. 1743 is the year of the foundation of a branch of the Herrnhut Unity of Brethren in Dietendorf.

Sealing wax factory

Almost opposite the entrance to God's Acre is a well-preserved Moravian industrial building of the largest enterprise (Liliendahl family) of the Moravians in Neudietendorf - a sealing wax factory (1778) marked by a prominent loading tower with large arched double-doors, its bulky elevation protruding above the local slate-clad mansard roof. At the eastern end of Kirchstrasse (north side) is the long Moravian Church Civic Baroque-styled three-storey Brothers' House (1758) with mansard roof.

The Old Manor of Dietendorf (1408) survives in the southeast corner of the Moravian Church settlement. The area was a small former Dutch weavers' settlement that, being empty, was purchased by a Moravian Brother in 1742 and first named Gnadenthal

(Valley of Grace). The Protestant Centre Zinzendorfhaus Neudietendorf is in part of, and an extension to, the Nurses' Home (1786) and an 1803 conversion of the Sisters' House. The Moravian congregation here has a long-shared history with the Lutheran Church. The Protestant Lutheran state church of Thuringia took over the empty Sisters' House in 1949 and now it serves as a conference centre for the Evangelical Church in central Germany, as well as for other religious institutions.

God's Acre

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Neudietendorf
Date Established: 1753
Date of visit: October 2019
Remarks:

- Substantial integrity

- Some important buildings, including an exceptional Moravian factory building

- Active Moravian congregation, which has a long-shared history with the Lutheran Church

Gnadau Moravian Church settlement,
Saxony Anhalt, Germany (1767)

Church

Gnadau (Meadow of Grace) is a 'model' Moravian Church settlement laid out in a classic square Moravian grid, with the central ornamental square being the nucleus for a tryptic of Church flanked by Choir Houses either side. A square perimeter road contains the whole settlement and its exceptional feature of nine square compartments.

Church ridge turret

The 10-hectare settlement is located in a large area of open rural Börde landscape, 20 km southeast of Magdeburg in the federal state of Saxony-Anhalt, near where the River Saale joins the River Elbe. It is a discrete Moravian Church settlement, located on the road from Barby to Schönebeck and part of the municipality of Barby. Barby Castle and estate is where Zinzendorf came after expulsion from Saxony and which hosted the Moravian printing house (for many years it produced the annual Daily Watchwords) and the Board of Moravian Church from 1747-1807.

Urban layout is a classic (idealised) Moravian grid (like a chessboard) with central grassed square (Zinzendorfplatz, with trees and gravel pathways), surrounded by eight similar-sized compartments created by a grid of roads that run broadly NNE-SSW and WNW-ESE. Zinzendorfplatz is overlooked from the east by the Church (1780-81), with its Herrnhut Baroque style including ridge turreted belltower, and adjoining pastor's house (1779). The Brothers' House (1769) is in the next block (south, now hosting the Gnadau Protestant Zinzendorf Primary School, opened in 2002), while the Sisters' House (1774, now an elderly care home) is in the next block (north), forming an impressive tryptic.

A rectangular (300 x 350m) perimeter Allée (1783) survives in its entirety, lined with lime trees. In the east, behind the Church and its gardens, but within the perimeter Allée, is the God's Acre (1767).

Sisters' House >

Educational facilities are represented by the Gnadau Institutes: Gnadauer Anstalten (Girls' Boarding School, 1814), and Boys' Boarding School (1832). There were once other educational establishments, too, including a teachers' college, a Christian social service training centre, a seminary, and a college of the Protestant Churches of the Prussian Union. Other Protestant movements owe influence to Gnadau: Lichtfreunde (Friends of the Light, or Protestant Friends, which originated in Saxony in 1841), and in 1888 the Gnadau Pentecostal Conference which gave rise to the German Society for Evangelical Communities and Evangelisation (Deutsche Verband für Gemeinschaftspflege und Evangelisation), in 1897. Of Gnadau's population approaching 500 today, around 80 are still members of the Moravian Church.

Germany's second oldest railway line (Magdeburg-Leipzig Railway, 1838-40) has a station at Gnadau, and is little more than 50m from the northeast corner of the settlement.

Brothers' House

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Gnadau
Date Established: 1767
Date of visit: December 2018
Remarks:

- Classic central square surrounded by eight square compartments

- Integrity is high, except the loss of several eighteenth-century houses

- Authenticity and state of conservation are good

Christiansfeld Moravian Church settlement,
South Denmark, Denmark (1773)

Church Square

Christiansfeld is included in the inventory because although it is already on the World Heritage List, its values and attributes are key to understand what other settlements may potentially add to a transnational series. *Christiansfeld* is located north of the Jutlandish harbour town of Hadeslev in Southern Denmark, and around 15 km south of Kolding. Denmark was Lutheran and King Christian VII (1766-1808) was inspired by the Moravian Church settlement of Zeist in Holland.

Sisters' House

The urban plan of *Christiansfeld* is based on the model town plans of Moravian settlements at Herrnhaag (est.1738), *Gracehill* (est.1759), and Gnadau (est.1767), each in relatively unconstrained topography.

Christiansfeld is laid out on relatively level moraine topography to a design probably by Johannes Praetorius and based on two parallel main streets (Nørregade in the north, Lindegade in the south) connected by a rectangular central square. The Church is located on the long western side. Development was complete by 1800 and the settlement prospered under various trades until stagnation after 1814.

Architectural style is 'Christiansfeld Baroque', a fusion of Moravian Church Civic Baroque with other later styles popular in Denmark. Local materials predominate in yellow brick, red ceramic roof tiles, with weatherboarding used on certain buildings (e.g. the west-facing gable of the Sisters' House and the main west-facing elevation of the Widows' House). The Church (1776, extended 1797), with its copper-coated ridgeline bell tower is strikingly symmetrical in Herrnhut-style. The interior of the Church is characteristically Moravian: rectangular, high ceiling, no columns, light, plain, whitewashed walls with a sanded wooden floor of Herrnhut-timbered dimensions, windows in the long walls and galleries at either end, a table and chair for the pastor, and just simple freestanding white benches.

Hotel >

Key Moravian Church buildings include: the two-storey Sisters' House (1776) on the north side of the central Church Square, facing Nørregade Street, with courtyard and well behind; the Widows' House on the same street; the Brothers' House (1774) facing Lindegade Street; and the Congregation Inn (1773) located on the northeast corner of Lindegade and Kongensgade (1853) streets. The God's Acre (1774) is in the northeast corner of the settlement, accessed by a long and straight pedestrian avenue.

Denmark, and *Christiansfeld*, have important historic linkages with other Moravian Church settlements and mission stations. The concession for the Moravian Church to build *Christiansfeld* came after King Christian VII of Denmark (reigned 1766-1808) visited Zeist Moravian Church settlement in the Netherlands in 1768 and was impressed by their organisation, order and industry. In 1772-73 preparations were underway for the construction of *Christiansfeld*, based on the Moravian philosophical and religious model, evolved in and from Herrnhut: a self-contained closed settlement for members of the Moravian Church, laid out in orthogonal geometry in the form of a grid plan typical of early planned cities in general, with organised blocks and with characteristic elements that are commonly repeated in Moravian Church settlements.

God's Acre >

Danish involvement with the Moravian Church predates *Christiansfeld*, however. Count Zinzendorf had prior close contact with King Christian VI (reigned 1730-46), and Moravian Church missionary work first began in 1732 on the Caribbean island of St Thomas. The Moravians were the first Protestants to begin missionary work among the slaves and free blacks in St Thomas (annexed by the Danish West India Company in 1672), St John (annexed by the Danish West India Company in 1718) and St Croix (purchased by the Danish West India Company in 1733). In 1754, the company went bankrupt and Frederick V King of Denmark-Norway (reigned 1746-66) assumed direct control of the three islands whose economy was based on the slave plantations that produced sugar, rum and molasses. The Danish West Indies were sold to the US in 1917 and are now the US Virgin Islands. They still host impressive Moravian mission station heritage, and active Moravian congregations.

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: *Christiansfeld*
Date Established: 1773
Date of visit: June 2018, November 2018
Remarks:

- The best representative Moravian Church settlement in northern Europe

- An exceptional expression of the Moravian 'ideal city'

- Outstanding Moravian Church buildings and spaces

- High integrity, authenticity, and state of conservation

- Protection and management system already in place as a World Heritage Site

Königsfeld Moravian Church settlement,
Baden-Württemberg, Germany (1807)

Zinzendorf Square and Church

Königsfeld represents the last of the series of Moravian Church congregational settlements to be founded. It is located at the central-eastern edge of the Black Forest in the federal state of Baden-Württemberg (southwest Germany, east of the Rhine and the border with France). In 1806 King Friedrich I of Württemberg allowed an independent and fully privileged Moravian municipality to be constructed: Königsfeld (King's Field).

Carpentry detail on staircase

The urban layout is characteristically Moravian and follows a plan by Brother Heizer from Neuwied, reflecting earlier-established settlements of Herrnhaag, *Gracehill*, Gnadau, and *Christiansfeld*. The central square (150 x 70m, rectangular) is within a grid block contained by four streets, with a fifth east-west street to the north.

The Church (1812) is placed in the northern half of the Square, facing a central east-west axis and originally intended to form a tryptic with the large Sisters' House (1810, on its right/west) and what

would have been the Brothers' House on its left/east). Opposite the southern end of the square is the Congregation Inn (1807).

Sisters' House >

The Church, with symmetrical wings of pastor's residence and the presebytery, has a church garden behind. It is Herrnhut-style, based on plans from Friedrich Renatus Früauf (1764-1851) in Herrnhut, using Nuewied and Gnadenberg as examples, which themselves were based on the Herrnhut Church. God's Acre is on a ridge of high ground before reaching forest, 600m northeast of the Church. Approached by a long straight pathway through two porticos, it is traditionally laid out with older sandstone tablets together with newer red granite tablets. It now serves all inhabitants of Christian faith.

Church interior >

Although without a very successful economic basis from crafts, Königsfeld had strong financial backing from Moravian Unity societies in Switzerland and was dominated by the Moravian community for 140 years; even the town's de facto mayor was the Congregation's business manager (Vorsteher). Apart from incomers brought by the railway and attracted by climatic health benefits (a number of villas were built which expanded the town), its population was essentially Moravian until after World War II when many refugees from east German provinces settled. Today, it is part of the Königsfeld Protestant parish, a shared congregation with the Protestant state Church in Baden. It has always been an important centre for Moravian education, and Swiss students were prominent until 1900. It continues to be so, hosting the largest church-school complex in southwest Germany - a total of nine different schools, including several boarding schools, together with a grammar school and a school for Home Economics.

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Königsfeld
Date Established: 1807
Date of visit: August 2018
Remarks:

- The last founded in the succession of Moravian Church settlements

- Follows a classical Moravian plan much like those of Gracehill, Gnadau and Christiansfeld

- Always an important centre for Moravian education, and continues to be so, with Königsfeld hosting the largest church-school complex in southwest Germany

Gnadenfrei,
Lower Silesia, Poland

Located 54 km south of Wrocław, Gnadenfrei ('freed by grace', now Piława Górna) is by far the best-preserved Moravian Church settlement in Silesia. It was founded in 1743 by Pietist Lord of Sedlitz in the then Kingdom of Prussia and Province of Lower Silesia (now SW Poland). Sedlitz had purchased the estate in 1734 but was imprisoned by Hapsburg rulers in 1739 for his Protestant and Pietist faith. Released at the time of Prussian invasion, he allowed Zinzendorf to choose the site for a Moravian Church settlement.

Gnadenfrei's urban plan survives intact, together with a considerable amount of Moravian built heritage. While a disastrous fire in 1792 affected much of the settlement (it was reconstructed within a year), Gnadenfrei was peripheral to the Soviet Silesian offensive in February-March 1945 and was only occupied after the end of the war in May. The missing Gemeinhaus and Saal are instead due to an unconnected fire in 1946. While some buildings are in a rather poor state of conservation, and show variable authenticity, major conservation works have taken place in the last ten years to greatly improve the situation. Gnadenfrei, renamed using the medieval name of Piława Górna after WWII, no longer has a Moravian Church or congregation, its German population having been expelled after the war and resettled with Roman Catholic Poles, themselves having been expelled from Lviv, now in Ukraine.

The elongated and sloping central square reflects an original square that was doubled by extension to the south, a total of 170 m. The Brothers' House (1746) is on the left and Sisters' House (1746) on the right, with the pre-existing main road between Reichenbach and Nimptsch forming the second axis of the settlement. There is a monument where the Gemeinhaus and Saal formerly stood, establishing a clear gender axis. God's Acre (1743) is spatially intact although gravestones have been collected and re-laid. A straight, tree-lined, allée, connects the cemetery with the main street which borders the northern side of the square. An educational complex, expanded in 1896 from an existing large house on the slopes of the Questenberg above the town, expresses Gnadenfrei's longstanding Moravian tradition of boarding schools.

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Gnadenfrei
Date Established: 1743
Date of visit: November 2021
Remarks:

- Important in its geographical representation of Moravian Church settlements in Silesia

- Important urban plan that is intact

- Several important Moravian Church buildings with acceptable authenticity but has suffered from a loss of several key buildings

- State of conservation is variable, as is protection and management

- There is no active Moravian Church congregation.

Gnadenberg
Lower Silesia, Poland

Widows' House

Gnadenberg ('Grace Hill') was founded in 1743 by an acquaintance of Zinzendorf (Hans Friedrich von Falkenhayn) near the road from Görlitz to Breslau in the then Kingdom of Prussia and Province of Lower Silesia. Its urban plan is recognisable but during the Soviet Silesian offensive in February 1945 several properties were destroyed by artillery fire while following occupation others were selected to be burnt (as in Herrnhut in May 1945), including the church and several choir houses (the Widows' House of 1783 survives, although much altered). Ruins were demolished and replaced during the 1960s, the Square being infilled with four tenements (subsequently replaced) and their gardens. Some Moravian tenements survive on one corner of the former Zinzendorf Platz that is now infilled with houses and gardens. Moravian craftsmanship may still be detected in several buildings, mainly in the staircases, doors, and fittings. God's Acre (1743) retains its plot although it is now a park in the south of the settlement.

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Gnadenberg
Date Established: 1743
Date of visit: November 2021
Remarks:

- Although its urban plan is legible, its built heritage is fragmentary with significant loss of integrity and authenticity

- Protection and management are not as an historic settlement

Neusalz.
Poland

Church >

Neusalz is located on the River Oder in western Poland, a strategically located town which had once been important for salt production. A concession for a Moravian Quarter was granted in the town in 1743 by Prussian King Friedrich II (Kingdom of Prussia and Province of Lower Silesia) and Siegmund August von Gersdorf designed the urban plan. Neusalz suffered architectural traumas. In 1759 (Third Silesian War) the town, and Moravian Quarter, was looted and burnt by Russian troops. The congregation escaped to Gnadenberg and returned to rebuild after the Seven Years War (by the mid-1760s, under von Gersdorf). In February 1945, during the Silesian Offensives, the Soviet Red Army entered the town and burnt many buildings. Germans and the Moravian congregation were expelled in 1946. The Saal is externally well preserved but internally it is now fitted out as a sport's hall. The Sisters' House, Widows' House, Gemeinlogis (inn) and a number of tenement houses survive, as does the plot of the God's Acre which is now a park in the south of the settlement. Industrialisation in the nineteenth century was very important to the Moravians, especially in textiles. At the outbreak of WWII there were 19 companies owned or run by the Moravians, operations that were expropriated or shut down in 1945. Surviving buildings are currently being demolished or incorporated into new developments.

Moravian Province: European Continental
Site Name: Neusalz
Date Established: 1745
Date of visit: November 2021

Remarks:

- Another example of a settlement that was formed as a quarter in an existing settlement

- Some interesting buildings remain but, overall, integrity and authenticity have been compromised

- No active protection and management as an historic settlement

- No Moravian congregation

Gnadenfeld,
Poland

Square

Gnadenfeld ('Grace Field', now Pawlowiczki) was founded in 1780 as the only Moravian Church settlement in the then Kingdom of Prussia and Province of Upper Silesia. It is related to Gnadenfrei by Siedlitz who facilitated Zinzendorf to establish a settlement there, bought the land for his son and in 1777 left it to the Moravian Church.

Apart from a legible spatial layout, with partly infilled Square (convenience store), little survives of the Moravian building stock as this suffered heavily during the Soviet Silesian Offensives in March 1945: the loss of 60% of the settlement's buildings, including the Church, Sisters' House, and others. There is a surviving wing, however, of the Brothers' House (1780) on the NE corner of the Square. An historical

pedestrian allée (1790) survives to the extant plot of the God's Acre. The Moravians left, and the remaining German population was expelled after the war.

Moravian Province: European Continental

Site Name: Gnadenfeld
Date Established: 1780
Date of visit: November 2021
Remarks:

- Suffered from a substantial loss of integrity and authenticity

- No Moravian church

- No Moravian congregation today

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Fulneck Moravian Church settlement,
Yorkshire, England, UK (1744)

Brothers' House

Fulneck is named after the town Fulnek (Czech, Fulneck/German) in Northern Moravia where John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) was the last Bishop of the Bohemian Brethren. This oldest English congregational settlement is located 8 km west of Leeds, West Yorkshire. It is situated in the eastern foothills of the Pennines and, more specifically, on a steep south-facing hillside where a 0.8 km east-west slightly curving road defines the settlement.

Zinzendorf visited West Yorkshire in 1742 and recommended the establishment of the first English congregational settlement at Lamb's Hill; the name was changed to Fulneck in 1763. Nine hectares were purchased for the Moravians and a contour-terrace was cut into the hillside for the road and buildings either side, with a long terrace (Dyehouse Lane) and gardens below on the south side. This defines the urban layout which is basically a linear (ribbon) settlement with the principal Moravian buildings clustered in the eastern half.

School

In terms of architectural style Fulneck is very different from European continental Moravian settlements, being predominantly Georgian, using mostly ashlar hammer-dressed Yorkshire gritstone and some red brick, with roofs of Blue Welsh slate.

In terms of buildings, the most important cluster comprises the row of: Congregation Hall (Grace Hall, 1746, extended in 1770s by front porch/gable/and clock tower), with attached ranges of Minister's House (1748), and Boy's Institute (1785) on the west and Girls' Institute on the east. The Brothers' House (1749-52) and Sisters' House (1749-52) are located at either end of the 'row', in red brick and thought to be the design of Edward Graves of Newark; in the west, and east, respectively (rear wings were added in 1758 and 1763).

Gemeinsaal >

Grace Hall (Saal), Listed Grade I (the highest English designation), is on the first floor. It is different to most Moravian Saals in that it is in English Georgian style, has a gallery on three sides (with the original organ by Snetxler of Switzerland, 1748, centrally placed), pulpit (as well as table), stained glass windows, fixed wooden pews (1889 by Edmund Hutton, not white-painted), deeply-moulded wall cornices, a ceiling painted Wedgewood Blue with large ornate white-painted ceiling roses, and a red-carpeted floor. Fulneck Boarding Schools originally commenced in 1749 below the Congregation Hall.

Buildings on the north side of the street are mostly small houses, the Sunday School (1874) set back higher up the hill, and the active school at the east end.

God's Acre >

In terms of spaces, God's Acre (consecrated in 1749) lies at the eastern end of the terrace, before the road swings north to the eastern settlement entrance. It is a long rectangular 0.8-hectare plot sloping south. Many of the earliest burial tablets are collected and laid out at the foot of the wall near the entrance gate, not in their original positions (though many remain so).

There are archive records of the original Moravian shop (1762), making them among the oldest shop records in the UK, the shop transferring in 1771 to a new building in the west where, and at the same time, the Congregation Inn was also built at the strategic entry point to the settlement. Fulneck golf club was established in 1892 in the Fulneck Valley and is the oldest club in the Leeds area.

The economy of Fulneck was centred on trade and crafts, with some small-scale farming. Fulneck was, and is, an important centre for education and music, with nearly the entire building stock owned by the Moravian Church.

Neo-classical architect Benjamin Latrobe (1764-1820) was born in Fulneck, the son of a Reverend leader of the Moravian Church who was responsible for all Moravian

schools in the UK. His family home (no.34) survives. He was engaged as Surveyor of Public Buildings in the USA in 1803. His notable contributions include serving as the second architect of the United States Capitol in Washington DC and was also responsible for the design of the porticos of the White House.

Moravian Province: British Isles

Site Name: Fulneck
Date Established: 1744
Date of visit: August 2018
Remarks:

- An early and impressive Moravian Church settlement, with rare gemeinhaus

- Single contour road and parallel (ribbon) urban design

- Strong Moravian gender axis, perpendicular to the road

- Classic British Moravian architecture

- High authenticity and integrity

- Good state of conservation, protection, and management

- Not a typical Moravian Church settlement in terms of urban design and architecture, although it contains early and classical Moravian building forms which have high value

- Active Moravian congregation and continuing Moravian educational provision for boarding and day pupils

Ockbrook Moravian Church settlement,
Derbyshire, England, UK (1750)

Married Brethren houses

Ockbrook is situated in an agricultural landscape of rolling hills, just over 5 km west of Derby, Derbyshire. 'The Settlement', distinct from the medieval village below, is essentially defined by a single principal road (this became Settlement Road in 1825), which once had gates at each end. Land for this small settlement, set on a south-east-facing gently sloping hillside with commanding views, was purchased advantageously by the Unity in 1750.

The red-brick development is interspersed with a lot of greenery, imparting a distinctly rural character. Urban layout, defined by the principal straight SW-NE oriented 220-m-long Settlement Road (with two pathways either side of the green, descending to two respective rows of buildings to the southeast), is centred on a clustered row of important buildings with the Church (1751) in the middle. Either side are the three-storey Manse (right/south, 1800/22), and left/north the Girls' School (1799/1804), Sisters' House (1759) and Sisters' House annexe ending at Sisters' Lane. With gardens to the front, it resembles a scheme not unlike that of Fulneck, which may have been an inspiration. Further again to the right/south is the Headmaster's House (1798/1907) and Boy's School (1821/1908).

Church

In the two south-eastern 'wings' of the settlement, in the north are four houses: the Vorsteherhaus (1752, with Moravian Church Headquarters of the British Province 1825-75), and the house of Jacob Planta (1752, a surgeon apothecary who pioneered smallpox vaccination). In the south, accessed by Shop Stones lane, are: the Congregation Inn (1792, later the post office, adjacent to the southwest entrance to the Settlement) with Lecture Hall (1867) adjoining, Girls' School building (1799), row of houses for the Married Brethren (1825) in which all windows face the Church, and lower down the hill the Congregation Shop (1768) which was built at the place of the first prayer barn on 'the hill' (1739, first preaching).

Church >

In terms of architectural style, Georgian with Victorian additions prevails. Continuity of red brick buildings and Welsh blue-slate roofs is seen throughout, a preference of the Moravian community when considering a stone alternative. The Church is the centrepiece of the settlement and is elegant in its front elevation of red brick with a pediment (and black clock, added 1827) spanning the three large windows, with wooden, white-painted bell cupola/tower surmounted by ball finial and weathervane. Entrance gateposts have large acorn finials, and the railings are cast-iron. The interior arrangement changed from the original to what it is today in the 1890s when the church was enlarged, being widened north-south, and the roof lowered slightly both in height and pitch. There were once galleries at both ends, one for the Sisters and one for the Brothers, but the south gallery was removed. As part of the enlargement the original pulpit was re-set on the short and windowless south wall and pews re-aligned from north-south to east-west as they are today - an unusual situation for a Moravian Church. The unpainted wooden panelled gallery is supported by two fluted cast-iron columns. Decoration, while still plain, is more British Moravian with its wall-ceiling cornice and ceiling roses and un-painted gallery and pews - as opposed to moveable benches.

Headquarters of the British Province (left) and the house of Jacob Planta

In terms of spaces, the large Green below Settlement Road was divided into Oak Flatt (higher) and Shop Flatt (lower). God's Acre is approached through a brick archway the links the northern side of the church with the former Girls' School building. A flagstone pathway leads behind the church to the burial ground that was consecrated in 1752 by Bishop Peter Böhler. The early burial tablets reveal separation into male and female sides.

Single Brothers and Sisters worked in local textile manufacturing and brewing, while there was some small-scale cottage manufacturing in the Choir Houses in the settlement.

Moravian Province: British Isles
Site Name: Ockbrook
Date Established: 1750
Date of visit: December 2019
Remarks:

•   Small, atypical, Moravian Church settlement

•   High authenticity and integrity

•   Good state of conservation

•   Significant early Moravian educational heritage (ladies' 1799, boys 1813)

•   'Main school' finally closed in 2021

•   Active Moravian congregation.

Gracehill Moravian Church settlement,
Northern Ireland, UK (1759)

Church

Gracehill is located 3 km from Ballymena in County Antrim, Northern Ireland, on the gentle slope of the Long Mountain towards the River Maine. It is exceptionally well-preserved and one of four larger Moravian Church congregational settlements in the British Isles.

Pulpit

The first Moravian evangelist and charismatic preacher (John Cennick, 1718-55) arrived in Ballymena in 1746, the first Moravian Church was founded in 1759 when settlement commenced, and the village was well established as a Moravian congregational settlement by 1765.

Urban layout is based on continental European Moravian designs and was sanctioned by the Unity Administration in Herrnhut. A grid layout is centred on an open square bounded by two 400m-long parallel streets (Church Road/west and Cennick Road/east) and two short streets that connect them (Montgomery Street/south, Academy Street/north). Most of the principal communal buildings are located around the square and arranged in the Moravian Church's most perfect example of a gender axis, including God's Acre: Church (1765) flanked by the Manse and Warden's

House (both also 1765) on the west side of the square; Sisters' House (1765) opposite the northwest corner; Original Single Brethren's House (1764) opposite the southwest corner; Congregation Store (1787; and later post office) and Second Single Brethren's House (and Boys' Day School after 1805) along the south side (Montgomery Street); and Ladies Academy (1797; later Single Sisters' House) and Congregation Inn (1774) along the north side (Academy Street). The east side of the Square is designed open. The Widows' House (1768) is located further along Church Road.

Square with Girls' Academy (left) and Congregation Inn (right)

In terms of architectural style, *Gracehill* is Moravian blended with Georgian, with the universal use of black basalt (volcanic stone; famously on the coast seen in Giant's Causeway). Its use demonstrates a high level of stone-crafting skills, and an unusual construction style is employed, known as 'snecked' masonry - a mixture of roughly squared stone of varying sizes laid horizontally, with rising stones projecting and even smaller fillers called snecks. Roofs are covered with Welsh slate

The Church is modelled after the present example in *Herrnhut*. Internally it shows differences between British and continental European examples in that its end galleries (one with organ) and moveable benches are in unpainted wood, it has a pulpit with stairs (and table), stained-glass windows (inserted in 1962) and a carpeted floor. The church remains a central focal point of *Gracehill*.

Crafts were once lacemaking and embroidery (Sisters) and linen (Brothers). *Gracehill* once had four schools (including boarding facilities) that attracted pupils, of any religious denomination, from across Ireland. *Gracehill* has always remained a place of political and religious neutrality, most famously during the Irish uprising against British rule in 1798.

In terms of spaces, apart from the park-like square with central circular pond, the God's Acre (1761, 2.2 hectares) is located behind (WSW) the Church. It is approached by two parallel walks (Brothers'/south and Sisters'/north) that pass the congregation's modern Cennick Hall. By Moravian Church tradition it is still customary to bury males and females on separate sides.

The Church faces northeast, and 770m in a straight line across the square and the Congregation's sloping gardens and fields, across the valley of the River Maine is Galgorm Castle (1607), a fine example of Jacobean architecture set in the Galgorm Estate.

Moravian Province: British Isles/Northern Ireland

Site Name: Gracehill
Date Established: 1765
Date of visit: August 2018
Remarks:

- Only complete Moravian Church Settlement in Ireland, one of four in the British Isles, and the only one in the British Moravian Province designed on a traditional continental model grid plan with central square

- Urban plan significant in the development of Moravian urban planning

- Exhibits exceptional gender axis related to Moravian societal and religious beliefs and practices

- Integration of the God's Acre into the Baroque design

- British Moravian (Dublin Georgian) architecture

- Most classic building types in distinctive local materials and tradition

- High authenticity, integrity, and state of conservation

- Good protection and management – first Conservation Area in Northern Ireland (1975)

- Neutrality and pacifism in the context of a turbulent religious and geopolitical past in the north of Ireland

- Early and continuing educational tradition, and an active Moravian congregation

Fairfield Moravian Church settlement,
Manchester, England, UK (1785)

Fairfield Moravian Church settlement is located 6 km east of Manchester city centre, in Lancashire. In 1783 the Moravians purchased 24 hectares of land and in 1785 Fairfield was founded by Benjamin La Trobe (Moravian leader of the British Province) as a centre for evangelistic work in the heavily industrialised Manchester area. The settlement remains a peaceful enclave in a densely urbanised region.

The Square

The largely symmetrical urban grid layout was sketched by Benjamin La Trobe junior and designed by Moravian architect John Lees from Oldham who liquidated some coal mines in order to fund construction by the hands of the congregation. This became a broadly self-contained and self-governed settlement, with a farm and laundry (Single Sisters, who also produced and sold delicate needlework), bakery (Single Brothers), Congregation Inn and Shop, fire-engine, doctor, night watchman and even an overseer of roads. From 1823, many brothers worked in a local cotton factory.

The main entrance is reached from a turning off Fairfield Road leading from Droylsden (1 km to the northeast). Passing through entrance gate-pillars, an east-west long cobbled square is reached

(Fairfield Square or North Terrace, 200 m long x 15 m wide) and the inwardly looking settlement begins. Houses and the former Congregation Inn (1785) line the northern side, while immediately across from the entrance is a block containing a former weaving factory at the front and, at the back (reached either by the Brethren's Street in the west or Sisters' Street in the east) the Church (1785) flanked by the Brothers' House (right/west, 1785) and the Sisters' House (left/east, 1785). These face the South Terrace. Immediately south are the gardens of the manse, congregation and college (adjacent to South Terrace) and the God's Acre further south again.

Church and interior

In terms of architectural style, Fairfield is Georgian, and the predominant use of local red brick with Welsh slate roofs adds an industrial character that is characteristic of the region. The Church was re-oriented (from 1908) with wooden pews facing the short end with a pulpit (and table) in front of the organ. Floors are carpeted and at the other end is an unpainted wooden gallery.

Fairfield was famous for its schools and hosted the Theological College of the British Province from 1906-64. It has an active Moravian congregation.

Moravian Province: British Isles

Site Name: Fairfield
Date Established: 1785
Date of visit: August 2018
Remarks:

- Small and compact atypical Moravian Church settlement

- High authenticity and integrity

- Good state of conservation, protection and management

- Active Moravian congregation

United States of America

Bethlehem Moravian Church settlement,
Pennsylvania, USA (1742)

Old Chapel with Bell House (left) and Gemeinhaus (right)

Bethlehem is the best-preserved Moravian Church congregational settlement in the USA. Its principal six hectares not only contains highly significant religious and domestic Moravian elements, but also key industrial elements, having the greatest potential of any US site to contribute to a transnational extension of *Christiansfeld*.

Bethlehem was the preeminent religious and administrative centre of Moravian activity in the former British colonies of North America, a key province of the Worldwide Moravian Church. Its establishment as the first permanent settlement (of seven; attempted or established) in the country had a profound influence on Moravian history and heritage.

Bethlehem Moravian Church settlement is situated at the confluence of the Monocacy Creek and the Lehigh River, in the state of Pennsylvania (Northampton County) around 100 km north of Philadelphia.

Gemeinhaus and Central Moravian Church

In December 1740 Bishop David Nitschman der Bischof (1695-1772) arrived with a company of Brethren and Sisters from Herrnhut (including Anna Nitschman, former head of the Single Sisters of Herrnhut). The Unity purchased over 200 hectares of land in Spring 1741, and they built Bethlehem. All the Brethren and Sisters from the first thwarted settlement attempt in Georgia (from 1735) relocated to Pennsylvania in 1740, and many soon joined the congregation in Bethlehem. It was also a staging post that was pivotal in missionary activity: inland, with the Delaware Nation and the Iroquois (Six Nations from 1740), from where Zinzendorf set out in 1742 and the first congregation of Christian Native Americans was established in North America (Christian Native Americans were called Moravian Indians in the contemporary New York press); and overseas for mission activity in the Caribbean which was administered from Bethlehem for a time (David Nitschman was one of the missionaries who established New Herrnhut in St Thomas in 1732). Most American Moravian missionaries were educated in the Moravian College and Theological Seminary at Bethlehem.

Church interior

Urban layout is not like the ideal plans of European continental congregational settlements; the grid plan was simply adapted to the local topography with attention to functional differentiation. Principal buildings were built near a road and crossing point of the river, in an east-west line along the limestone bluff overlooking, and parallel to, the Lehigh River (some 300m south). Central to these was the oldest

surviving building in *Bethlehem*, the multi-functional Gemeinhaus built in 1741-43 and one of the largest log buildings remaining in the US. It is also a rare example – the oldest surviving in the world - of a Moravian building type originated in Herrnhut but which no longer survives. This housed the Saal, a school, and the large Choirs until the First Single Brethren's House (1744) and Bell House (1746) were built, together with the second Single Brethren's House (1744) in the west – along what was to become Church Street. Another parallel street (Market Street) was constructed to the north. The Widows' House (1768) was the last Choir House to be built and closed off the Bell House courtyard or square.

The industrial complex, vital to the economic self-sufficiency of the settlement, was sited along Monacacy Creek and Lehigh River to take advantage of water and water-power. This included a grist-and-fulling mill, oil mill, a tannery, pottery, dye-house and a pioneering water-pumping station (1762) that delivered spring water to the settlement.

In terms of architectural style, Moravian Church Civic Baroque is apparent in all 18th-century Moravian Church buildings. Colonial or Early Republic / Federal (Adam) style, popular in the US until the 1820s, is exemplified in the Central Moravian Church (1803-06) - not a copy of Herrnhut, and the first Moravian building in *Bethlehem* not in Herrnhut-style. *Bethlehem* contains the largest concentration of vernacular Germanic architecture in the USA.

God's Acre >

In terms of spaces the God's Acre (1741) follows the Herrnhut pattern, being laid out by Zinzendorf himself while in *Bethlehem*. Early Moravians in *Bethlehem* referred to it as the Hutberg, and burials were according to the Choir System - with Europeans, African Americans and American Native Americans all buried side-by-side, equal in death.

Moravian Province: North America

Site Name: *Bethlehem*
Date Established: 1742
Date of visit: October 2018
Remarks:

- First permanent Moravian Church settlement in the North American continent

- Preeminent religious and administrative centre of Moravian Church activity in North America

- Exceptional example of early urban planning in North America, marking its first example of a 'city of refuge', and an early transfer of the European Continental building tradition

- Most complete Moravian Church settlement in the US and contains the largest concentration of vernacular German architecture in the country

- Ensemble on West Church Street contains the oldest extant Moravian Gemeinhaus and represents one of the most important ensembles of early Moravian buildings including all Choir Houses

- High authenticity and state of conservation, substantial integrity

- High level of protection and management

- Active Moravian congregation, and still involved with global mission work

- Profound influence on Moravian history and heritage, especially in North America and the Caribbean

Salem Moravian Church settlement,
North Carolina, USA (1771)

Church and
administration buildings

The most concentrated Moravian heritage in the USA is in the states of Pennsylvania and North Carolina. Salem is in the latter, the only permanent settlement to be built in the middle of the Unity's largest project - the purchase of over 36,000 hectares of land in the central Piedmont (towards the Blue Ridge), which they named Wachau (Wachovia) after the homeland of Zinzendorf's ancestors (Wachau Valley, Austria). Salem (Old Salem, to distinguish it from the larger conurbation of Winston-Salem) is located 100km NNE of Charlotte.

Originally Moravians came to the vicinity in 1753, construction began in 1766, with settlement activity following in earnest from 1772 to build the centralised economic, religious, educational and administrative town of Moravian Wachovia. Outlying Moravian communities include the important heritage sites of Bethabara and Bethania, both of which were visited as part of this inventory. All members of the community had to be, like in Bethlehem, Moravians – but of many different ethnicities. Salem became the centre of the Moravians Southern Province, corresponding to Bethlehem in the Northern Province. In 1856 the settlement congregation was dissolved and in 1913 the Moravian Church settlement and the town were joined.

Church

The urban layout is defined by north-south ridge-like topography and Eastern Street which constitutes the main axis and extends to the central Salem Square (still owned by the Congregation). Around Salem Square is the most important cluster of Moravian buildings: a row of Church (1798; Herrnhut influence externally, with bell

A fusion of architectural style

tower, ball finial and weather-vane; internally quite different with galleries on three sides, pastor's desk on the ground floor with steps up to raised organ, curved ranks of unpainted wooden pews, stained-glass windows) with sanctuary and belfry (1800), Community House (1771), Girls' School (1805), and Sisters' House (1785; the oldest building in the USA dedicated to the education of women). On the opposite side of the Square (west) is the Brothers' House (1786), while on the north side is the Boys' School (1800).

In terms of architectural style, Moravian Church Civic Baroque is present in the earlier buildings such as the red-brick Sisters' House, while Federal style and even Greek Revival is evident towards the middle of the nineteenth century, such as in the Salem College (1772, the oldest women's college in the USA).

In terms of spaces, the very large (300m x 50m) God's Acre is located at the northeast corner of the settlement (upper end of Church Street) and is in traditional Herrnhut style except for its exceptional linearity. Only Christian whites were buried here. At the other end of the settlement is the segregated African-American cemetery for Christian and non-Christian, Moravian and non-Moravian.

God's Acre

Moravian Province: North America
Site Name: Salem
Date Established: 1771
Date of visit: October 2018
Remarks:

- Second-most important Moravian Church settlement in the US

- Urban layout and two-thirds of the buildings of the settlement survive

- Forty buildings have been restored and eight others have been reconstructed

- In original buildings, authenticity and integrity are high. State of conservation, protection and management are good

- Salem retains an active Moravian congregation

Nazareth Moravian Church settlement,
Pennsylvania, USA (1744/71)

Nazareth is located in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, in hilly limestone topography on the fork of the Delaware in the Lehigh Valley. For much of its life it was administratively, and community-wise, a kind of extension to Bethlehem around 15 km to the southwest.

Arrival of the Moravians was in 1740, and the purchase by the Moravian Unity of 5,000 acres in 1741 was followed by the development of Old Nazareth (1744), associated with the surviving stone-built Whitefield House (constructed 1740-43) and a group of houses, and New Nazareth (centred on the Square) from 1771. Whitefield House is interesting in that it was built for George Whitefield as a school for native African by Moravians who had left Georgia and who subsequently built Bethlehem. In December 1742, although the Lenape Delaware Indians did not own the land under Pennsylvania law (it had been bought by Whitefield in 1740, although prior ownership was partly in dispute), Zinzendorf paid them additional compensation for the Moravians to settle there. Whitefield House received a 'sea congregation' of 32 young married couples at the beginning of

1744, while still unfinished. Apart from this choir hall function, the massive limestone building substantially in Moravian Church Civic Baroque with a dormered gambrel roof and basement also served as the first place of worship, a boarding school for girls in 1745, a nursery for the children of missionaries in 1748, a missionary retirement home in 1764, and later the Moravian Theological Seminary. Adjacent to it stands the one and a half storey, log-built, Gray Cottage (1740, restored 1971), the oldest Moravian building still standing in the US. The mansion Nazareth Hall (foundation stone 1755) was built for Zinzendorf on the other side of what became New Nazareth, but he never took permanent residence in North America. It subsequently (1759) became a central boarding school for sons of Moravian parents, later a Moravian Academy which eventually led to the foundation in 1807 of Moravian College and Theological Seminary, now at Bethlehem.

Church >

As in *Bethlehem*, Spangenberg led an experiment in communal living in Nazareth called the Great Economy (1745-65), designed to support missionary outreach to Native Americans. Old Nazareth is without an urban plan but New Nazareth, constructed after the Great Economy ended, was laid out to a cruciform plan and grid with a central square (elongated rectangle) oriented north south. The main street arrives centrally at the north and south sides, and a second street arrives centrally at the east and west sides. The red brick built Saal (1861-62), with two gender-specific front doors, is located on the western side of the Square and is the

congregation's fourth house of worship in Nazareth (Saal of Whitefield House, Saal of Zinzendorf Manor House, and the 1840 church on West Center Street). There are a number of other Moravian buildings including the Congregational Store (1762, extended 1854-59) and Inn (1764). The cemetery (God's Acre) was laid out in 1756-58 around 0.5 km northwest of the Square (much enlarged in 1850). Nazareth was opened to non-Moravian residents in 1856 and in 1858 control by the Moravian Church was vested in the civil authorities.

Church interior
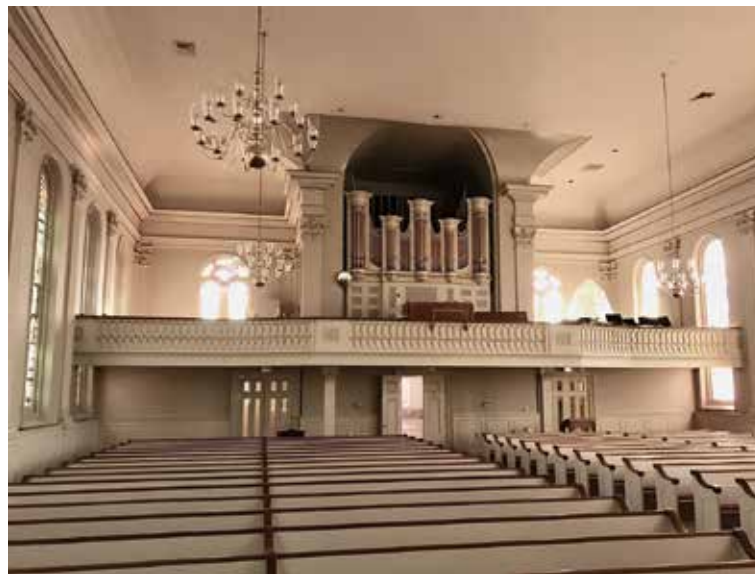
Moravian Province: North America

Site Name: Nazareth
Date Established: 1744/71
Date of visit: October 2018
Remarks:

- Cruciform urban plan with central square intersected centrally by Main Street (north south) and Centre Street (east west), an unusual variation on the Moravian grid

- Authenticity and integrity are high in all Moravian Church buildings, as is the state of conservation

- Protection is high (Nazareth Historic District, National Register of Historic Places) and management under the Moravian Church and municipal authorities is effective

- Nazareth retains an active Moravian congregation together with its strong historical links with Bethlehem

Lititz Moravian Church settlement,
Pennsylvania, USA (1757)

Square

Located in fertile farming country of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, around 95 km southwest of Bethlehem, Lititz was one of several Moravian Church settlements conceived by Zinzendorf as he travelled in Pennsylvania. It was subsequently founded by Bishop Spangenberg. Establishment came after Bethlehem and Nazareth. It was originally named Litiz (German spelling, used until 1880) after a Bohemian castle near the village of Kunvald. It was founded to serve Moravian families foremost. The linear urban plan is dominated by the broadly east west main axis of Main Road. The

rectangular green Square with mature trees in park-like fashion is located centrally on the south side of the road with its long axis parallel to the road and an open (north) side facing the road. The south side of the Square is occupied by the most important grouping of Saal (1787/renovated 1857 to add a pedimented pavilion projection to the front) with Parsonage (1763, originally the Gemeinhaus) in the centre. The church has a belltower and spire designed by David Tannenberg (1728-1804), the Moravian organ builder who emigrated to Pennsylvania and lived in Lititz and became the most celebrated American organ-builder of his time. This is flanked by the Single Brethren's House (1759-61) in the west and the Single Sisters' House (1758-61) in the east. The latter is

Church interior

connected by a first-floor passageway to one of the oldest Stengel Hall (1769) occupying the east side of the Square built to house women who studied at Linden Hall, founded 1746 as one of the oldest resident girls' schools in the US. On the west side of the Square is the Lititz Moravian Archives and Museum building. God's Acre (1758) is located 130 m to the south of the Corpse House behind the Saal and is approached via a pathway through the main gates with pillars and arched inscribed portal in Moravian style. Other Moravian buildings survive, including the Inn (1764/1804/48). In 1777 during the Revolutionary War, the Single Brethren's House served as a hospital (Dec 1777 to Aug 1778) for Washington's Continental Army, in the same manner as the Second Brethren's House in Bethlehem. Administration and control by the Moravian Church passed to the municipality in 1855 when the lease system ended, and lots were sold to people of all faiths.

Moravian Province: North America
Site Name: Lititz
Date Established: 1757
Date of visit: October 2018
Remarks:

- Moravian Church Civic Baroque is apparent in the massive Choir Houses, especially the Single Sisters' House in exposed grey limestone with gambrel roof and gable dormers, and basement. The Brothers' House is in Moravian style with gambrel roof and shed dormers, built of limestone that is rendered with stucco and painted

- The church is architecturally atypical Moravian in its mid-nineteenth century remodeling, although this was perhaps more typical for America at the time

- The limestone-built Corpse House (1786) is a rare and exceptional example of a characteristic Moravian building

- Protection and management are of a high standard. Lititz Moravian Historic District contains over 100 buildings that date from 1755 to 1930, documenting architectural styles including Moravian Church Civic Baroque, Federal Style, and Late Victorian

Hope Moravian Church settlement,
New Jersey, USA (1769)

Sisters' House

Hope is a small settlement located where several roads cross in rural New Jersey, around 47 km northeast of Bethlehem. After being offered the land as a gift, the Moravians instead purchased 1,500 acres and the first settlers arrived in 1769. In 1770 the settlement (first called Greenland) began to develop with industrial enterprises including a grain mill, tannery and dye works. In 1774 the settlement was laid out in a grid and the name Hope was determined by the casting of lots. Construction of a Gemeinhaus was started in 1781 and a school and other buildings followed. While the population was around 100 in 1790, it swiftly declined thereafter and in 1808 the congregation abandoned the settlement which was not self-sufficient and sold all Unity land. Most of the congregation moved to Bethlehem and other Moravian Church settlements in Pennsylvania.

The Gemeinhaus (1781) is in the centre and is now a bank (it became a courthouse in 1824, an inn until 1910, and the bank since 1911). Construction is in Moravian Church Civic Baroque and the grey limestone building has a mansard roof with gable dormers and a belltower. There are two entrances, one for men and one for women, and the Saal is on the first floor. The Single Sisters' House (1803) and girls' school survives on the opposite side of the main street and is constructed in a similar style as the Gemeinhaus (it was the last building constructed by the Moravians in Hope).

The Congregation Store (1776) remained a store until the 1970s and is well preserved, as does the Mill (1769-70), and Brewery & Distillery (1773). The one-storey stone-built and wooden-clad Long House (1777) has been restored, and several stone-built Moravian houses also survive from the 1770s/80s. The God's Acre (1773) is a small section containing characteristic gravestones within a much-expanded cemetery for all faiths and has iron gates and arched iron portal.

Moravian Province: North America
Site Name: Hope
Date Established: 1769
Date of visit: September 2021
Remarks:

- The only former Moravian Church settlement in New Jersey

- Retains a legible historical urban plan with some interesting buildings highlighting Moravian Church Civic Baroque in America

- Authenticity and integrity are acceptable, state of conservation is generally high, and protection is afforded by Hope Historic District designation

- There is no Moravian congregation.

Bethabara Moravian Church settlement, North Carolina, USA (1753)

Gemeinsaal >

Bethabara ('house of passage') was founded in 1753 as the first Moravian Church settlement in North Carolina. It is located over 8 km northwest of Winston-Salem, beside the Monarcas Creek. Fifteen Moravians with six horses and a wagon full of supplies left Bethlehem and travelled over 800 km for forty days along the Great Wagon Road (a network of branching trails) through the Great Appalachia Valley. Four learnt the route and returned to lead the way for more settlers while eleven skilled Brethren built Bethabara. When the troubles of the French and Indian War seemed over, construction of Salem began in 1766. Structures in Bethabara were dismantled and reused in Salem which, once completed in 1771, the population of Bethabara decreased and it remained an agricultural community.

Bethabara is substantially an open-air museum, an archaeological site excavated in the 1960s, although several key buildings survive, including the Gemeinhaus (1788), Potter's House (1782), and later Brewer's House (1803) and Log House (1834); the latter two relating more to the agricultural period that followed the settlement congregation phase. The 1788 Gemeinhaus designed by Frederic Marshall replaced an earlier (1756) one and is the only German colonial church with attached Minister's living quarters remaining in the United States. The following survive as archaeological sites, a number of these deconstructed to leave basements and foundations with low-standing walls when the Congregation moved to Salem: Single Brethren's House (1755), Original Gemeinhaus (1756), Family House (1758), Business Manager's House (1758), Doctor's Laboratory (1759), Congregation Store (1759), Smith's House (1762), Millwright's House (1762), Tailor's Shop (1762), Apothecary (1763). The settlement was palisaded 1756-63 during the French and Indian War, acting as a place of refuge with many refugees until 1761. God's Acre is located across the river on higher ground, 200 m to the southwest, and there is also a Stranger's Cemetery (1759).

Moravian Province: North America

Site Name: Bethabara
Date Established: 1753
Date of visit: October 2018
Remarks:

- Important as the site of the first Moravian settlement in North Carolina, an important British Province (until 1776) for the Moravian Church in America

- Like many places in the South, an enslaved African American narrative applies here

- While much of the settlement is archaeological (buildings dismantled and recycled for their materials, as in Herrnhaag), the Gemeinhaus with Manse is a highly significant and special building

- The colonial community garden (48-m square, a medicine garden which produced over fifty kinds of herbs) is the only known and well-documented example in America

- Authenticity is high, albeit with integrity substantially diminished as described

- The site is well protected, conserved and managed as a National Historic Landmark in a Historic District, now a public park of the city of Winston-Salem.

- There is obviously no Moravian congregation.

Bethania Moravian Church settlement,
North Carolina, USA (1759)

Bethania is located around 5 km northwest of Bethabara and was founded by Spangenberg in 1759 as a rectangular settlement of 2,000 acres and 24 plots along what later became a main road. The congregation was formally organised in 1760 and a Gemeinhaus was located centrally on the east side of a small rectangular square. The current brick-built church building with belltower dates from 1809 but was damaged by fire in 1942 and rebuilt. An allée leads to God's Acre (1760) which still survives as a rectangular plot with the long axis parallel to the road (extended more to a square) together with stone entrance pillars and iron gates.

Moravian Province: North America
Site Name: Bethania
Date Established: 1759
Date of visit: October 2018
Remarks:

- A small linear Moravian Church settlement in the then important British Province of North Carolina

- Authenticity and integrity of the built heritage is fragmentary

- There is a Moravian congregation.

Moravian church missions

At the time of inscribing *Christiansfeld* (2015), recalling a member of the World Heritage Committee (delegation of Finland) remarking of the 'Moravian phenomenon', we might consider the scope of this cultural phenomenon in diaspora/migration terms - and in respect of the two principal manifestations of the tangible heritage: the settlement, and the mission station. Accepting that Moravian Church settlements are a very different type of site to mission stations, the potential of further/new values that might apply to a discrete serial nomination of *Moravian Church Missions* must again be considered in the context of one property with one proposed Outstanding Universal Value. Global comparative analysis will of course be crucial in any consideration.

Such a phenomenon has a chronology, during which time there will be a principal contribution to proposed Outstanding Universal Value - a span of time including phases, a peak, or several peaks when significant contributions are made. The phenomenon has a geographical and cultural reach that is transcontinental and cross-cultural respectively; the latter not just of its missionaries, craftspeople, and congregations but of the peoples that the Moravians sought to reach. The Moravian Church had, and indeed still has, a reputation for bringing the gospel of Christ and of education and healthcare to people in places where others were either unwilling, or unable, to go – from indigenous Native Americans and the Inuit of the Arctic to the enslaved populations of the Caribbean and South America and the Khoisan of southern Africa.

Mission stations, which in addition to Moravian Church settlements, are key to 'contribute to a full understanding of Moravian Church colonial expansion', typically comprise an integral ensemble that is broadly consistent within a country or region – but nonetheless varies consistently when comparing mission stations in different geographical, cultural and chronological contexts. For example, compare the Caribbean (Moravian mission stations developed from the 1730s to the 1890s in former colonies of the British, Danish, and Dutch West Indies) where the ensemble typically conforms to a church, God's Acre, manse, and schoolroom, with Tanzania (Moravian mission stations were established from the 1890s in the German colony of German East Africa 1885-1919, British Tanganyika 1922-61) where the mission station ensemble comprises a church, mission house(s), schoolroom, hospital, burial ground (not typically a God's Acre), and carpentry shops/workshops etc. These 'settlements' were not built as a congregational settlement but as the base for

missionary work that reached out to cultural or social groups deemed 'underrepresented', 'difficult to reach', or those ignored by other religious movements. There, potential congregations were commonly already settled in the vicinity in which the mission station was newly sited. Almost all historical international missionary attempts were carried out within the territories of the dominant Protestant colonial powers of Denmark, England, the Netherlands, and Germany, although, specifically, Moravian Church mission work was not tied to political or national economic interests.

This inventory of mission stations remains work-in-progress but represents a first draft retention of candidate sites rather than a selection for a potential transnational series. Many Moravian Church missions were visited, and most were simply noted as part of a wider inventory and are not the subject of further investigation. All retained candidates outlined in this summary, however, may be the subject of further investigation should an initiative be pursued by the Moravian Church and interested States Parties. The notion that the Moravian Church pioneered a forerunner of the modern mission station model is interesting. A Preliminary Assessment will, in any case, be imperative.

Caribbean

US Virgin Islands
(former Danish West Indies)

The decision to introduce Moravian missionaries into the Danish West Indies grew out of a chance meeting between Count Zinzendorf and Anton Ulrich, an enslaved black man from St. Thomas he met during the coronation of King Christian VI in Copenhagen. Ulrich convinced the count that the Danish Islands were a fertile ground for missionary work among the enslaved Africans. In 1732, David Nitschmann and Leonard Dober went to St. Thomas to preach to the enslaved people on the estates on that island. After five years, they were able to purchase an estate (New Herrnhut) on the eastern end of St. Thomas, along with 30 to 40 enslaved Africans. This location enabled them to be close to other enslaved peoples on nearby estates. Between 1737 and 1843, eight additional Moravian missions would be founded on the three Danish West Indies islands, garnering more than 13,000 converts among the enslaved peoples, prior to emancipation in 1848.

St Thomas
New Herrnhut Moravian Church mission (1732)

Church

New Herrnhut is the site of the first Moravian Church mission.

St Croix
Friedensthal Moravian Church mission (1752)

Church with
schoolroom (left)

Friedensthal (Valley of Peace) Mission was established on the East end of St Croix, near Christiansted, in 1752. It soon became the centre for the Moravians work in the Danish West Indies. Early wooden structures were replaced by the important current ensemble of exceptional unity and architectural aesthetic: Friedensthal Parish House (1830), Church (1852) and separate schoolroom. God's Acre in traditional style, with

more recent non-traditional burials is approached by an elegant brick-arched bridge over a gully.

Overall remarks US Virgin Islands: The Virgin Islands are important not only as the location of the first Moravian Church mission (Neu Herrnhut, St Thomas, 1732), but also for the quality of mission ensembles such as that at Friedensthal, St Croix. They are further testimony to the significance of Denmark with regards to Moravian Church missions some 41 years before the foundation of Christiansfeld.

Jamaica

An important Moravian Church province in the Caribbean (Jamaica paired with Cayman Islands), the Moravian Church in Jamaica (then British West Indies) was established in 1754 and subsequently incorporated by a UK Act of Parliament. Its congregations during the early period were mostly enslaved workers living on surrounding sugar plantations. The principal period of Moravian Church settlement in Jamaica is, however, 1834-94.

Twenty Moravian Church missions were visited, ranging from the remains of the first Moravian missionary base (1750s) in the undergrowth of Bogue Estate, to mission stations at Irwin Hill (1815), New Eden (1812), Bethabara (1840), Bethany (1835), New Bethlehem (1833), Fairfield (1823), Lititz (1839), Nazareth (1838), New Carmel (1827), New Hope (1838), Mizpah, Moravia, Salem, Springfield, Trinity, Zorn, and others.

Bethany Moravian Church mission (1835)

Bethany Moravian mission is located in the north of Manchester parish in central Jamaica. The date of construction of its stone church, with its integral schoolroom in the basement and adjacent manse is 1835-1849. The site, occupying a hilltop position with commanding views, is representative of Moravian mission stations in Jamaica that were constructed on hilltops (clean water, clear air, less potential for disease) directly in an area of intensive sugar-production, during the post-emancipation drive for new mission stations with a special focus on education.

The site is of high integrity and the church, with its end-galleries and original pipe organ, has unusually high authenticity. The cemetery (God's Acre) is below the steep hillside and, similar to many visited in Jamaica, has a small component of early burials marked in traditional Moravian fashion, and the largest portion of non-traditional grave-markings.

Fairfield Moravian Church mission (1823):

Fairfield Moravian Mission is located in Manchester parish in central Jamaica. Fairfield Moravian Church was established in 1823 (the larger church building was constructed in 1863).

The property, with its old Silk Cotton Tree of special significance to West Africans is an important historic centre of education. In 1837, Jacob Zorn founded a normal school at Fairfield. The church has a fine gallery with original organ, together with schoolroom in the basement. There is an adjacent more modern manse and below the

church is a well-preserved God's Acre that contains early traditionally marked burials. Overall remarks Jamaica: Substantial heritage of Moravian Church missions survive in several places across the island. The arrangement of church, manse, schoolroom and God's Acre was encountered frequently, with boundary walls, cisterns and early 'preaching' trees adding to the tangible 'signature' of Jamaican Moravian Church missions. Authenticity and integrity are good, as is the general state of conservation, and so, too, the setting. All had an active Moravian congregation.

Overall remarks Jamaica: Jamaica has many Moravian Church missions, several of which are well-preserved and certainly deserve retention as candidates for a potential series. Authenticity and integrity are high, state of conservation is generally good, as is the setting. All have active congregations.

Barbados

The successful efforts of Moravian Church missionaries among the enslaved in Jamaica and Antigua brought them to Barbados in 1765 when two missionaries arrived from Herrnhut. Little development took place, however, until 1799 with the construction of Sharon.

A number of Moravian missions were visited in Barbados, including the first mission - Sharon (1795) – together with others such as Mount Tabor (1825), Calvary (1834), Centenary (1836), Clifton Hill (1839), and Grace Hill (1882).

Sharon Moravian Church mission (1795, present location)

The Sharon congregation was founded in 1768 at Bunker's Hill, St. Thomas, when 13 persons came forward for baptism. The area is now known as Old Sharon. In 1795 the Mission was removed from Bunker's Hill to its present location on the plains below, nearby the gully and watercourse, and named 'Sharon'. On February 10, 1799, the foundation stone of Sharon was laid, and the congregation of slaves assisted in constructing the church. In 1800 the congregation comprised 150 baptised members, and 581 by 1827. In 1831, all mission buildings were destroyed or heavily damaged by an exceptionally severe hurricane. The present buildings, therefore, substantially correlate to subsequent rebuilding, including the Church dedicated 31 March 1833. Emancipation of the enslaved population of Barbados came in 1834, although with a transitional condition of apprenticeship which lasted four years.

Overall remarks Barbados: Barbados retains important Moravian Church heritage, especially at Sharon, and active congregations in all missions visited.

Antigua

Antigua, part of the Moravian Eastern West Indies Province, represents an important Caribbean island in Moravian history, from 1756 to the present day. Its congregations during the early period were mostly enslaved workers living on surrounding sugar plantations. While there were a number of historic Moravian churches built in Antigua (some were in wood, others in stone), due to natural disasters such as hurricane and earthquake these have all been replaced by more modern constructions.

Some historic fabric remains associated with them, such as incorporated former church structures, schoolrooms, and cemeteries.

Visits included missions at Bethany, Cedar Hall, Five Islands, Enon, Cana, Grace Bay, Gracefield, Gracehill, Greenbay, Labanon, Potter's Zion and Spring Gardens. The arrangement of church, manse, schoolroom and God's Acre was encountered frequently, with boundary walls, cisterns and early 'preaching' trees adding to the tangible 'signature'. All had an active Moravian congregation.

Grace Bay Moravian Church Mission

Grace Bay Moravian Missionary Station is located on a beautiful headland above Grace Bay on the south coast of Antigua; 11 km south of St John's and 7 km west of English Harbour. The station was first established lower down the hill in Old Road

Town in 1797 and its congregation numbered 1200 Afro-Caribbean and African plantation slaves from twelve plantations. The mission moved to a 'heathier' site on Manchioneel Hill (the present site) where the manse was completed in 1811 and the first church was completed in 1812. This was damaged in a severe hurricane in 1928 and was replaced by the present church in 1929. Remains of the old schoolroom date from 1838 during a post-emancipation drive for education (there is also a ruin of a teacher's house, 1914). Grace Bay was among several mission stations developed to relieve the pressure on the overgrown congregation in St John's (over 7,000).
The church is a fine example stone-built to withstand future hurricanes. Associated with it is a 1920s/50s manse and associated rooms, the whole complex being approached along its original road which winds around the hill. No God's Acre survives as it was built-over many years ago by a hotel in Old Road Town. The immediate setting of Grace Bay is good.

Overall remarks Antigua: Antigua was historically important and influential for the Moravians in the Caribbean. It remains significant for the Moravian Church but most of the heritage is overlapped with more modern constructions because of the hurricane damage repeatedly suffered across the island. Grace Bay is a retained candidate, the setting little different from when it was famously figured *c.*1832.

St Kitts

The success of the Moravian Church mission in Antigua ultimately spurred a Moravian missionary named Brother John Gottwalt from Gracehill, Northern Ireland, together with another from England, to be sent to St Kitts in 1777.

Three Moravian mission stations were visited in St Kitts, the first Basseterre Mission (1787), and the second mission (1837, renamed Zion), and Bethel.

Zion Moravian Church mission

Zion is located in Basseterre, where College Street and Victoria Road meet. Solidly constructed out of local basalt stone, Zion Moravian School (1837) and Church (1841-42) supplemented the Basseterre Mission is built to withstand earthquakes, hurricanes and floods (a severe one struck in 1880, and 30 members of the Congregation lost their lives). The organ dates from 1862. There is an adjacent manse and schoolroom.

Overall remarks St Kitts: The churches in Basseterre survive in active use and the Zion site is particularly interesting and authentic and includes an adjacent original schoolroom and ancillary buildings - built in the same robust basalt masonry designed to withstand earthquakes and floods, something they have done for 180 years. There is an interesting foundation connection with a German missionary who came out from Gracehill.

Tobago

The Moravian Church mission among the enslaved of Tobago was initiated in 1785 by a missionary from Gracehill, Northern Ireland, who was stationed in Barbados – Brother John Montgomery, who established a mission in 1786 and returned to Tobago with his wife in 1790.

Six Moravian mission stations were visited in Tobago, all with vibrant Moravian Church congregations. Sunday schools, and ordinary day schools, were encountered in association with the churches.

Black Rock Moravian Church mission (1869)

Spring Garden Moravian Church mission (1852)

Overall remarks Tobago: As part of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, with no World Heritage sites as yet (2023), and with two interesting candidates which have recently been the recipients of substantial conservation work, the possibilities for Tobago are interesting.

South Africa

The history of the Moravian Church mission in South Africa is distinguished. Georg Schmidt began the first mission station among the Khoi at the Cape in 1737. The Mission was resumed in 1792 at Baviaanskloof, later renamed Genadendal.

Five Moravian Church missions were visited in South Africa: Genadendal, Elim, Wupperthal (substantially destroyed by fire in 2018), Mamre and Cape Town's Moravian Hill. The layout/ensemble of the Moravian Church mission stations in South Africa tend to be consistent: church; God's Acre cemetery; house(s) for missionary/pastor and mission personnel; mission store/shop; watermill; houses for workers, etc.

Genadendal Moravian Church mission (1738/92)

Genadendal (Valley of Grace) was the first mission station (and the first Moravian mission) in southern Africa, established in 1738 by Moravian missionary Georg Schmidt (1709-85). Schmidt was chosen by Herrnhut leaders to go to the southern Cape, then under Dutch rule, to preach to the indigenous and traditionally nomadic pastoralist Khoikhoi. Genadendal became the first permanent Khoi settlement in the

Cape. Many of the buildings date from the turn of the 18th/19th centuries as the mission was re-established in 1792. Declared a National Monument in 1980, many have assisted with conservation and restoration, including the Moravian Church and the South African and Dutch governments.

The site is very well-preserved, is of high integrity and authenticity and is located in a very picturesque 'cape' setting. The site of the first mission preaching is the 'Pear Tree' (now the 7th generation of Pear).

The buildings ensemble includes Middelhuis (First Church, 1795/96), Church offices & Parsonage (1824), Church (1891/93), traditional Moravian God's Acre (1800), Mission store (1899) and Genadendal water mill (1796). The site of Schmidt's House (plot/with boundary wall) survives.

Elim Moravian Church Mission Station (1824)

Elim Moravian Mission Station is located on the Agulhas Plain in the Western Cape (48km from South Africa's true cape). It was established in 1824 and is the oldest village in the Strandveld. The current church was built in 1835. The location of water was always a prime consideration with mission stations in South Africa, and in the case of Elim, also terrain for wine growing.

Apart from the church, Elim presents an exceptional ensemble of rows of white cottages flanking the main road. It also includes one of the last working watermills in the Cape. The Elim brass band continues to thrive.

Overall remarks South Africa: South Africa presents two mission candidates of exceptional quality, Genadendal and Elim. They have interesting plans that in scale approach the category of a Moravian Church settlement. Only congregational function differentiates them. They both have an impressive stock of original and diverse buildings that are in good condition. They sustain active congregations.

Tanzania

A number of mission stations were visited in two principal districts - Mbeya and Tabora – covering the three main Moravian Church Provinces South West (Mbozi and Utengele Mission Stations), South (Lutengano, Kyimbila, Rungwe Mission Stations) and West (Kitunda, Tabora, Usoke, Urambo, Ulyankulu, Ichemba Mission Stations).

Rungwe Moravian Church mission (1891)
The oldest - and first – mission station established by the Moravian Church in Tanzania is Rungwe, on 21 August, 1891. We climbed the hill where the first four missionaries (from Herrnhut) camped, before beginning to conduct missionary

activities and beginning to establish the mission station. The area was one in which Dr Livingstone originally settled on behalf of the London Missionary Society.

The layout/ensemble of the Moravian mission stations in Tanzania tend to be fairly consistent: church; house(s) for missionary/pastor and mission personnel (colonial style with covered verandas); dispensary; carpenters' shop; and houses for workers and congregation.

Usoke Moravian Church Mission, Tabora

Settings are sometimes plantations where the location is in higher elevations and benefits from good soil and wet tropical climate, or dry semi-desert elsewhere. All missions are owned and actively occupied by Moravian Church communities, most original buildings still serving the Mission community, many in the same function for

which they were built. One mission, Sikonge, included an historic leprosy hospital. Most buildings are maintained at a basic level using local (commonly traditional) methods, although some require structural conservation work. One element that differs from most other Moravian Church sites is the configuration of the cemetery. In Tanzania there is a designated burial ground but the graves and headstones (where present, mostly for missionaries only) are distributed irregularly. Many graves are simply marked by ovals or circles of stones.

Overall remarks Tanzania: Tanzania remains an exceptionally important country for the Moravian Church and has at least one, if not two, historic mission stations that have outstanding qualities, in two of the principal provinces.

Suriname

Suriname was a nascent plantation colony that England ceded to the Netherlands in 1667. It became the Netherlands' chief sugar colony (also coffee, cocoa, cotton, coconut and rice), with an economy initially dependent on African slaves who were harshly treated. Many slaves escaped and formed distinct cultural groups of Maroons in the rainforest interior. In the 18th century, the Dutch colonial authorities signed several peace treaties with the Maroons who had formed ethnically distinct tribes, granting them sovereign status and trade rights in the remote interior (the Moravians also took the gospel, and education, to the Maroons). Suriname became part of a group of colonies called Dutch Guiana, with short periods of British occupation (1799-1802, and 1804-16). The Netherlands abolished slavery in 1863 and after a 10-year transition period, most freed slaves left the plantations and were replaced by indentured labour from the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia today) and India (through an arrangement with the British). 1975 marked independence as a republic. Between 1986-92 there was a civil war.

The Moravian Church mission in Suriname was established in 1735 (from Herrnhut), a mission among the Amerindians began in 1748 (rather unsuccessful) and continued among the African plantation slaves and Maroons. In 1873 the mission flourished among East Indians and in 1909 among the Javanese. The mission was continued after 1928 from Zeist in the Netherlands. The principal historic periods of Moravian Church development in Suriname are around the 1760s/70s, 1830-60 and the 1880s-early 1900s. This is reflected in built heritage (although churches continued, and continue, to be built in the country).

Visits ranged from the fine ensemble of the Moravian headquarters (1760s/70s) in downtown Paramaribo, the Berg en Dal plantation 75 km to the south, the remote Botopasi Moravian Mission Station on the Suriname River with its first pastor's house of 1931, and a fine ensemble of three former plantation churches (Hamilton, Totness and Salem) in the coastal agricultural district of Coronie, together with their pastors' houses and one cemetery adjacent to the main road that passed each former plantation (coconut, cotton and cocoa).

Moravian Church mission, Paramaribo (1770s)

Moravian Church headquarters in Paramaribo which has close connections to Saxony-Anhalt and Saxony

The wooden Moravian Church plantation missions of Hamilton, Totness and Salem (with pastors' houses), dating from the 1870s to 1890s

Moravian Church headquarters in Paramaribo has close connections to Saxony-Anhalt and Saxony. Moravian tailor and missionary Christoph Kersten (1733-96; born in Altmark, settled in Herrnhut 1758, ordained a deacon in 1765 and sent as a missionary to Paramaribo) established a cottage industry here. This included a tailor's, bakery, watchmaker's, and general trading of groceries and, especially, textiles sourced from many different European Moravian Church Settlements. It grew into a prosperous and enduring business in the interests of the Church, the site becoming the centre for the one-time largest mercantile enterprise of the Moravian Church. The business supported missions in Suriname, and beyond, for a great many years and continues to operate today. In 1778 the first church for slaves was built, and in 1784 Kersten retired to Gnadau where he died.

The arrangement of church and pastor's house (both made of wood) was encountered frequently in the mission stations of Suriname. Most were also associated with a school. All churches had an active Moravian congregation, with over 11% of the population in Suriname belong to the Moravian Church. The strong Moravian tradition in education continues today in Suriname with around 900 teachers teaching 25,000 pupils.

Church detail and interior

Overall remarks Suriname: Suriname has some interesting plantation mission stations and an exceptional headquarters complex now in the heart of Paramaribo.

Guyana

Guyana (Amerindian: 'land of many waters') borders Suriname to the east and is the only English-speaking country in South America. The country was settled by the Dutch before coming under British control in 1796; although two-thirds of plantation owners were still Dutch. It remained under British control, as British Guiana, with a plantation economy (Demerara sugar and rice) until the 1950s. Independence was gained in 1966, and republic status in 1970.

Amerindians, as in Suriname, had retreated into the vast rainforest hinterland and were not part of colonial life. The original plantation economy depended on African slaves under a European plantocracy. Harsh treatment resulted in slave rebellions in 1763 (almost 3,000 slaves, led by the national hero Cuffy/Kofi) and in 1823; and four others of lesser consequence. The international slave-trade was abolished in the British Empire in 1807 but slavery continued until emancipation in 1838. Many freed slaves (out of a total estimate of 90,000) left the plantations, although some, however, pooled resources to buy the abandoned plantations and establish village communities. The overall labour-shortage in the plantations was addressed from 1844 with indentured Indian labourers (under the British Indian Government) and Chinese labourers (14,000 between 1853 and 1912).

Moravian Church missionaries first came to Guyana (Berbice) in 1738, but the British plantocracy refused them permission to evangelise the African slaves. They turned their attention to the Amerindians in the rainforest hinterland but were unable to establish

a permanent mission. Moravians returned to Guyana in 1878 at the invitation of a landowner who sought Moravian teachers to educate his employees. The first permanent mission began in that year among freed slaves at Graham's Hall Plantation (East Coast of Demerara, where a new church sustains an active congregation today). This was followed by Tabernacle in 1882 and the very fine Queenstown Moravian Church in Georgetown in 1902. Churches were always twinned with schools, and this remains evident in the ensemble in Queenstown, which also includes the pastor's house. There are eight Moravian Church congregations in total in Guyana, with about 700 members, somewhat small in comparison with Suriname.

Overall remarks Guyana: The elegant Queenstown mission complex at Georgetown remains the site of interest out of several that were visited.

Labrador

Labrador is the easternmost part of the Canadian Shield metamorphic region, a vast triangular peninsula located between Quebec and the Atlantic Ocean. This remote and incredibly harsh polar and subarctic territory was then part of British North America, transferred by France at the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Today it is part of Canada. Moravians were the first Arctic missionaries, beginning their mission to the Inuit of Greenland as early as 1733 through Zinzendorf's connection to the Danish court. The

Moravians were also the first Europeans to settle in Labrador, essentially the 600-mile North Coast strip of the eastern peninsula between Cape Chidley at the northeastern tip and Hamilton Inlet in the south (further south again, the Strait of Belle Isle separates Labrador from Newfoundland). Their first voyage of exploration took place in 1752 and is associated with the at-first abortive missionary outpost at Hopedale; from 1782 re-established as a major mission station. Further Moravian explorations took place in 1764/65/70, leading to the first permanent Moravian mission among the Inuit at Nain in 1771.

Hopedale Moravian mission

Key buildings built at Hopedale by the Moravians and Inuit face the sea: from left to right – Early Mission House (1782), the oldest Moravian building on the Labrador coast (its dining hall served as the first church), later used as a store (from 1889); Second Mission House displaying characteristic Moravian building mass and symmetry of eyebrow dormers, chimneys and evenly spaced small rectangular windows), inclusive of Married Brethren and Single Brothers' accommodation (Main Wing 1853, Workshop Wing 1897 at rear); Connecting Link (1861); Church (1865, replacing and partially incorporating the first church of 1806) in characteristic salle style with hip roof gable ends, red rooftiles and distinctive cupola belltower.

The site for Hopedale ('Hoffenthal') Moravian Mission Station was approved by the Elders Conference in Germany in 1776 and the British Government in 1782. It was located at Arvertôk, a protected anchorage with fringes of flat land backed by hills with a plentiful supply of fresh water, including a large lake. Here the first Moravian missionaries contacted the Inuit in 1752.

Three principal building phases are represented in this well-preserved, legally protected, tight grouping of buildings and spaces that represent an exceptional

Original wooden buildings with limewashed clapboard and shingle/shake roofing characterise Moravian Hopedale. Behind the Church is the Dead House (1861), while in the rear precinct is a Provisions House/Store (1817), relocated Powder House, and a former general yard for goats and chickens. The site of vegetable gardens is immediately to the north. 75 yards to the west is the Moravian Boat House, while 175 yards to the east is the original 1780s God's Acre (two successive burial grounds, also neatly fenced, are located 250 yards north of the Mission Station. New Provisions House (far right) built 1817, two storeys, 49 x 20 feet in plan with spacious attic accessed from a large rock and wooden platform (also log storage area). In addition to provisions supplied annually by mission ship, the building also housed a brewery for beer and a bakery oven for making traditional German yeast bread. In 1889 it ceased to be used for provisions and was used for storing wood.

Moravian Church boathouse

example of a Moravian Church: last quarter of the 18th century (1782 Mission House); first two decades of the 19th century (1817 Provisions House/Store); and early second half of the 19th century (1853 Second Mission House and 1865 Church).

The principal mission complex comprises a compact ensemble facing the sea at the historic anchorage. Mission supply could only be annually by ship due to a frozen passage for much of the year.

The Moravian architecture of Labrador communicated specific cultural (religious and societal) values common to all Moravian Mission Stations. The stations were seen to bring order and a positive social change with a sense of socio-economic permanence to such remote and harsh frontier territories. The Moravian architectural style is unique in Canada and quite different to early French and early English colonial buildings such as those encountered in Newfoundland or in Quebec.

As stated above, Moravian sites in Labrador are mission stations, not congregational settlements of the Herrnhut type, and must be excluded from being closely comparable in comparative analysis. Inuit would camp near the mission stations between Christmas and Easter, trading, participating in church services, sending their children to school, and receiving medical care. More permanent Inuit dwellings were pit houses with wood and sod roofs; the archaeological remains of many have been recorded in Hopedale.

First Nations Inuit are a hugely important cultural group in the Moravian mission stations story, a unique culture rooted in ancient tradition blended with indigenised Moravian practices. Moravians started to evangelise the Inuit as early as 1733, in Greenland. Today, settlements established by the Moravians in Labrador (Nain, Hopedale and Makkovik) comprise three out of the five towns which fall within the northern Inuit self-government Nunatsiavut ("Our Beautiful Land"). This autonomous region was created in 2005 by agreement with the governments of Newfoundland & Labrador and Canada. Hopedale is now the legislative capital.

The principal period of Moravian Church settlement in Labrador is 1771-1904, a period still significantly represented by built heritage, commonly timber framed with a reinforcement of brick walls, and wooden shingle roofs. There was a total of eight missions established over this 133-year period, including Okak (1776-1919, wiped out by the Spanish flue), Hebron (1830-1959; ended by government relocation) and Makkovik (1896 to date). Hopedale Mission is a protected National Historic Site of Canada.

The traditional way of Inuit life had a strong and well-developed oral tradition. Traditional stories and songs were transmitted through generations but there was no written record until the Moravians settled. Labrador Inuktitut dialect was the first in Canada to be written down and the Labrador Moravian Inuit are the first to have written in their own language (1780s). Until the 1950s almost all educational and medical services in Northern Labrador were provided by the Moravian Church (the province took over schooling in Labrador after Newfoundland entered confederation with Canada in 1949). Active Moravian congregations remain and almost 80 per cent of the residents of the region of Nunatsiavut are of Moravian faith and administer their own churches (since 2005). There is a vibrant Moravian musical heritage.

Overall remarks Labrador: Hopedale Moravian Mission Station (Canada) stands out as an exceptional site that is well maintained and protected.

Greenland

Greenland, the world's largest island, is part of the Kingdom of Denmark. Now a self-governing overseas administrative division of Denmark, sovereignty stretches back to Norse settlement from the 980s CE, bringing Christianity around 1000 CE. The Norse peoples had abandoned Greenland by around 1450 CE but, interestingly (although not unsurprisingly), the two principal areas of Norse settlement (Eastern Settlement and Western Settlement) correspond broadly with the subsequent principal locations of Moravian Church settlements – Lichtenau (founded 1774), Idlorpait (1864), and Friedrichsthal (1768) in the Eastern Norse settlement, and Neu Herrnhut (1733), Umanak (1861), and Lichtenfels (1748) in the region of Western Norse settlement. Their locations are depicted on map no. 1 in Missions-Atlas der Brüdergemeine (Herrnhut, 1907).

Today, Greenland is the home-land of indigenous Inuit peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic (the Thule culture, ancestors of the Greenlandic population, migrated from present-day Alaska to Greenland by around 1300 CE). Moravian Church outreach with the Inuit also took place in the Labrador peninsula, around 900 km southwest across the Labrador Sea. The dashed line at the top is the Arctic Circle, an indication of this extreme climatic maritime region.

Lichtenau is the only substantial mission surviving broadly in its original context (1774-1900 under the Moravian Church, surrendered to the Lutheran Church of Denmark in 1900). Moravian superintendent Matthias Stach (1711-87), who set up the first Moravian mission in Greenland at New Herrnhut in 1733, left Greenland in 1771 to retire to Bethabara in North America. He had already noted in the mid-1760s that there were many Inuit residing on the narrow peninsulas and islands among the deep fjords near the protected and fertile site which became Lichtenau. 24 July 1774: John Soerensen and his wife from Lichtenfels, accompanied by a single brother Gottfried Grillich and four families of Christian Greenlanders, pitched their tents, and founded Lichtenau ('Light-meadow'). Before the year ended, no fewer than 90 Inuit became residents. The following winter there were nearly 200, with 250 Inuit baptised within the next few years. Lichtenau was styled the 'Greenland Goshen', from it being so much milder than the two northern settlements of New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels. There was no communication with Europe (as there was in Labrador) however, as annual vessels to New Herrnhut did not come this far south. In 1828 there were 668 residents.

Overall remarks Greenland: An important early mission field with an exceptional mission station surviving at Lichtenau. There is no active Moravian Church congregation and the site is almost deserted though well cared for.

Annex III

Comparative Analysis extracted from the Nomination Document of -

Christiansfeld - a Moravian Church Settlement,

inscribed on the
World Heritage List in 2015

Annex III

Comparative Analysis extracted from the Nomination Document of -

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3.2　Comparative Analysis

How to read the comparative analysis

The comparative analysis consists of three main parts: an external comparative analysis of relevant sites on the World Heritage List and the tentative lists, an internal comparative analysis of other Moravian settlements, and finally a chapter setting forth why there is no transnational serial nomination of Moravian settlements.

The first portion of the analysis, the external comparative analysis, contains a structured screening of comparable sites on the World Heritage List and the tentative lists. The screening is used to compare *Christiansfeld* with relevant sites. This portion of the analysis was prepared by the authors of this nomination architect and town planner MA Karen Stoklund, MA in European Ethnology Annemette Løkke Berg as well as MSc urban design Lene Lindberg Marcussen.

The second portion of the analysis, the internal comparative analysis, compares *Christiansfeld* directly with the 26 other Moravian settlements around the world. This portion of the analysis was prepared by Assistant Professor Kolbjørn Nybø (Oslo School of Architecture and Design, Department of Form, History, and Theory in Norway) with advice from a panel of researchers and professional experts from Denmark and abroad who have special expertise in architecture, town planning, history, theology, and philosophy, which are relevant for comparing the Moravian settlements.

The panel of researchers was led by the Director of the Christiansfeld Centre, MA in European Ethnology Annemette Løkke Berg, in collaboration with Assistant Professor Kolbjørn Nybø, who held academic responsibility for the analysis and prepared the main parts of the analysis. The panel of researchers contributed individual articles to the analysis as well as academic discussion and advice. The panel of researchers consisted of Moravian Church reverend and Unity Business Administrator, Rev. Dr Jørgen Bøytler; the geographer Professor Jürgen Lafrenz (University of Hamburg, Germany); the architects MA Jørgen Toft Jessen and Professor MA Jens Kvorning; and Museum Director MA Poul Dedenroth-Schou. The panel of researchers was furthermore assisted by Kolding Municipality represented by architect and town planner MA Karen Stoklund.

The internal comparative analysis consists in part of a number of articles authored by members of the panel of researchers. The articles contain background information on the Moravian Church's history and its establishment of settlements as well as reflections on contemporary architecture and town planning. There is also a section briefly describing the 27 Moravian settlements included in the analysis. The analysis itself is schematic and contains a comparison based on criteria that were selected relative to the outstanding universal values associated with criteria (iii) and (iv), authenticity, integrity and protection of the settlement. This leads to the conclusion of the analysis.

The panel of researchers decided during the course of the research that *Christiansfeld* should be nominated under criteria (iii) and (iv) rather than criteria (i) and (iv), which were the criteria under which the town was included on the Danish tentative list.

The final section of the comparative analysis addresses the question as to why there is no transnational serial nomination of Moravian settlements. On the basis of the internal comparative analysis, this section discusses both the possibilities and problems involved in a collective nomination of Moravian settlements as well as why such a transnational nomination is not possible today. This section was, like the external comparative analysis, prepared by the authors of this application.

Introduction to External Comparative Analysis

This analysis aims to assess *Christiansfeld* relative to the sites that are already included on the World Heritage List as well as sites that are included on the national tentative lists. It is worthwhile to consider the extent to which other sites on these lists might represent the same outstanding universal values as *Christiansfeld*. A number of criteria have been defined based on *Christiansfeld's* outstanding universal values, and these must be fulfilled if it is relevant to compare a place with *Christiansfeld*. There may well be places that share certain characteristics with *Christiansfeld* but that cannot be deemed comparable with *Christiansfeld* due to their fundamental values.

All of the towns on the World Heritage List and the tentative lists have been systematically reviewed on the basis of the selected criteria. We take our point of departure in the determination that only living towns should be included inasmuch as it would not be worthwhile to compare *Christiansfeld* with archaeological sites, even if the sites bore some similarities to *Christiansfeld* with respect to specific themes.

The screening has been based on the information regarding each site that is accessible from UNESCO's website. In individual cases, this has been supplemented by an assessment of the town structure based on orthophotos from Google Earth.

The screening is constructed in four levels, each of which contains individual criteria. If a site fulfils the criteria in the first level, then the assessment continues on to the next level, etc. If a site does not fulfil the criteria in the first level, then the screening is concluded immediately and does not continue on to the other levels.

The first screening level aims to determine whether the site is a planned town, i.e. whether the town was established on the basis of a plan and was constructed within a relatively limited time period. This level also excludes planned structures that are not towns *per se*, such as monasteries, castles, town ruins, archaeological excavations, etc.

The second screening level aims to determine whether the town was designed for inhabitation by a particular group of people, i.e. whether it was designed for a homogenous group possessing a shared cultural or religious background. It has been determined, for example, that Spanish colonial towns in Latin America fulfil this criteria. In addition, it is assessed whether a town was established as a civilian town and not on the basis of military planning or with the inclusion of defensive structures. Towns designed as residences for royal or imperial rulers are not regarded as civilian sites in this context.

The third screening level aims to determine whether the planned town's character is comparable with that of *Christiansfeld* in terms of the time period, architectural context, and layout of the town plan.

The fourth screening level was reached by only a few sites and aims to determine whether the site is a town that was established on a religious basis, as was the case with *Christiansfeld*. A comparison of *Christiansfeld* with relevant sites was prepared on the basis of the results of the screening.

External Comparative Analysis

As of November 2013, the World Heritage List contains a total of 981 sites distributed across 160 countries, and of these, 759 are cultural heritage sites. Of these 759 cultural sites, 171 towns have been screened in order to determine whether they are comparable to *Christiansfeld* relative to the criteria described in the foregoing pages.

As of November 2013, the national tentative lists contain 1562 sites distributed across 172 countries, and of these, 1020 are cultural heritage sites distributed across 160 countries. Of these 1020 cultural sites, 112 towns have been screened in order to determine whether they are comparable to *Christiansfeld* relative to the criteria described in the foregoing pages.

In other words, screening has been applied to 285 towns from around the world that are on either the World Heritage List or a tentative list for the World Heritage List. The full screening is annexed as Annex IV.

The screening revealed only one place that can be said to fulfil all of the relevant criteria. This is Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos, a collective nomination of the Jesuit mission stations in Bolivia. A closer comparison with this World Heritage Site is engaged in at the end of this analysis.

The screening confirmed that there a number of places both on the World Heritage List and the national tentative lists that possess one or more significant parallels with *Christiansfeld*. They all differ from *Christiansfeld* in other equally important ways, as a result of which actual comparison with these places has proved unnecessary.

These sites are, however, interesting in the sense that they can be categorised into four different types of towns, namely colonial towns, industrial towns, convent and monastery towns, and mission stations. The screening results of the 15 sites that are most comparable to *Christianfeld*, can be seen in the table on the following pages.

X represents "yes" and \ represents "no".

Site	White City of Tel-Aviv - the Modern Movement, Israel	Old Village of Hollókő and its Surroundings, Hungary	Island of Saint-Louis, Senegal	Old Rauma, Finland	Holašovice Historical Village Reservation, Czech Republic	The settlement of Joden Savanne and Cassipora cemetery, Suriname	Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos, Bolivia
Criteria	(ii)(iv)	(v)	(ii)(iv)	(iv)(v)	(ii)(iv)	(iv)(vi)	(iv)(v)
WHL (W) or Tentative list (T)	W	W	W	W	W	T	W
1. level of screening							
city/town neighbourhood	X	X	X	X	X	ruined	X
planned structure	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. level of screening							
for one community	Jewish community	?	colonial town	Built around a Franciscan monestary	possesed by cistercian monestary	jewish refugees	Jesuit mission
civil city/town	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. level of screening							
period 1700-1850	Founded in 1909, built 1930s-1950s	18th-19th century replaced a village, that abondoned in 1683	Founded in the 17th century but urbanized in the mid-19th century	14th century but rebuilt late 17th century	13th century	1665	1696-1760
homogeneous architecture	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
grid structure	(X)	X	X	(X)	\	X	X
4. level of screening							
religious foundation	X	\	\	X	X	X	X

Site	White City of Tel-Aviv - the Modern Movement, Israel	New Lanark, Great Britain	Saltaire, Great Britain	La Chaux-de-Fonds / Le Locle, Watchmaking Town Planning, Switzerland	Historic Centre of São Luís, Brazil	Urban Historic Centre of Cienfuegos, Cuba	Koloniën van Weldadigheid, Netherlands	Old Town Lunenburg
Criteria	(ii)(iv)	(ii)(iv)(vi)	(ii)(iv)	(iv)	(iii)(iv)(v)	(ii)(iv)	(ii)(iv)(vi)	(iv)(v)
WHL (W) or Tentative list (T)	W	W	W	W	W	W	T	W
1. level of screening								
city/town neighbourhood	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
planned structure	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. level of screening								
for one community	Jewish community	cotton mill workers	industrial village	watchmaking	portuguese colonial town	french immigrants, cane sugar production	built by the Maatschappij van Weldadigheid	British colony
civil city/town	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. level of screening								
period 1700-1850	Founded in 1909, built 1930s-1950s	1785	1850	early 19th century	X	X	1818	1753
homogeneous architecture	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)
grid structure	(X)	\	X	X	X	X	X	X
4. level of screening								
religious foundation	X	\	\	\	\	\	\	\

Colonial Towns

The period of 1700-1850 was characterised in part by the establishment of a large number of colonial towns, particularly in Latin America. These towns possess many similarities to *Christiansfeld* in terms of their planned town structures, often with homogenous architecture and a striking grid system. This is a case of contemporary town planning ideas, which exerted a great influence on colonial towns in various parts of the globe at this time, including in the development of religious ideal cities like *Christiansfeld*.

Within this group, special mention can be made of Island of Saint-Louis (Senegal), Historic Centre of São Luís (Brazil), Old Town Lunenburg, Koloniën van Weldadigheid, and Urban Historic Centre of Cienfuegos (Cuba).

Christiansfeld is also characterised as a colony in the sense that the town was built from the ground up by members of the Moravian Church from Saxony. The Moravian Church in Christiansfeld maintained close contact with the mother town of Herrnhut. The short period of construction and the clearly delimited town plan that covers all of the necessary town functions are characteristics that *Christiansfeld* shares with many of the colonial towns that were founded around the world in the 17th Century.

Christiansfeld differs significantly from the contemporary colonial towns, however, in the societal and cultural structure it was designed to serve. The town's special functional structure, with its choir houses and religious and social communion, were designed as the foundations for an ideal society.

Many colonial towns were established with substantial defensive structures and only reached Level 2 of the screening as a result since this causes them to diverge significantly from *Christiansfeld's* open, unprotected structure.

The screening also shows, that no other colonial towns in Europe are represented amongst the sites on the World Heritage List and the Tentative Lists. This emphasizes *Christiansfeld* as a unique phenomenon being a colonial town in Europe.

Industrial Towns and Villages

The period of 1700-1850 saw the establishment of a large number of industrial towns and villages in which a single large company prompted the construction of a new society of labourers around one or more factories. These towns are similar to *Christiansfeld* in terms of their communal work, homogenous architecture, and planned structure. Many of the towns were likewise built in accordance with a kind of grid system.

Within this group, special mention can be made of New Lanark (UK), Saltaire (UK), and La Chaux-de-Fonds / Le Locle (Switzerland).

Like the colonial towns, the industrial towns diverge from *Christiansfeld* in their not having been established on a religious basis. These towns were built around an industrial complex at the core of the settlements. This is in contrast with the construction of *Christiansfeld*, where the church hall and church hall square are the central elements in the town plan.

Some of these industrial towns were, however, also established in accordance with ideas concerning an ideal society, with better conditions for workers than were dominant elsewhere in contemporary society.

Craftsmanship and industrial production represented a significant part of the Moravian Church's work already from the start of *Christiansfeld's* existence and were an important reason why the Moravian Church was permitted to create a colony in Denmark. The way in which the town is laid out, with accommodation and work areas closely connected, is a characteristic that *Christiansfeld* shares with a number of industrial towns.

Convent and Monastery Towns
A number of monasteries and convents are among the towns that share characteristics with *Christiansfeld*. Although these towns sometimes possess similar qualities to those of *Christiansfeld* in terms of homogeneity of architecture and town structure, they have been inscribed onto the World Heritage List on account of completely different Outstanding Universal Values than those recommended for *Christiansfeld*.

Within this group, special mention can be made of Old Rauma (Finland) and Holašovice Historical Village Reservation (Czech Republic).

Old Rauma is inscribed onto the World Heritage List because of its status as the largest unified historical wooden town in the Nordic countries. Its Outstanding Universal Values are thus not linked to its status as a monastery town but instead to its unusual wooden architecture.

Holašovice is inscribed onto the list as exceptionally representative of the South Bohemian Folk Baroque style of construction and as an exceptional example of a traditional Central European village.

3.3 New Lanark,
Great Britain

Religious Settlements and Mission Stations
Besides the other Moravian towns, *Christiansfeld* most resembles religious settlements and mission stations, which indeed is the group of towns to which *Christiansfeld* itself belongs.

This category includes Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos (Bolivia), which is inscribed onto the World Heritage List, and the Settlement of Joden Savanne and Cassipora Cemetery (Suriname), which is inscribed onto Suriname's tentative list.

Joden Savanne's history, religious foundations, town structure, and presumably formerly homogenous architecture present many parallels with *Christiansfeld*. The great difference between the two towns is that Joden Savanne burned down in 1832 and was later abandoned. All that remains today are the foundations of the former synagogue and the remnants of the cemetery. Values associated with a living town and its culture as well as beautifully preserved architecture are thus absent from Joden Savanne.

Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos represents a collective nomination of mission settlements in Bolivia, which were originally established for Christianised Amer-indian populations. Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos is inscribed onto the World Heritage List under criteria (iv) and (v).

The category of religious settlements also includes the White City of Tel-Aviv: The Modern Movement (Israel). This was, however, established far later, in the first half of the 20th Century, and thus cannot be compared with *Christiansfeld*.

Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos and *Christiansfeld*
Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos are inspired by the 16th-Century Humanist philosophers' ideas concerning the ideal city and thus possesses strong parallels with the ideas concerning the ideal society on which *Christiansfeld* was built. The six remaining missions were constructed in accordance with an idealised town model,

3.4 Jesuit Missions of the
Chiquitos, Conception

with houses for the Indians on three sides of a rectangular square. The fourth side was reserved for churches, workshops, and schools. The architecture exhibits clear examples of the meeting between European and local building traditions.

With its concept of a religious ideal city, rectangular town plans, and homogenous architecture that reflects imported architectural elements in interaction with local building traditions, Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos has numerous obvious parallels with *Christiansfeld*. Whereas *Christiansfeld* represents an exceptional example of a Protestant Christian ideal society, built by the Moravian Church for the Moravian Church, Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos represents the Catholic Church's attempt to evangelise and expand in the New World, and Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos is thus primarily constructed for use by converted natives rather than by members of the Jesuit Order.

The Moravian Church's Christiansfeld and Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos are representatives of two religious cultures that operated during the same historical period. The meeting of Southern European Baroque with Amerindian building and decorative traditions has created a unique architectural expression for Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos, one that is quite distinct from that of *Christiansfeld*. Catholicism's lavish interior and exterior decorative culture stands in sharp contrast to Protestant Pietist architecture's rejection of decorative elements, which one finds in *Christiansfeld*.

The inscription of *Christiansfeld* onto the World Heritage List would help tell a more nuanced story of the 18th Century's contradictory movements in religious architecture and town planning, thereby also strengthening the narrative of Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos by contextualising it alongside other contemporary societal trends.

3.5 Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos, San Miguel.

Conclusion of the external comparative analysis
A number of interesting parallels can be drawn between *Christiansfeld* and other sites on the World Heritage List, all of which highlight *Christiansfeld's* position in its 18th-Century context.

The use of a grid system as a basis for the town plan is present in many of the Spanish, French, and British colonisation projects in North and South America. We can identify numerous towns founded by European monastic orders or religious groups that regarded the Americas as presenting the opportunity for a new beginning. In these towns, the grid structure is often applied in such a way as to make the square the central element in a strict ground plan. These new towns, built from the ground up, are manifestations of new ideas concerning town planning that exerted an influence on new towns in the 18th Century. Such thinking clearly also influenced the establishment of *Christiansfeld*.

Christiansfeld, with its integration of collective housing, workshops, and small industrial businesses, can be regarded as a predecessor of the later industrial towns, which arose primarily in the 19th Century. The ideas of the ideal society, with better conditions for workers through higher quality accommodation, improved education, and humane working conditions are present not only in towns such as New Lanark (founded 1785) but also in *Christiansfeld's* functional structure and attention to quality architecture. This is an expression of the initial cautious steps toward the industrialisation and urbanisation of the 1800s.

By reviewing the cultural heritage sites on the World Heritage List and the national tentative lists, we can confirm that no sites on the lists represent a Protestant Christian ideal city that – by means of its clear urban structure and simple, unornamented, and homogenous architecture – reflects the idea of a simple life of work and community.

The Moravian Church built a total of 27 settlements in Europe and North American in the period of 1721-1827. Besides being characterised by a meeting of Central European and local building traditions, all of these settlements possess a number of shared characteristics. None of the settlements has yet be inscribed onto the World Heritage List, and Christiansfeld is the only one of the 27 settlements to be placed on a national tentative list.

We will now undertake a comparative analysis with the aim of comparing the values in place at the 27 Moravian settlements. The analysis will make clear why *Christiansfeld* in particular possesses outstanding universal values and is being nominated for inscription onto UNESCO's World Heritage List.

Town planning in the renaissance and baroque periods

Author: Kolbjørn Nesje Nybø, assistant professor at the Institute of Form, Theory and History, Oslo School of Architecture and Design.

During the 1300s and 1400s, towns became so influential in Europe that they came to represent a third societal ideal alongside those of feudalism and the Church. Whereas the power of feudal society was rooted in landed estates, and the power of the Church resided in religion, the towns' power was based on capital. Trade and expanded markets, improved monetary systems, and the free flow of capital gave citizens new opportunities vis-à-vis the Church and the nobility. This new situation led to new conceptions. One result was a faith in knowledge, and another was Humanism, a movement based on the belief in the potential of the individual.

Two characteristics of Renaissance architecture are particularly illustrative of the period's emphasis on the humanistic and the intellectual. One such characteristic is the reapplication of Classical architecture. Humanism regarded antiquity as an era in which man took pride of place, an understanding that was only reinforced by the discovery of the ancient writings of Vitruvius. The other characteristic is that built environments were meant to be designed geometrically in terms of layout, façades, and spaces dominated by the square, the grid, and the circle, thereby making visible the period's sense for intellectual thought systems such as mathematics and logic. Geometric figures were regarded as nature's primary forms, underlying and guiding all variations in the visible world. Following Plato's model, it was believed that geometry was an expression of the world of ideas and that these buildings represented the actualisation of ideas in space and time.

The Renaissance transformed the mythical landscape of the Middle Ages into something largely safe and human, and it became fashionable to design geometric recreational gardens with statues. Unlike the utilitarian gardens of the Middle Ages, recreational gardens were places to be experienced, where one could stroll along in cool shadows, feel the breeze, and smell the flowers. Geometry was a means of ordering the greenery, and the core of the Renaissance garden was the central area, often laid out in quadratic form, with hedges and paths leading into the middle. It was as though order waged war against chaos when the man-made garden battled against the will of nature. Renaissance gardens were also decorated with statues of people and animals. Man had quite concretely populated nature and conquered growth.

Quite typically, town planning became important for Renaissance architects. They envisioned an ideal city, which they presented in the form of both theories and projects. The town was meant to be centralised, either many-sided or round, and with straight streets that radiated out from a central square. Fortified embankments with pointed bastions framed the town, and the landscape was not permitted to disturb the town's geometry. Few such towns were actually established, and even fewer were ever completed, with one well-known example of a nearly complete town being Palmanova from the late 1500s, designed by Vincenzo Scamozzi (died 1616). The Renaissance ideas were, however, more prominent when it came time to redeveloping existing towns.

The Baroque period is known as the age of systems, when people wished to revive the great associations within society. The quest for order led to the creation of comprehensive and totalitarian rule over institutions, yet the Bible and Biblical interpretations were seen as the highest authority. A well-known example is the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV of France, a prince by 'the grace of God' and the 'Sun King', who ruled by divine right. The Renaissance idea of the strong individual combined with the political weakening of the nobility meant that the absolute monarchy was strengthened by the middle class merchants in the towns. In contrast to the Renaissance's small independent city republics, territorial states such as France, the Netherlands, and England now ruled the day. One characteristic of Baroque thought was a desire for synthesis. The exercise of power should ideally be concentrated in a secular or religious authority, and the message to this effect should ideally be communicated in as dramatic a manner as possible. Visual demonstrations should be used to convince people of the system's superiority.(Thiis-Evensen 1995: p. 100)

The Baroque conception of the landscape is particularly evident in the period's design of parks, in which the desire to dominate one's surroundings means that nature must be tamed. It is necessary to unite and meld together the labours of man and nature, but this must be done on mankind's premises. Baroque parks typically feature great axes stretching out into the wild nature, a trend that finds its ultimate expression in French garden architecture.

This thinking is prominent in town planning as well. It was no longer desirable for towns to be surrounded by broad bastions as during the Renaissance; they should instead be more open. Existing towns were given axes that connected diverse areas, yet the axes were also used to symbolise power and were laid out in such a manner as to end at or intersect at important public buildings or monuments, as is particularly evident in Paris and Rome.

Baroque architecture does not diverge hugely from that of the Renaissance since both find inspiration in Classical architecture. One can, however, generally state that the Baroque period places greater emphasis on overlapping forms, dynamism, and axes than does the Renaissance, in which buildings and forms are more frequently added to one another as distinct entities.

A Christian ideal city
According to Plato's model, geometry is an expression of the world of ideas, and buildings are the actualisation of ideas in space and time. We must regard Andreae's Christian ideal city in this context. Johannes Valentinus Andreae (1585-1642) established the Societas Christiana Christian brotherhood, in which harmony between life and learning represents a central ideal. He dreamed of a true Christian brotherhood and *"welche unter dem Kreuze nach Rosen duftet und sich von den Beflekkungen, Verwirrungen, Torheiten und Eitelkeiten der Welt soweit als möglich entfernt."* (Dülmen 1978: p.144). *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae descriptio* (1618) (better known as Christianopolis, Fama Fraternitatis (1615)) and *Chymische Hochzeit: Christiani Rozenkreutz. Anno 1459* (1616) all emphasise the Christian 'rose cross', which is mentioned in Andreae's best-known works. These ideas of a purely Christian society were not just the first German but also the first *Lutheran* representations of

a utopian civilisation. Lexau juxtaposes them with Early Modern visions of utopian civilisations such as Thomas Moore's *Utopia*, Thomas Campanella's *Civitas Solis*, and Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis. Christianopoli*s therefore deserves a special place in the history of literary utopias. (Lexau 2007: p.44) Andreae also wrote the poem 'Christenburg', presumably in 1617, the year before he sketched out Christianopolis. Here, he describes a hexagonal fortified city, yet the fortifications do not seem to be designed for military purposes but instead as a symbolic defence of the Christian faith, based on Christian numerology. He calls the town's bastions *Justitia, Prudentia, Amor, Liberalitas, Temperantia, Castitas, Patients, Humilitas, Spes, Labor,* and *Obedientia*. The bulwark of the inner citadel is formed by *Baptism, Faith, Prayer, Eucharist, Law,* and the *Holy Orders*. He calls the outer bulwark Religion. Andreae, in other words, envisioned a city that provides a physical framework for the good Christian life. His ideal city provides insight into one of the aims of the geometric city structures of the 17th and 18th Centuries.

Towns in Northern Europe
Renaissance ideas concerning fortified cities laid the groundwork for urban development in the 17th Century and the first half of the 18th Century. Leiden in the Netherlands played an important role in the development of Nordic fortified cities. *De Sterchtenbouwing*, designed by Simon Stevin (1548-1620) and published in 1594, was the first Dutch tract concerning the art of constructing fortifications. Stevin focused on making plans that were comprehensible to as many people as possible and thus translated Italian, French, and Latin terminology into Dutch. Stevin also set forth a rectangular plan entitled Ideale Stad (ground plan), which his son Hendrick published posthumously in 1649. Here, Stevin discusses the relationship between fortifications, military needs, and civilian needs and asserts that rectangular plans offer more space for civilian needs. It sometimes seems as though Stevin is more concerned with societal organisation than with the optimal geometric symmetry represented by the Italian radical town plans. Outer fortifications are also less visible in his plan (Lexau 2007: p.40). It can, in other words, be argued that Stevin preferred rectangular plans over plans with streets radiating out of a central square. But why did he prefer these? Can it simply be a matter of societal organisation? According to Charles van den Heuvel, much of Stevin's rationale for this preference was inherited from the French mathematician Pierre de la Ramée (1515-1572), also known as 'Ramus'. He used what he called the 'natural' method, which he depicted using a dichotomised diagram[2]: Van den Heuvel points out that Stevin makes use of this method in his *De Sterctenbouwing*, dividing wholes into smaller units, and that, in his *Wisconstige Ghedachtenissen* (written in 1605-1608), he makes express use of dichotomies (Heuvel 1991: p.146). Square town plans and straight street corners are also mentioned in the Bible, and Dülmen shows how close contemporary town planning ideals are to the Christian optimism expressed in Ezekiel 48 and Revelations 21 (Dülmen 1778: p.165).

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2 Ramus used logical order to split a subject of discussion into arguments and sub-arguments. In the dichotomised diagram, a concept was divided into two symmetrical parts, which were themselves divided in such a way as to ensure that all aspects of the original concept could be understood.

In other words, round, octagonal, and square town plans were all meaningful in the Christian world of ideas: It was possible to choose. Rectangular plans were to become recognised features and central to the educations of engineers in Northern Europe. This is in part because Prince Mauritz, viceroy of Holland and Zeeland, established an educational programme in Leiden (Neder-Duytsche Mathematique), based in part on Stevin's thinking and Rasmus' methods. In addition, Prince Mauritz was a supporter of the right angles and symmetrical systems underlying the model created by Polybius (200-118 BC) for organising military camps. In parts of Northern Europe, it became a tradition to design four-cornered cities instead of many-sided cities. For instance, the Danish King Christian IV established a series of such towns in the 17th Century.

The Christiansfeld Plan

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This account of possible sources for *Christiansfeld's* town plan is based on the premise that, in such cases, one can rarely point out any one particular reference and that town plans instead draw upon an extensive library of common sources or references. The way in which this reference library is used differs, naturally, in accordance with the filters of interpretation and classification that belong to each era, yet there are certain basic forms and characteristics that continue to work across time.

The next premise is that, when it comes to town plans and their histories, it is important to differentiate between constructed towns and gradually growing towns. Constructed towns display striking shared characteristics, stretching from the constructed towns of the Ancient Greeks to those of the Romans to those of the Middle Ages to the ideal town diagrams of the Renaissance to the refined town square compositions of the 1700s. Different motivations are given, however, for the particularly meaningful parts of the towns and for the relationships between town form and society and between civil power and divine authority.

The Greek town model
In 472 BC, Hippodamus' reconstruction plan for Milet introduced the concept of using a strict geometric grid to control urban development. Exceptions to or special places within this general grid pattern were granted to areas for religious activities, trade, institutions of civilian life, and meeting places. These exceptional places introduced a new scale and new building forms yet were nevertheless integrated into the fundamental geometric structure. The only element of Hippodamus' plan that is not subjugated to or does not follow the underlying grid is the city wall. This wall was guided by the landscape and followed the contours of the range of hills upon which the town would normally be located.

The Roman town model
The Roman town diagram, which was originally developed to permit the rapid establishment and defence of a military camp, is also based on an underlying structure formed by a strict geometric grid. Here too, however, certain elements stand out from the underlying structure, and particular ceremonies were used to consecrate and protect the town. Roman towns were consecrated by ploughing over the track upon which fortifications were to be raised, thereby establishing a protected and civilised interior and unprotected and uncivilised exterior. The land within this boundary was structured in the form of two axes at right angles to each other, dividing the town into four segments. The most important civil, religious, and entertainment-oriented institutions were placed around the intersection of these two axes. These central buildings often blocked off the intersection so that the axes were no longer through-going but instead led from the town gates to the important institutions.

The Medieval town

Medieval towns are often referred to as being 'self-grown', that is, as being characterised by a form that cannot be explained in terms of geometric order. There are nevertheless towns from the Middle Ages that are based on a strict grid system. The temporal dimension is decisive here: If the town grew slowly, it would be through additions that usually followed differences in the landscape and prompted more or less organic urban growth. If, on the other hand, the town was constructed quickly, then even in the Middle Ages, attempts were made to fit it to a strict geometric grid that could organise the town's various functions and indicate their places in this time of expansion, when many buildings needed to be constructed simultaneously. Towns such as Montpazier and other of the French 'Bastides', which were established as means of laying claim to territory, use the grid in this manner, as does, for example, Aigues Mortes, which was created as a base for Crusaders.

The Renaissance town

The Renaissance brought with it the traditions of 'tracts', that is, the preparation of written declarations that set out how one should understand and work with architecture as well as with a town's form. These declarations spread great distances because they emerged at the same time as the printing press, allowing books to be produced in greater numbers and thus be more widely distributed than had been the case for manually copied texts. From the 1450s and thereafter, large numbers of such tracts were produced, mostly concerning the form of the ideal city. These invariably concerned town plans that followed an ideal geometric form, so that, for instance, a circle or a polygon surrounded and defined the town space. The ideal geometric form was important because Renaissance society believed that geometry could explain how the world was ordered. Working with and subjugating oneself to the set geometric form was thus a means of working in accordance with the principles that structured the world and connected the worldly with the divine. The ideal geometric form – whether a circle or a polygon – resulted in the designation of a central point. This centre was both the town's centre, where key institutions were to be located, and a central point from which one could communicate with the divine. When read horizontally, it was the centre of urban society, and when read vertically, it was the encounter with the divine. Most of these ideal city diagrams place a ring around this centre, one that intersected the streets radiating out from the centre and that could be used to construct sub-centres. These sub-centres could be sites for trade functions and local religious institutions and could also symbolise and emphasise the town's civil and religious hierarchy.

As noted above, the town diagrams of the Renaissance received hitherto unparalleled dispersion due to new printing techniques. However, practically speaking, it was not possible during this period to construct entire towns that realised the ideal city diagrams. The only town that can truly be said to have been realised was the Italian town of Palmanova, close to the Austrian border, yet even this was constructed only in the start of 1600s, by which time the Renaissance was already giving way to the Baroque. Towns were not being constructed in accordance with ideal city diagrams

during the Renaissance because the great plagues of the 14th Century had caused a significant reduction in Europe's population, meaning that, during the Renaissance, new towns were unnecessary, and minor town expansions could satisfy any needs.

If we consider Europe in the 17th Century, however, we will see the construction of more new towns that stick closely to ideal city diagrams. Numerous towns were built in the Netherlands, and the Dutch interpretation of the ideal city diagram made it to Denmark in the form of Christianshavn and other new towns established by Christian IV. In France, many towns were constructed for defensive purposes in the 1600s. Even though this occurred at a time when the Baroque dominated architectural thinking, the plans for these 'usable cities' converged significantly with the ideal city diagrams of the Renaissance. The only difference was that defensive works became more extensive than had been envisioned at the close of the 1400s. Examples like these have prompted some architectural theorists (for instance, Leonardo Benevolo) to assert that, when it comes to town form and town architecture, Renaissance models and ideals lived on in practice in Baroque period town planning. This argument can also be interpreted in the sense that the town model that emerged in the Renaissance was of such a general type that it persisted even as building architecture and landscape planning turned to new themes and forms in the Baroque period.

The Baroque town design
Baroque ideas concerning town design arose primarily from garden planning. Projects such as Le Nôtre's expansive parks at Versailles and Vaux le Vicomte provided the models that are normally regarded as defining characteristics of Baroque town and landscape architecture. The immense axes place the absolute monarch, by virtue of his palace, as a completely dominating figure capable of conquering the landscape – in principle, all the way to the horizon. These models were used within town planning to some extent (for instance, in the town of Versailles and in Karlsruhe), but there are few town projects that realised these models on a larger scale. The town of Richelieu, which Cardinal Richelieu had built for himself, consisted of a park that lived up to some of the Baroque ideals, but the town belonging to this park points back to Renaissance ideals.

The manner in which the Baroque was integrated into urban architecture was through square complexes, where the town square opened up to its surroundings and ideally became part of the town's interconnected spatial system instead of being the kind of inward-looking square so typical of the Renaissance.

The Rococo period
Focus on squares and the system of squares came to characterise urban architecture of the 1700s. Rococo entered architectural history as a refined and elegant style with squares such as Amalienborg Slotsplads in Copenhagen and Place Vendôme in Paris as well as complexes of squares such as those in Nancy and Bath in England. Experiments were made with open squares, which were at once within the town and at the edge of the landscape. Corners were removed, thereby making the space within the square less clearly defined and giving the landscape the opportunity to wriggle its way in through

openings. Work was done with sophisticated compositions of various building sizes in order to border and define the squares. Across Europe, Rococo led to more or less distinguished examples of this new approach to the town square— and to the use of the square as an element of urban renewal.

The reference library
I have not had access to any sources that point out obvious role models for *Christiansfeld*. I therefore maintain the thesis that we must basically see the town architecture's history as a sort of reference library offering a variety of models, which present strong shared characteristics that are open to continual reinterpretation.

Both when it comes to the theoretical debate in the run up to the 18th Century and when it comes to the town designs that were actually realised, we can agree with Benevolo that the models of the Renaissance are models with a horizon beyond any specific period and are models that were widely reused.

After the Renaissance, we also see the emergence of tracts and declarations advocating for ideal town designs that are very close to the Renaissance – or otherwise generic – grid system towns. This use of the grid also occurs widely in Spanish, French, and British colonies in North and South America and was continued by Thomas Jefferson, who used it as the organising system for the USA's western states in the latter half of the 1700s.

It is evident that religious groups in particular emphasised specific aspects of town design, focusing in particular on the centre as a place for symbolic communication with the divine but also more generally regarding the grid system as signalling order, moderation, and hierarchy.

Among the various American colonies, we find examples of towns constructed by European monastic societies or by religious groups that saw America as an opportunity for a new beginning. All such groups used the grid system and the central square as their organisational model. Use of the grid as a basic structure was thus probably an obvious choice, and the creation of space for exceptions to this underlying structure, thereby forming the square, also belongs to this architectural repertoire. Little in the way of special interpretation was at work in the square's design, placement, role, and meaning.

With this in mind, it is thus interesting to study how Roman towns have been transformed. It is possible in many Southern European towns to find the Roman grid system transferred nearly directly over to today. When, however, one examines the sites of the significant religious or civil institutions, it turns out that the fundamental structure has been removed because subsequent eras have attacked that which was regarded as meaningful whereas the grid system itself was seen as something neutral, something that could easily be inherited by other cultures and societal formations.

The Moravian Church's settlement congregations as independent settlements of typological significance

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Summary

The Unity of the Brethren established itself as a protestant denomination in the 18th century and in a short space of time, set up a significant number of branches in the form of mission stations as well as settlement congregations – the latter not only as strictly religious but also as independent communal settlements. The pietistic denomination, which based its way of life on the close interaction of members, set up branches at its own discretion. The formal and functional character of these settlements was determined by the layout, which corresponded to mutual needs. It is evident that a flexible and adaptable system was adopted in the establishment and development of the settlement congregations, which formed the basis for different modifications of several such settlements. The question here is: whether and to what extent the independent settlements, i.e. the settlement congregations, which developed up to the beginning of the 19th century, are distinguishable by typological characteristics. In this context, one must first examine the beginnings of the renewed Brethren, then their place of origin, Herrnhut in Upper Lusatia, and thereafter the establishment and dissemination of the further 28 settlement congregations on both sides of the Atlantic in order to finally deter-mine their physiognomy as a result of comparable examinations of the individual settlements in general.

Introduction

The Unity of the Brethren (The Moravian Church)[3] established itself as a protestant denomination in the eighteenth century and in a short space of time set up a significant number of branches in the form of mission stations as well as settlement congregations - the latter not only as strictly religious but also as independent communal settlements. The Pietistic denomination, which based its way of life on the close interaction of members, set up branches at its own discretion. The formal and functional character of these settlements was determined by the layout, which corresponded to mutual needs. It is evident that a flexible and adaptable system was adopted in the establishment and development of the settlement congregations, which formed the basis for different modifications of several such settlements.

The question is: whether and to what extent the independent settlements, i.e. the settlement congregations, which developed up to the beginning of the 19th century, are

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3 This Protestant Free Church later became known by several different names. Around the world the church is known as the "Unitas Fratrum" (United Brethren). This name goes back to the Bohemian Brethren of the 15th to the 18th centuries. In German - speaking countries the Church is usually known by the names of the "(Evangelische) Brüdergemeine" and the "(Evangelische) Brüder-Unität." Since the year 2000 the "Herrnhuter" has also been accepted as one of the official names of the Church. The denomination's name in English is the Moravian church, in French it is the Ėglise Morave and in Spanish it is the lglesia Morava. For further information on terminology relating to this denomination c.f. Crews 1996 and Peucker 2000

distinguishable by typological characteristics. In this context, one must first examine the beginnings of the renewed Moravian Church, then their place of origin, Herrnhut in Upper Lusatia, and thereafter the establishment and dissemination of the further 27 settlement congregations on both sides of the Atlantic in order to finally determine their physiognomy as a result of comparable examinations of the individual settlements in general[4].

Herrnhut and the establishment of the renewed Bohemian Brethren

The multi-talented Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf and Pottendorf (1700–1760) formed over the course of vigorous discussions with exiles who were well-schooled in the traditions of the pre-Reformation Church of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, a very powerfully effective form of Pietistic lifestyle[5]. This Count Palatine who enjoyed various freedoms and rights as the lord of the manor and patron in Berthelsdorf in southern Upper Lusatia, was able to set up an independent Christian community there which originally consisted of a colony of German-speaking artisans who had been exiled from Moravia.

Early in 1722 the young Zinzendorf instructed Johann Georg Heitz, the estate manager at his manor in Berthelsdorf to make preparations for a temporary settlement in the local district to house families of Moravian Brethren who were fleeing persecution. The far-sighted manager began preparations for a more permanent settlement and selected a site on the long-distance road between Löbau and Zittau. He had also taken into account the fact that the small area of the site would make it unsuitable for agricultural use but that the road, which provided access to other towns, would make it a good site for the Moravians to practise their artisan trades. The site, which he had in mind, lay under the basalt summit of the Hutberg Mountain and had previously been used as a pasture for cattle[6]. The German word huten means to keep livestock under care and protection and the Herr is German for lord so the local place name of Herrnhut was understood as being a symbolic expression for a "place under the Lord's (safe) keeping (Schmidt 1996, s.196ff.). As a result of the cooperation between the Duke and the more forward thinking members of the Moravian exiles an entirely new type of Christian community was born. Zinzendorf wrote detailed statutes for both the communal and the "independent" religious life of the community

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4 The Unity Archive in Herrnhut [UAH] contains around 7,500 documents from the 17th – 20th centuries on topography drawn from the worldwide activities of the Moravian Church. these can be accessed on the Internet by searching for Topografische Sammlung (TS). On the cartography of the settlement congregations see   Ehbrecht, Johanek und Lafrenz 2009 [Deut-scher Historischer Städteatlas: abbr. DtHsAt].

5 On the Pietism of the Herrnhuter Brethren see Hans Dieter Betz et al. [Publ.]: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 4. Auflage, Tübingen 1998, Vol. 1, Horst Robert Balz et al. [Ed.]: Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Berlin/New York 1981–2004, including: Dietrich Meyer, Stichwort ›Brüder-Unität/Brüderge-meine‹ Bd. 7, 1981, 225–233, Rudolf Bäumer, Stichwort ›Pietismus‹, Bd. 26, 1996, 606–631, Hans Schneider, Stichwort ›Zinzendorf‹, Bd. 36, 2004, 691–697; Dietrich Meyer, Zinzendorf und Herrnhut. = Brecht, Martin u. Deppermann, Klaus [Ed.]: Geschichte des Pietismus, Bd. 2, Göttingen 2000.

6 On the development of Herrnhut see Korschelt 1853,1859; Reichel 1922/2001; Bechler 1922; Renkewitz 1967; Stadt Herrnhut 2001, on the topography see DtHsAt Tafel 1.1 - 7.2.

in Herrnhut. These statutes were widely accepted. They formed the basis for an overwhelming experience of "Awakening" which occurred during an evening communion service in the Lutheran church at Berthelsdorf. This occurred on 13th August 1727 and this date came to be regarded as the date of the formation of the Renewed Unity of the Brethren.

The members of the community decided to transform their religious life in Herrnhut would be transformed and that they would live as a Christian social community in which everyone would play a full part. They therefore sought to find a way of giving a fixed form to their community of like-minded people, intensifying their rites of worship and finding new forms of liturgical expression. New forms of confraternity were established with fixed social and religious connections such as the original subdivision of the community into "bands," then the addition of "classes" and finally the "choirs, (a name derived from corpus - the Latin word for body).

The town of Herrnhut was expanded and developed in line with purely practical requirements. This took place gradually and not just by means of successive stages of outwards expansion, but also through the renovation of inner parts of the town. Heitz had chosen a square shaped area in a central position for the site of the original village. The first (private) houses were built next to a long road running along one side of the site (Mirtschin 2007) and it was opposite these that in 1727 Zinzendorf built an imposing boarding school for the children of the local nobility. This building was soon used as a congregation house for the Unity of the Brethren, which was in the process of being formed. The "Hall" within it - which was extended several times- became the assembly room and the focal point for the congregation's religious life with sung church services, communion services which they called "love feasts" and congregation days.

The division of the congregation into choirs was reflected in the settlement's internal structures. Separate buildings were constructed for the choirs of unmarried people, single brothers and single sisters, widowers and widows. The numbers of the members of the choirs for the unmarried brothers and sisters rose so sharply that following many years of provisional arrangements to house them, large houses for the unmarried brothers and sisters had to be constructed in a central position on the site. The expansively set out choir houses combined several uses under a single roof. Those for the unmarried people also included workshops. Each of these houses included bedrooms as well as dining and living rooms and they always included a "hall" for use by the respective choir. Life in the choir houses was lived under the command to live in "Christian harmony" with one an-other and to serve the entire congregation. A further larger "community boarding house" was also set up for the members of the congregation of the Brethren who lived in the surrounding area so that they could take part in the common religious services. The mighty communal buildings contained unmistakable echoes of a civic Baroque style based on the Saxony Baroque style of architecture and this became a characteristic feature of the expanding town.

The layout of the cemetery that was opened in 1730 to be a "God's Acre" was based on the principle of the personal equality of all the members of the congregation A straight

main pathway ran through the middle of the cemetery and divided the graves of the male deceased on one side from those of the female deceased on the other. The burial plots were occupied in chronological order. Every grave was marked only by a simple stone laid flat on the ground with a short inscription.

The transformation process which Herrnhut underwent taking it from being a simple colony of manual workers to a settlement for religious brethren with a partly urban and a partly courtly character reached its apotheosis with the building of a separate building for the assemblies of the entire congregation (the foundation stone was laid in 1756) on a site parallel to that of the original congregation house on the central square which had by now been extended eastwards. The construction of this hall was not, however, in itself an innovation for the Moravian Church because comparable halls had by now already been erected in several of the younger settlement congregations.

The origin and spreading of the settlement communities
The great spiritual awakening in Herrnhut became the basis for further activities in the emerging denomination based there. The driving force behind this movement was Zinzendorf who was of noble birth and who immediately steered the Church's primary activities towards missionary work amongst the peoples of foreign countries as well reviving the faith of Brethren living in the Diaspora in territories, which were predominantly Lutheran, Calvinistic or Anglican[7].

1.   From 1732 onwards the Moravian Church began to see missionary work to the pagans as being its primary role. The Church's missionary activities, which always depended on the consent of the respective colonial powers, soon began in any many different cultures around the Globe. The first missions were conducted under the Danish flag, in 1732 in the island of St Thomas in the Caribbean and in 1733 in Greenland. Missionaries went under the Dutch flag to Suriname in 1735 and to the Cape Colony in South Africa in 1737. It was also in the 1730's that efforts began to preach to the Indians in the hinterland of the colonised provinces of the North American East Coast. In the 18th and the 19th centuries the Moravian missions became the most significant protestant missionary movement in the world and it was to spread to large parts of the world though many of its attempted missions, particularly those in Asia failed in the end[8]. The Moravian Church nonetheless succeeded in founding over 200 settlements, which were fit for purpose during Zinzendorf's lifetime. These were mission stations and only in a few cases were they extensive missionary settlements. They all had connections to school and medical facilities and many of them had small workshops for trade and hand crafts.

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7 The Moravian Church recorded the chronology of important events during the first decades of its history in the form of genealogical tales (Stammtafeln). (UAH), TS), darunter von J. Swertner, Stammtafel der Gemeinorte, Missionsorte, Sozietäten.[,] Brüdergemeine mit den Orten der Mährischen Alten Bruderunität am Stammanfang [,] mit farbiger Markierung der Missionen und verlassenen Orte. Coloured copperplate engraving, 1797 (UAH TS Mp 380.2).

8 The extent of the spread of the mission stations can be seen in three Atlases, which have so far not been updated.   The Teachers of Fulneck Academy, The Moravian Atlas: em-bracing Statistics of the Church of the United Brethren in her Home and Foreign Departments. Fulneck 1853; Levin Theodor. Reichel, Missions-Atlas der Brüder–Unität. Herrnhut 1860; Missionsdirektion der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität [Hrsg.], Missionsatlas der Brüdergemeine; sechzehn Karten mit Text. 2. Aufl, Herrnhut 1907.

2   It had not been Zinzendorf's original intention to set up a new religious denomination; He had merely wanted to enliven the rigorous piety of the Church with new activities within it. It was originally intended that the Herrnhuter Brethren should stimulate the life of the congregation in the existing churches and that some of its members should minister to the "awakened" members in the diaspora. The enthusiastic reaction of people to the "model" of a common way of life as practised in Herrnhut finally led to a situation in which "settlement congregations" equivalent to Herrnhut were established in many places. These settlements were independent villages or districts within larger towns in which the congregations of the Brethren determined the settlement's communal life as well as its religious life[9]. The initiative to develop many settlement congregations arose from the motivation that these would act as staging posts for the Church's missionary work. The first such venture was an attempt made in Savannah, Georgia to spread the aims of the mission to the Cherokee Indians. This ultimately failed though later successful settlements in Bethlehem in Pennsylvania a few years later carried out missionary work amongst the surrounding Indian tribes and there was also a later successful mission to the Kalmucks on the Volga. Finally a total of 28 new settlement congregations were established, including 17 on the European mainland, four in the United Kingdom itself as well as seven in the British colonies in North America. The great majority of these new settlement congregations were established in the four decades following 1736:

The process of establishing new settlement congregations originally still involved the migration of exiles, as in the case of Pilgerruh in Holstein which was populated by Moravian exiles and in Niesky in the electorate of Saxony which was populated by Bohemian exiles as well as by "Awakened ones" who had originally been Lutherans, Calvinists or Anglicans. Over the long term the potential populations for European settlement congregations was drawn in particular from settlements in the Diaspora who sought to live a communal Christian lifestyle based on the model of Herrnhut. The immigrants in the respective settlements in the British colonies again were largely drawn from the existing settlement communities in the extensive diaspora in Europe.

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9 For further information on terminology relating to Moravian Church c.f. Crews 1996 and Peucker 2000.

Continental Europe

's Heerendijk	1736	Barony of IJsselstein
Pilgerruh	1737	Duchy of Holstein
Herrnhaag	1738	County of Isenburg-Büdingen
Niesky	1742	Upper Lusatia (in the Electorate of Saxony)
Gnadenfrei	1743	Kingdom of Prussia, Province of Lower Silesia
Gnadenberg	1743	Kingdom of Prussia, province of Lower Silesia
Gnadenberg	1745	Kingdom of Prussia, Province of Lower Silesia
Zeist	1746	Lordship of Zeist
Ebersdorf	1746	Duchy of Reuss-Ebersdorf
Neuwied	1750	Lower county of Wied
Niesky	1751	Upper Lusatia (in the Electorate of Saxony)
Neudietendorf	1753	Duchy of Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg
Sarepta	1755	Russian Empire
Gnadau	1767	The Electorate of Saxony
Christiansfeld	1773	Duchy of Schleswig
Gnadenfeld	1780	Kingdom of Prussia, Province of Upper Silesia
Königsfeld	1807	Kingdom of Württemberg

British Isles

Fulneck	1744	County of Yorkshire
Ockbrook	1750	County of Derbyshire
Gracehill	1765	County . Antrim
Fairfield	1785	County of Lancashire

British colonies in North America

Bethlehem	1742	Colony of Pennsylvania
Nazareth	1744/1771	Colony of Pennsylvania
Lititz	1757	Colony of Pennsylvania
Hope	1769	Colony of New Jersey
Bethabara	1753	Colony of North Carolina
Bethania	1759	Colony of North Carolina
Salem	1771	Colony of North Carolina

Table: Development of settlement congregations according to date of establishment and territorial location

Settlement congregations on the European mainland

The original impetus for the establishment of new settlement congregations derived from the fear that it might not be possible to hold on to the settlement in Herrnhut in the face of the constant conflicts with the local state and church authorities. The fear that the Moravian Church members had of being driven out of their homes had increased after 1732 following the arrival of more Moravians in Saxony after they had been banned from entering the state and the banishment of Zinzendorf from the state in 1736. The growing fears that the support of the Elector, who was also the King of Poland, could be lost - as could that of the local Protestant church in each country, made it a good idea to look for other places to settle[10]. (Fig. 1)

During the negotiations for establishing new settlements, Zinzendorf always attempted to obtain suitable concessions, which would allow the Moravian Church adequate scope for self-realisation. The first new settlement congregation was commenced in 1736 at Heerendijk in the Barony of IJsselstein, an independent Enclave in the Republic of the United Netherlands. This location on the North-Eastern edge of the Rhine delta was selected partly because it would be able to serve as a stopping place on the road Westwards to the transatlantic mission territories. In the end, however, no settlement congregations were fully established here. After several years the site was abandoned as being unattractive. The construction of the Pilgerruh (Pilgrim's Rest) settlement in 1737 near Oldesloe in Holstein was originally intended as a temporary home for further Moravian exiles but the few buildings which had been built were abandoned after four years following the issuing of restrictive demands by the King. The three Calvinistic Dukes in Isenburg (or Ysenburg) were keen to promote the mercantile development of their three territories. The Regent from the Büdinger line permitted the Moravian church to set up the compactly designed settlement of Herrnhaag on a piece of land on the Vonhausen Manor estate in Wetterau. (3.6) During the so called Sichtungszeit (a period of examination or sifting through) the members of the Moravian Church often pursued their religious devotions with "overenthusiastic" spirituality. Following a period of disputes with the subsequent ruler the members of the Church were given a period of three years in which to leave the settlement.

The establishment of new settlements became easier after the Moravians had been recognised as an orthodox religious community in the 1740's, first in Prussia and then in other Protestant states. Most of the initiatives for setting up settlement congregations during the following period came either from members of the land-owning aristocracy or from the territorial rulers. The chances of a new settlement's being accepted were greatest in places were the members of the local nobility followed Pietistic teachings themselves as well as in places where the local Protestant rulers thought it beneficial by means of immigration, to set up populations such as the members of the Moravian Church who could strengthen the local economy because of their large numbers of qualified artisan craftsmen or other tradespeople. Most of these settlements were established in conjunction with the estates of the nobility who made sections of their lands available to the settlers.

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10 General introduction to the local congregations see Gormsen 1989, Kroeger 2007; further literature on the development of individual local congregations see Lafrenz, Jürgen 2009 the text section 34-36, the topography Lafrenz, Jürgen 2009, see table 8.1 - 8.4.
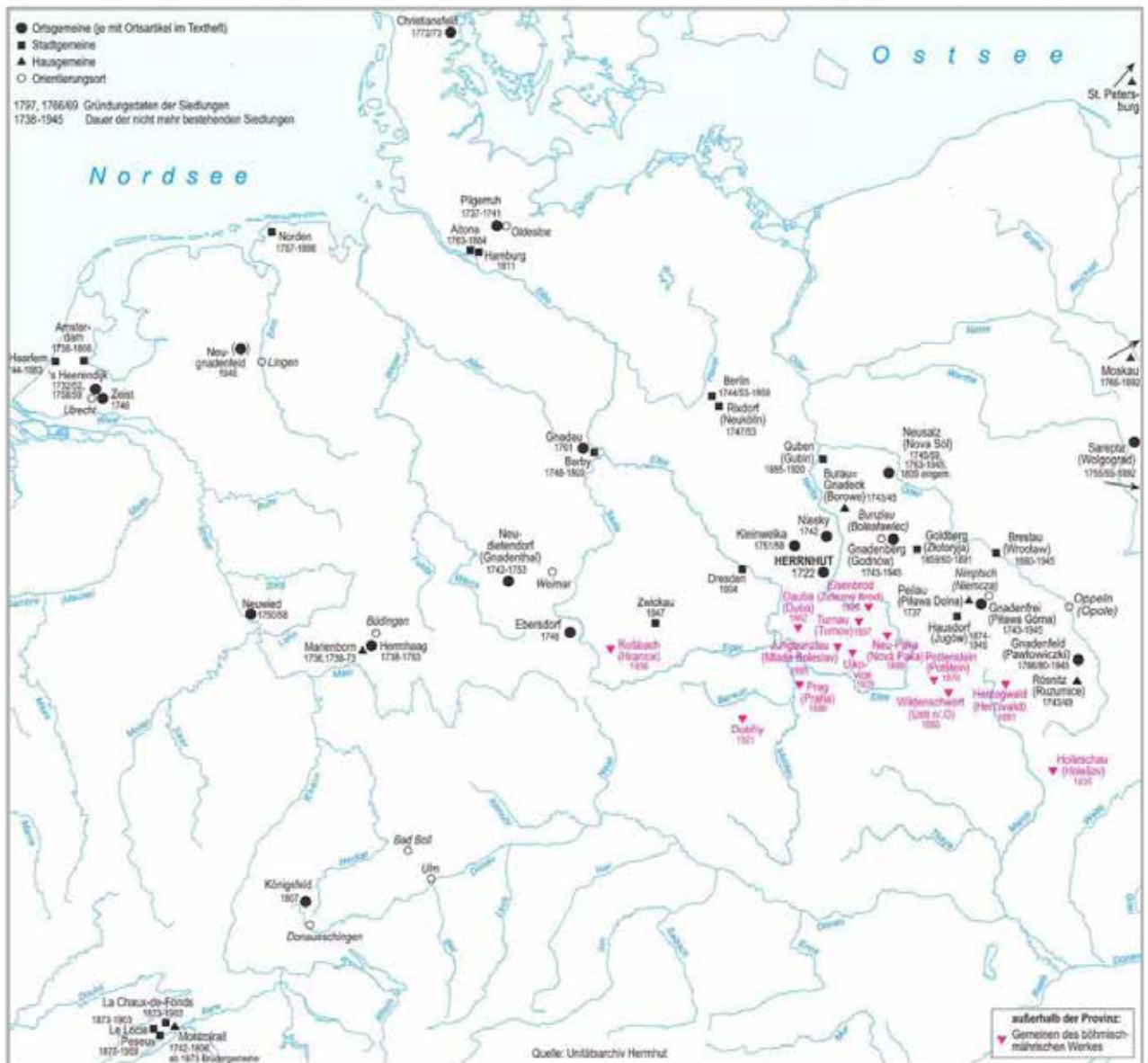
Fig. 1: Map: Settlement congregations in central Europe (Source: Lafrenz, Jürgen 2009, Text p. 8)

These sections of land were always very narrow which meant that the population of the settlements had to earn their living from handicrafts and trade. In some cases, such as at Niesky or Gnadenfeld, the sites were initially settled by members of the Moravian Church even before the status of settlement congregation had been finally granted.

The large number of personal contacts which Zinzendorf and his family had opened up many favourable opportunities for the Moravian church to establish new settlements. Zinzendorf's family ties to the younger line of the Dukes of Reuss were particularly strong, though this line was further sub-divided into several houses. Zinzendorf's (first) wife came from the ruling house of Reuss in Ebersdorf in the Thuringian Oberland, a family that were ardent supporters of Pietism. The place there was used as a meeting place for a group of "awakened" Christians who wanted to follow the same kind of lifestyle as that practised at Herrnhut. The local ruler issued decrees to fund the foundation of a settlement congregation , which developed immediately adjacent to the existing palace settlement. In 1728 the ruling Duke from a parallel branch of the House of Reuss leased the palace and its grounds in Barby on the Elbe and allowed it to be used for a house and town congregation. Following the expiry of the lease agreement and at the initiative of the subsequent Regent, the Gnadau settlement congregation was established in 1767 in the nearby Düben Barbican.

Apart from the original settlement in Upper Lusatia there were two further Moravian Church settlements there for which Zinzendorf's family connections again played an important role. Niesky was originally intended to be a lace of refuge for brethren who had been exiled from Bohemia. The settlement was begun from 1742 onwards in the area around the barbican of the Manor house at Trebus, which at that time was owned by a relative of Zinzendorf, Siegmund August von Gersdorf[11]. In Kleinwelka the Sorb Matthäus Lange turned the manor house into a centre in the Diaspora for Awakened Sorbs.

Following the purchase of the estate by Zinzendorf's sister-in-law a document setting out the conditions for establishing a settlement congregation there on the land which had previously been part of the manorial estate adjacent to the existing village was signed in 1760.

There was a special set of circumstances surrounding the development of the settlement congregation at Zeist on the Geest on the North-Eastern edge of the Rhine Delta. A wealthy businessman and his wife together purchased the Baroque palace there together with its gardens and adjoining properties. This landowner enjoyed special privileges in the Lordship of Zeist and agreed a lease contract with Zinzendorf under which the Moravian Church was permitted to establish a settlement congregation on the land around the Palace. This representative layout

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11 Siegmund August von Gersdorf (Ruhland 1702–1777 Herrnhut) played a leading role in many of the Moravian Church's building projects after he had sold his family estate at Trebus. He was involved in the planning of Niesky as well as of Neusalz. He was also involved in Saron's fantastic project for Bedford Ground in London. This did not get past the initial phases although Zinzendorf had intended that this would be the new centre of the Moravian Church. He also collaborated with the Moravian Church as the architect for many of their communal buildings, including assembly halls and houses for the brothers and the sisters. (Carstensen 2009,
240–270)

with a central axis leading to the palace with two symmetrical open courtyards on either side led to the development of an extraordinary plan for the settlements of the Moravian Church.

Following Fredrick II's invasion of Silesia in 1740 the King of Prussia made an offer to the Moravian Church, which would allow them to establish settlements on (eight provisionally selected) locations in the new provinces of Lower and Upper Silesia. Following the granting of general permission individual concessions were granted for the separate settlements in conjunction with the estates of three noble families who were adherents of Pietism. In each case the lord partitioned off a narrow stretch of his lands for the use of the settlements. He also assigned some of his patronage rights to the partitioned lands to them. In this way the settlement of Gnadenfrei was established on the Oberpeilau estate and Gnadenberg on the Gross-Krausche estate in Lower Silesia in 1742 (see ill. 3.7) and - some years later - Gnadenfeld was established on the Pawlowitzke estate in 1780. Tsarina Katharina II. issued a manifesto in 1763 appealing for immigrants to come to the Volga region. The Moravian church had been considering setting up a base for their missionary work to the nomadic Kalmuck people. The Moravian Church received a letter of donation just one year later, which contained details of generous political and economical privileges, which they would enjoy in return for settling at Sarepta on the Volga, approximately 30 km south of the city of Carycin.

The Moravian church in Neudietendorf in the Duchy of Saxony-Gotha-Altenburg was set up only after the third round of difficult negotiations with the local lord and without the direct advocacy of Zinzendorf. In 1752 the Old Court there was acquired by the current owner of the Manor in Trebus, Günther Urban von Lüdecke This purchase was a precondition for the Ducal concession for a settlement congregation which grew out of the successive stages of development of the old manor house.

The settlement congregations at Neusalz in Lower Silesia and in Neuwied on the middle Rhine were formed by developing existing communities after the local lords had been persuaded to authorise them during their negotiations with the leaders of the Moravian Church. During Frederick II's invasion of Silesia, the King noticed that Neusalz, a settlement of boatmen on the River Oder, which had the largest fleet of barges on the river, was an important (military)-strategic strong point, which needed to be developed. He invited the Moravian Church to build a settlement there. The Moravian Church agreed to his request even though no "awakened" Christians lived in the surrounding area. Work was commenced on constructing the "Moravian Quarter" in the south of the existing town was commenced close to the harbour basin on the Old Oder. The ruler of the Lower Duchy of Wied in the Lower Westerwald Forest who was directly subordinate to the Emperor had transferred his residence to the Rheinaue in 1653 adjacent to the Neuwied settlement. The Dukes promoted the town's development as part of a commercially driven settlement policy. They granted people of other faiths various privileges, in particular with regard to religious freedom. In the end seven different religious communities were established on the site.

The Moravian Church was the last to arrive and it was the only religious group to be allowed to set up a closed community within Neuwied as it finally occupied several blocks of buildings in the Keuder quarter on the town's South-Eastern edge.

At the Court of King Christian VII in Copenhagen earlier restrictions were lifted and plans for a the foundation of a settlement community were favourably received after the King had, seen the Moravian's successful settlement in Zeist while he was travelling through Europe. In 1772 the King signed a concession with wide-ranging privileges for the setting up of a settlement in the Duchy of Schleswig. The district of Christiansfeld was taken out of the royal estate at Tystrupgård in Haderslev.

Many of the local rulers showed an interest in establishing new settlements on their lands but many of these attempts did not get off the ground. During the second half of the eighteenth century several princes, and not just those of the Protestant faiths approached the Moravian church with a view to inviting them to establish settlements on their lands, these included the Landgraves of Hessen- Darmstadt and Hessen-Kassel as well as the Dukes of Brunswick, Sachsen- Weimar and Mecklenburg-Steltz. The Church also received several offers from representatives of Eastern states. Prince Stanislaus Poniatovsky wanted to set up a colony on his land on the river Weichsel, Duke Andrei Kirillovitsch Rasumovsky wanted to establish one in the Ukraine, Prince Stanislaus Czartorysky wanted one on his ancestral estates in the Principality of Korzec or in the Palatinate of Wolhynien and finally the Tsar of Grusinia, Heraclius II even wanted to set one up in the Caucasus. In all the Moravian church refused over 40 such offers including several such offers by persons of rank who wanted to either establish settlements on their land or else sell some of their land to the congregations of the Brethren.

3.6 View of Herrnhaag,
Copperplate engraving. 1755
(Source: Lafrenz, Jürgen
2009, Table 8.2.1)

The only Moravian church settlement, which was established in the wake of these offers, so to speak was at Königsfeld[12] in the Mid-Black Forest. In 1806 King Friedrich I. of Württemberg granted permission for the establishment of an independent community with numerous rights attached to lands at the abandoned "auf dem Hörnle" manor house near St Georgen.

The Settlement Congregations in England and Ireland

The Moravian church established contacts with the United Kingdom because their original contacts to the North American colonies had been made through London. Here the congregations of the Brethren became caught up in the maelstrom of the various powerful religious awakening movements in the British Isles[13]. The formation of new (settlement) congregations in England and Ireland was not made at the behest of members of the aristocracy but grew out of the circles of "awakened" people. Individual (lay) preachers who (later) came into close contact with the Moravian church had begun by preaching at locations throughout the country. Over the years these preaching ventures became merged with the efforts of the Moravian Church. The result was the establishment of so-called societies which not only set up individual assembly halls but as a further sign of their convergence with the Moravian Church,

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12 A settlement of the Moravian Church had already been planned for Kaltental estate near Stuttgart in Württemberg in 1739 but the plans were not realised. Zinzendorf had had the idea in the 1750's of]] acquiring the SECULARISED abbey of St Georgen in the black Forest for use as a theological seminar. This plan, as well as some later plans for Württemberg did not come to fruition. C.f. Geiges 1921

13 Hamilton and Hamilton p.99 ff., pp.150ff. For further literature on the development of the Moravian Church in the British Isles see Gerhard Adolf Wauer, Die Anfänge der Brüderkirche in England. Ein Kapitel vom geistigen Austausch Deutschlands und Englands. Leipzig 1910; Evelyn R. Hassé, Die Brüder in England. The Moravians. Hamburg 1951; John Cecil Strickland Mason, The role of the Moravian Church during the missionary awaking in England, 1760 to c. 1800. London 1998; Colin Podmore, The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760. Oxford 1998.

3.7 View of Gnadenberg,
Copperplate engraving. 1755
(Source: Lafrenz, Jürgen
2009, Table 8.2.1)

they also set up houses for single broth-ers and single sisters in many locations. Because these new church groupings tended to be organised by the people themselves, rather than by the rulers as was the case in central Europe, a large number of simple "societies" were set up but few of these were settlement communities. Those that were set up were done so at the initiative of Zinzendorf, as it Fulneck in Yorkshire, the smaller Ockbrook in Derbyshire which used Fulneck as a model and finally Gracehill in Antrim. The fourth settlement congregation in England and Ireland, at Fairfield in Lancashire , was set up only because one of these societies based in Dukinfield in Yorkshire had no room to expand its building and moved to Fairfield instead.

Settlement congregations in North America

The missionary zeal of the members of the Moravian Church combined with British interests in establishing overseas colonies brought the Moravian church to the Western shores of the Atlantic (Hamilton and Hamilton s.106 ff., s.162 ff.; Fogleman 1996, Reps 1992, s.443–453). The British authorities were very keen to have protestant populations of various provenances to act as buffer zones against the Spanish in Florida and the French in Louisiana. The members of the Moravian Church were given the opportunity to acquire extensive areas of land so that they could turn to farming to support themselves. From the outset, however, they were more inclined to pursue commercial trades based on the experiences, which they brought with them from their home settlements. The settlement of ever greater areas of North America meant that when the members of the Moravian Church reached Pennsylvania and North Carolina they sought not just to establish individual settlements but to open up entire regions by establishing networks of settlements. (3.9)

The Moravians had been able to get a foothold in the newest British colony of Georgia even before they set up new settlements there. They had done this in the hope of using their presence in Georgian as an opportunity to spread their Mission to the Cherokee

3.8 View of Fairfield, around
1820 (Source: Lafrenz,
 Jürgen 2009, Table 8.3)

Indians. Early in 1735 the Moravian church set up a small congregation in Savannah, a new town which was just being established. This congregation had also been able to purchase around 125 hectares of land on the Ogeechee River on favourable conditions. The enterprise was, however, soon abandoned.

Settlement congregations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey
The Moravians now turned their attention towards Pennsylvania[14]. In 1741 they acquired a large area of about 2,000 hectares on the Lehigh River. Bethlehem became the central point for what the Moravian church called a "General Economy," formed by all of the settlement congregations in the new settlement area, including (Old) Nazareth and its associated agricultural production, as well as Gnadenthal (1845), Christiansbrunn (1752) and Friedensthal (1755)[15]. Gnadenhütten, about 40 km up the Lehigh River became a special annex, housing about 500 Mohany Indians whose spiritual needs were tended to from Bethlehem. The settlers conducted a common economy with them. Following the dissolution of the General Economy a "New Nazareth" was established in 1771.

The personal initiatives of two individual "Awakened ones" led to the setting up of two isolated settlement congregations. Lititz in Pennsylvania was founded because the when the settler George Kline, who was of German descent, was so impressed by the Christianity practised by the Moravian Church that he allowed this new settlement congregation to be set up on his own private property. The formation of Hope in New Jersey goes back to the life of John Samuel Green who became a member of the Moravian church after getting to know some of its travelling preachers and he offered all of his land to be used for a settlement congregation using Bethlehem as its model. The Moravian church decided to expand this settlement by using structures, which were already available, but the settlement congregation was later abandoned because of its economic limitations.

Settlement congregations in North Carolina
The largest colonisation project undertaken by the Moravian Church was the opening up of a wide tract of land in central Piedmont at the foot of the Blue Ridge in the North West of North Carolina. The Moravian church purchased around 400 km² of land here, which they called Wachovia in honour of Zinzendorf's ancestors. It sold two thirds of the land in lots to 20 investors and intended to set up a system of 45 "villages of the Lord" on the remaining land. Wachovia was in-tended to be the urban centre in the middle of these villages. (Hendricks 2002)

In 1752 the Pioneering Settlers who formed the Wachovia settlement congregation came to North Carolina from Pennsylvania via the Great Wagon Road and to get their settlement project started they founded a settlement, which they called Bethabara (House of Passage). This was originally intended to be a temporary base. Bethania was founded in 1759 as an agricultural settlement to the north west of Bethabara partly as a solution of the problem of the (temporary) increase in population during the

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14 On the development of settlement congregations in Pennsylvania see: Klaus Deppermann, Pennsylvanien als Asyl des frühen deutschen Pietismus. In; Pietismus und Neuzeit 10, 1984, 190–212.

15 On the topography of settlement congregations in Pennsylvania see Murtagh, 1997:

intermittent Indian uprisings but probably also counteract the growing importance of the settlement of Bethabara which was beginning to threaten Bethania as the Moravian's intended capital of the Wachovia Tract. The plans for the "urban" centre of Wachovia were not given up in the end, despite various delays. The decision to found the settlement of Salem, meant, however that the plans for Bethabara were given up.

Physiognomy of the settlement congregations

The members of the Moravian Church must be considered as being splendid exemplars of their conception of being creators of their settlements because they had every stage of construction in their own hands. Their work stretched from choosing the precise final location for their settlements, drawing up the initial construction plans and the implementation of projects to construct communal buildings. The definitive method for resolving any doubt about decisions, which had to be made, was the casting of lots. This practice was based on the provisions of the "Christocratic" Constitution of the congregations of the Brethren (1741) according to which Christ could make his will known directly through the results of the casting of lots.

The (town-) architectural similarities between individual settlement congregations resulted from the wide-spread transfer of know-how among the individual settlements.

1. The construction of buildings was largely completed by builders from the congregations of the brethren. Many architects, numerous manual workers and other members of settlement congregations were often transferred to other] congregations to assist with planned building work there.

2. Following the era of von Zinzendorf the congregations of the Brethren created a common constitution with fixed administration structures within which they set up a centrally organised construction system within an official regulatory framework which was based in Herrnhut and which hence-forward had to inspect and approve all building plans.

3. The experience gained from the original (urban-) construction solutions used in Herrnhut and the subsequent early settlements, such as Herrnhaag or Niesky, but also including Fulneck, was consciously used when establishing later settlements.

The settlement congregations were normally settlements based on a deliberate plan unless they were begun on an *ad hoc* basis as in Bethlehem or had taken over pre-existing buildings as in Neudietendorf or unless they grew into settlement congregations out of pre-existing settlements, such as Hope in New Jersey. The earliest plans very often still did not include the later location template for communal facilities. The design and dimensions of the buildings to be constructed was frequently made only in the later settlement process and they could also be adjusted according to local conditions and requirements as necessary. The progress of the actual construction activity was started in each case on the basis of the actual requirements

3.9 Map: Settlement con-gregations in North America
(Source: Lafrenz, Jürgen 2009, Table 8.4)

and this meant that in most cases they were not following a strict geometric building plan. The uniform implementation of a settlement project, which was fully designed up to, the point of the final layout plan was achieved in only a few cases, such as in the short term at Fairfield and was almost achieved in the long term at Zeist.

The internal arrangement of the settlements is almost always to be seen as an attempt to create a "Residence of the Lord." The crucial key to decoding the Brethren's spatial structures is the societal structure, which is seen as the expression of religious convictions. The tight-knit and strictly organised form of Christian and social structure which was developed in stages in Herrnhut, including the choir system, was used as a model and transferred to other settlements. The personal surrender required in the intensive communal life led to a high level of fluctuation within each congregation of the Brethren and an intimate networking between their settlements. In principle each member was "at home" not just in his or her specific settlement congregation but in all of them. this was because of the "typical" common facilities they enjoyed (including the layout of the God's Acre) which they saw as being an expression of their common existence.

The outline plan of the settlement congregations integrated typical basic elements like indispensable architectural features, which characterised the structure of each settlement, though in a different arrangement in each case. There was no striking spatial separation in the townships between the sacred and the profane areas. According to the belief concepts of the Moravian Church the common buildings became the house of god only because of the presence of the Christians celebrating services within them and not on the basis of any construction or ornamental features. The building housing the assembly room overhangs/overhung the other buildings only so far as it did so because of the presence of a ridge turret. The Hall is a laterally arranged (usually still) white, simple room in which a communion table, presided over by the leader of the Assembly is positioned along one of the walls while the brothers sat on the left and the sisters on the right side of the table. The space is not viewed as being a cultic site and so it does not require any elaborate decoration. The belief that Christ is present during the service is very important to the Moravian Church. Most of the settlements had separate houses for both the brothers and the sisters as well as often a house for widows and some-times even one for widowers. Another important building was always the guest house or communal lodging house. This was because it might be necessary to provide accommodation on site for the numerous visitors from the distant). Diaspora. Most of the settlement congregations lived from trade and crafts. Over the course of their development, however, several settlement congregations also had schools and other educational institutions of which were in demand from people beyond the immediate region.

These settlements represented a relatively compact appearance because of the conglomeration of large buildings in a central position. The simple, almost completely undecorated buildings intended for community tasks are always wide two storey buildings with symmetrically divided façades, which can often be ascribed to the civic Baroque style with occasional transitions to early classicism. In many settlements,

such as those at Herrnhaag and Bethlehem, there are similar multi-storey buildings, which included several separate dwelling units for individual families.

The outlines of the settlement congregations

Most of the new settlement communities that were probably measured out on the basis of already-prepared plans but a fully developed plan of the land was not always absorbed into the layout of a road network. The Moravian church members always preferred to use geometrically simple (linear to) orthogonal grids and only occasionally did they employ complex solutions in doing this (Richter, 2003). Individual normative elements came to be included in the topographical structure of settlements in accordance with the temporal sequence of their establishment. These features became more and more common in the layout of those settlements, which came under the regulatory influence of the building commission, which was established in Herrnhut.

The rationally designed layouts in Gracehill and Gnadau display a thorough-going geometric similarity. This also applies, though with some omissions, to the layout of Sarepta. The first members of the Moravian church arrived at the Volga with plan for their settlement, which was measured out by Russian geodesists. The construction council in Herrnhut had approved all three settlements. The plans for Gnadenau, as in the case of Gracehill before it, were subjected to many modifications on site. It is true that these were not made to the general plan itself but rather to the dimensions of the arrangements of roads or blocks. This is presumably the first of successive plans for Gnadau and may be seen as the original form of a developmental series of outlines and therefore as the "ideal design plan" of the Moravian church for its settlement towns (Findeisen 2005, s.51ff.). The following features can be found in this only reconstructed plan (Fig. 6):

1. The square design is divided up by two intersecting streets to form nine squares of equal size. The central square might have been an open town centre, which could be filled with secondary features such as paths and fountains. The roads do not run axially to the square but touch it tangentially.

2. The primary building, which included the assembly hall, lies in the centre of one edge of the square. Located in the corners of the appropriate plots of land and in symmetrical positions to one another are the houses for the congregation's pastor and the superintendent.

3. The two accommodation houses next to the square containing the main building are - in conformity with the seating arrangement in the hall - designated for the single brothers and the single sisters. The street fronts of the choir houses for the single brothers and the single sisters are arranged symmetrically within the front construction line of the hall.

4. The remaining five accommodation buildings fringed four plots of land of equal width and depth at the edges of the streets. They consisted of one and two-storey buildings.

5   The God's Acre behind the Assembly Hall is integrated into the town's axial symmetry.

The outline plans for many settlement congregations, which were built, show at least residual indications of some of the preceding modules, which were in-tended for the definitive implementation stage. The beginnings of the construction triad of the arrangement of the principle buildings could already be seen in 's Heerendijk . The first town square, which was actually quadratic in shape in the new town designs, is found in Herrnhaag. This did not, however, have the Assembly Hall positioned centrally on one of its four sides. The squares in later settlements were seldom completely quadratic but usually had lengthy sections cut out of the square. The positioning of hall buildings on the square was a relatively late development, as at Herrnhut for example.

The three settlements in England developed along independent lines. Because of its location on a relatively steep slope, Fulneck was not constructed around a central square. The settlement was constructed parallel to a long terrace which had a view over the open country. The hall was in the centre with the houses for the brothers and the sisters at the sides and at some distance from the hall. The less extensively developed settlement of Ockbrook shows similar features along a path above an overhanging cliff. Fairfield, whose artistic planning goes back to the work of the architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe[16] who was later to become fa-mous, is indeed built on a plain and the streets are laid out in a rectangular design but the primary congregation buildings face its outside as a triad looking out over the open countryside.

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16 Benjamin Henry Latrobe (Fulneck 1764–1820 New Orleans) returned home to England after attending school in Niesky and Barby. Here, amongst his other achievements, he completed the designs for Fairfield. He then emigrated to the United States where he was to become the founder of that country's classical architectural style. amongst the buildings he was commissioned to design were the cathedral in Baltimore and he was joint designer of the Capitol and the White House in Washington.

Model conceptions of the outline plan

From the outset the members of the Moravian Church did not have any discussions about whether the plans for their settlements should be based on religious ideas. Many processes can be discerned, however, which indicate that the establishment of settlements was discussed in terms of being a series of practical problems. The simple pattern of having a schematic grid with central squares has a long tradition in many cultures.

The compact centre of Herrnhaag, the first fully planned settlement with equally sized, wide plots of land and similar buildings around a quadratic square sparked a search for possible Christian models for the town. It is unlikely that the town's design was inspired by the utopian models of Protestant settlements, such as those of Johann Valentin Andreae (1619 Christianopolis)[17] or of Georg Andreas Böckler (1686 Onaltzbach)[18]. The vision conjured up of the Heavenly Jerusalem (Revelations 21, 10–21) as a beaming, regular set of buildings can hardly be considered as providing a clear parallel for the basic plan of the Moravian Church's settlements for the very fact alone that these are not based on any type of symbolic arithmetic which is viewed as being an expression of order in that sublime city.

3.10 Projections for the outline plan of Gnadau: a. Probable first plan , b. Draft of 1767, c. Extent of development in 1783 (Source: Findeisen 2005, 58, 59, 62)

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17 Johann Valentin Andreae, Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio. Straßburg 1619.Model see Vercelloni 1994, Tafel 84.

18 Bernd Vollmar, Die deutsche Palladio-Ausgabe des Georg Andreas Böckler. Nürnberg 1698. Model see Vercelloni 1994, Tafel 96.

The Model of Christian Gottlieb Reuter

The geodesist Christian Gottlieb Reuter who was very well founded in the Bible and had measured out many of the Moravian Church's settlements on both sides of the Atlantic and in some cases played a part in creating the draft plans himself. It was he who also first raised the question of the symbolic similarity of the Moravian Church's settlements with Biblical conceptions. In 1761, presumably in reaction to a model produced by Zinzendorf (see below) he produced a sketchbook (Rissbüchlein) for which he produced sketches, not just of the settlements which the Moravian Church had already built, but also sketches in which he attempted to establish a formal analogy between these settlements and the foundation of the cities of the Levities in the Old Testament[19]. The members of the Moravian Church may well have seen an analogy between themselves and the Levites in that both groups of people existed to perform a spiritual service to their fellow human beings.

The Construction of the cities of the Levites by Reuter is based on the corresponding story in the Bible (Moses 4, 1–6). He specifies a quadratic city with a side length of 3,000 (Biblical) ells and which is composed of nine equally sized blocks. The innermost block is again divided into nine squares. The central square of the quadratic city is accessible by roads running at tangents to it and is surrounded by blocks of equal size, which are intended to be built upon. The eight outer blocks form the heavenly pasture foretold in the Bible. (see ill. 3.11)

The skeleton of the inner blocks of the Levitical city displays form similarities to the plan of Gnadau as it was constructed. There is no evidence to support the assumption that a theologically based model like this was used for the older settlements of the Moravian Church. It is, however possible that once the sketchbook (Rissbüchlein) was created it had a direct influence on the characteristic style of the outline plan of Gracehill, Gnadau and probably of Sarepta too.

Model of Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf

The leading figure of the early Herrnhuter movement, Zinzendorf brought his views to bear on the foundation of many of the settlements - for example in awarding privileges to the settlement congregations, when the topographical situation of the settlement had to be viewed or when other projections had to made at the planning stage of the settlements (Carstensen 2009, 189-239; Lafrenz, Jürgen 2009, text section.) His conceptions of the outline plans of individual settlement congregations included several different configurations. He is, for example, said to have encouraged the drawing up of extensive plans for the Moravian Church's settlement around the Palace in Zeist and probably also for Saron (C.f. Note 9), the lavish complex of buildings in London which it was hoped would become the new Headquarters of the Moravian Church. The draft plans for this project went beyond the Moravian Church's conventional plans for settlements and included large courtyards. The compactness of these plans even anticipates elements of the (utopian) projects of Charles Fourier and Jean-Baptiste Godin (Familistère, 1858)[20].

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19 Christian Gottlieb Reuter, Riß Büchlein UAH TS Bd. 13; reproduced in Carstensen 2009, 379–421.

20 Jean-Baptiste Godin, Solutions sociales. Paris 1870; ders., Les socialistes et le droits du travail. Mode see Vercelloni 1994, Tafel 138.

In 1756 Zinzendorf submitted a model for the layout of the central part of the town of Wachovia. This was in strong contrast to the currently existing settlement communities, which had rectangular outlines[21]. It is not known whether he used the plan produced by Vitruv[22] or the design of Daniel Speckle[23] for an octagonal town in a articular arrangement of simple geometric elements for this. The circular shaped town has an octagonal square in the centre from which eight radial roads go out following the points of the compass. These intersect with two ring roads, one in the middle and the other on the edge of the town. The hall is at the centre of the town and at some distance away around this the congregation's other main buildings, including the choir houses, are arranged in an octagonal shape (though this has been turned through 45 degrees). The radial roads are enclosed on both sides by large plots of land intended for building on. There are green spaces throughout the city. All the roads were created in the form of alleys. The individual houses stand in rows within gardens. The rear sides of these plots border on sectorial green zones, which are divided up by the radial roads leading to the edge of the town. The God's Acre occupies a location in the outer ring. (see ill. 3.12)

The plan produced by von Zinzendorf does not display any solution based on the contents of the Bible even if we accept the premise that the Heavenly Jerusalem has been visualised as being a round city from the Middle Ages right up to the threshold of early modernity. The model has been designed as an ideal city and even anticipates some essential features of the town planning models of Theodor Fritsch (1896) and Ebenezer Howard (1898)[24].

### Dissolution of the settlement congregations

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards the settlement congregations were converted into civil communes through reforms of the various states. These interventions also signalled the end of denominational separation in these settlements. With the emerging freedom to practise trades it also became possible for all the citizens to set up businesses there. The general move towards increasing industrialisation meant that the structures supporting small traditional artisan crafts fell away which led ultimately to the downfall of the choir houses for unmarried

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21 The surviving plan with the title "A Significant Project...." (see Fig. 8) is an accurate coloured quill pen drawing. The artist is anonymous but Thorp was able to show on the basis of significant texts, that the drawing followed Zinzendorf's specifications. See Thorp 1984.

22 Vitruvii De architectura libri decem. Latin and German. Translated and annotated by Curt Fensterbusch, 6. Auflage (Ed.) Darmstadt, 2008, Kap. VI.

23 Daniel Speckle, Architectura von Vestungen. Wie die zu vnsrn zeiten mögen erbawen werden, an Stätten, Schlössern, vn[d] Clussen zu Wasser, Land, Bergyn[d] Thal. Straßburg 1589. Mode see Vercelloni 1994, Tafel 73.

24 On the models of Fritsch and Howard see: Gerd Albers, Modellvorstellungen zur Siedlungsstruktur in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. In: Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für Raumordnung und Landesplanung 85, Hannover 1974, 1–34; Modell von Fritsch auf S. 16, Modell von Howard auf S. 18.
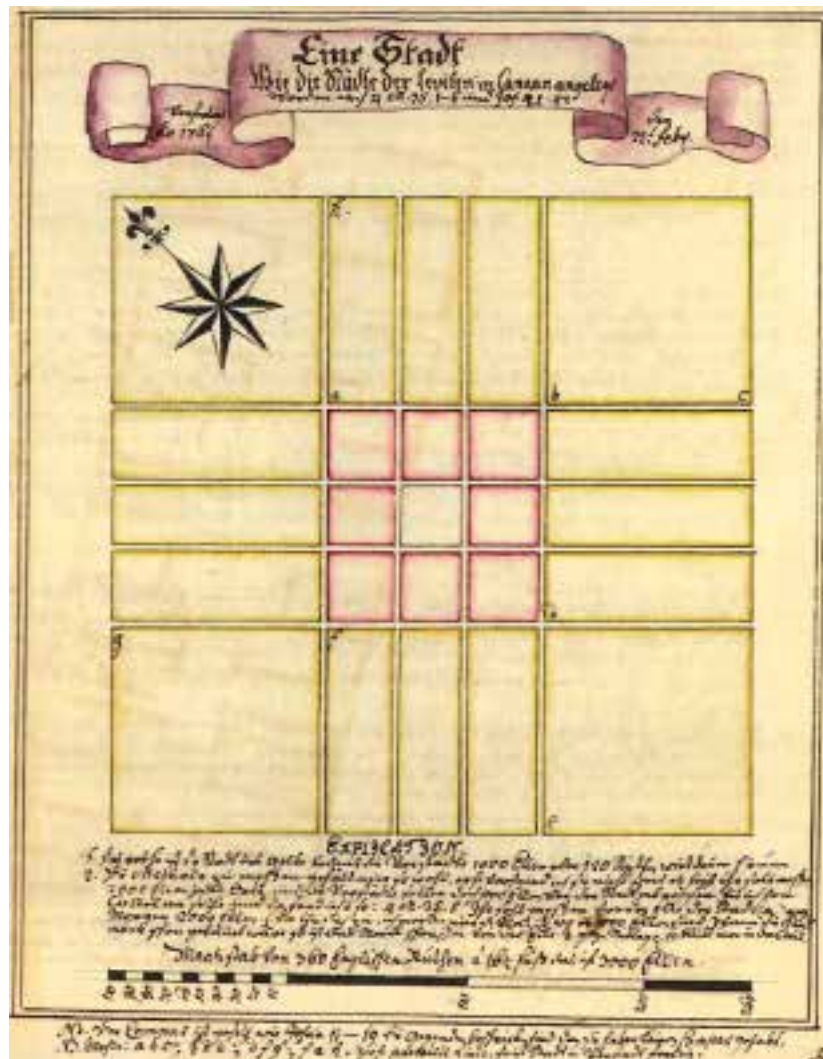
3.11 Christian Gottlieb Reuter (1761): Construction for the outline of a Levites' city = A city laid as the cities of the Levites would have been laid out in Canaan, in acc. with M. 35 und Jos. 1-12 (Source: UAH TS Bd. 13.8)

brothers and unmarried sisters. Over the long term the communes faced the task of finding new uses for the large and expansive buildings either as schools or for strictly charitable purposes.

Adaptation to the structures and conditions of the wider society was a process, which for some towns lasted into the 20th century. The settlements were each affected to a different extent by the processes of urbanisation, of stagnation, as in the case of Gnadenfeld and by integration into a metropolis as in the case of (Winston-) Salem. The smaller former settlement congregations, insofar as they are still locations for congregations of the Moravian Church, have been able to retain something of their old unique way of life, even if this is only to a more limited extent. This is especially so because in many cases many members of the Moravian Church no longer live on site.
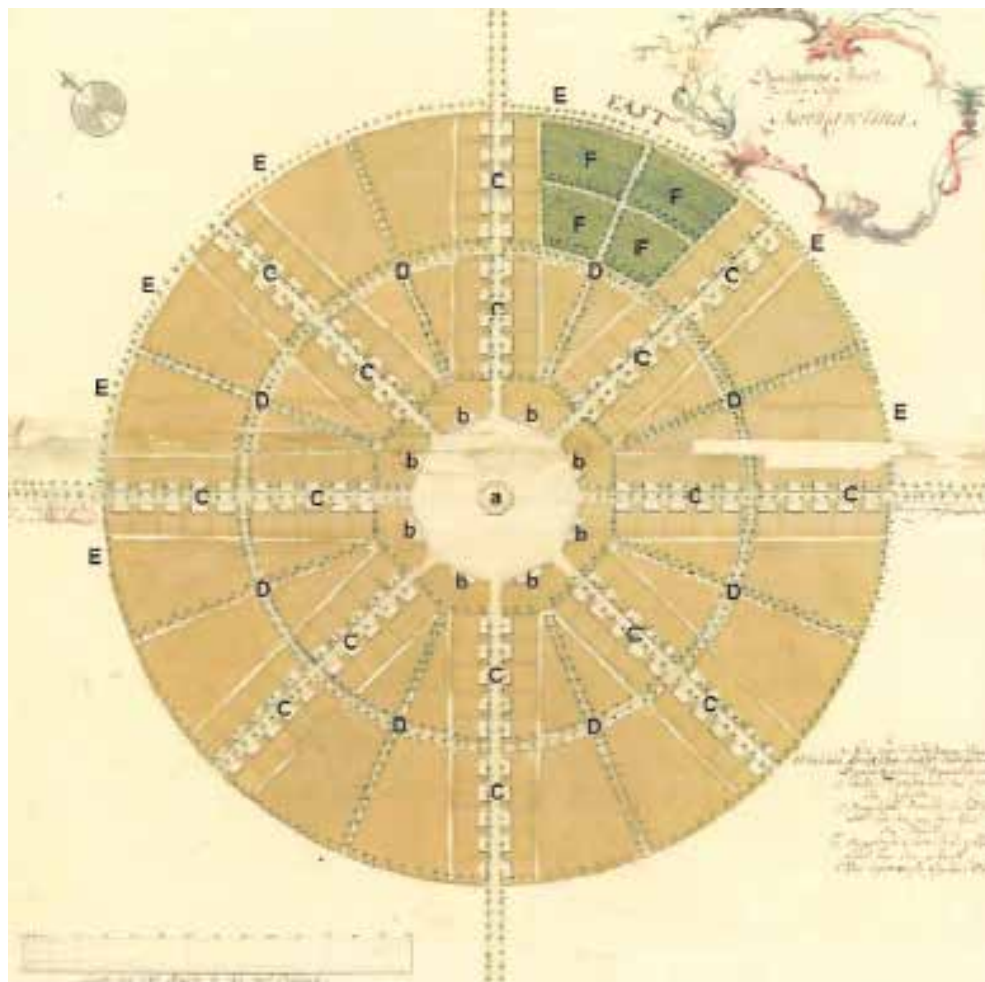
3.12 Construction for the outline plan of the city in Wachovia. Drawing after the specifications of Ludwig Nico-laus von Zinzendorf, around 1756 (Source: UAH TS Mp 100.6)

The Moravian Church
Life and philosophy of the Moravian Church in her settlements, seen in historical and contemporary perspectives
Author: Rev. Dr. Jørgen Bøytler (PhD), Unity Business Administrator, reverend of the Moravian Church Christiansfeld.

The Moravian Church
The Moravian Church has a number of characteristics that are rooted in the theology and in a more than 270 year-long history. It was founded in its present form in a pietistic religious and political environment. It developed, when the Enlightenment was changing Europe. A particular kind of congregational life, including construction of a number of settlements, developed in the first 80 years of existence of the church[25]. Almost simultaneously, the church embarked upon foreign missions in faraway places. Over the years, the church changed shape; it ceased to create new settlements, but established conventional church entities. In this process, the church grew to a far greater size. Emphasis on Christian life was strong, and an ecumenical understanding was part of the framework of the church, as members of the early Moravian Church included Lutherans, Reformed and Moravian adherents. A system of so-called "Tropes" furnished all the groups with the right of belonging to the church. A strong Christology and a deep conviction for bringing the Gospel to non-Christians shaped the church. In this way the church has taken root in genuinely different cultures.

Because of an increasing interest in the Moravian settlements as cultural heritage, and because of the immense influence the settlements as phenomenon had on the development of the renewed Moravian Church, it is important to describe the religious background and the dynamics related to theology and mission that inspired the 18th Century Moravians to build towns. Supposedly important reasons for the creation of the settlements exist within the Moravian ecclesiology. Interest in this topic is not lessened by the fact that the concept of founding settlements ceased to exist in the early 19th Century and therefore the settlement concept is unknown in most of the Moravian churches in the Global South, although South Africa and to some extent the Caribbean's make the exception.

The Moravian Church is founded theologically, missiologically, ecclesiologically and historically well within the sphere of mainstream Protestant church.

Scholarship and literature concerning the Moravian Church
Few, if any churches the size of the Moravian Church, are better described than this church. Vast archival resources are available in the Unity Archive in Herrnhut and the Archive in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and indeed in a number of archives of European and American congregations, and in other parts of the Unity.

The Moravian Archives include numerous volumes of literature relating to the Moravian Church. As many rendered the Moravian Church, and especially Count

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25 The word "church" I use here well knowing that only gradually the renewed Unitas Fratrum developed from being a movement within the German Lutheran Church, an "ecclesiola in ecclesia," into being a church or denomination.

Zinzendorf, controversial, the critics published bulks of literature, criticising the Moravian Church. The Church itself published books, sermons, papers, and pamphlets. The interest was on systematic, dogmatic, and historic issues; hymns and pious writings were plentiful, sermons and practical instructions in the life as a Moravian were made available. Notably, for obvious historical reasons, mission soon gained importance in the publications.

The German literature includes books on liturgical, historical, musical, theological, cathecismal, missional, and architectural subjects. Dissertations and books on Moravian Theology are also available for a German-speaking constituency. Mission history is a voluminous affair. The settlements and the congregational structure attract the interest of anthropologists and sociologists. In general church history of the 18th and 19th Century, one will usually find chapters or at least footnotes concerning the Moravian Church. Probably best known are the so-called "Lebensläufe", biographies written by the individual members.

The Moravian archives contain important historical documents. However, the archive is also a living part of the congregation, because new material still comes into the archives.

The Anglophone world benefits from numbers of books covering many of the above-mentioned issues. Sociological studies deal with Moravian communal life; a great number of books pays interest to the theology of Zinzendorf, who writers view as being anything from a religious lunatic to a religious, or even Christian genius. Books on Moravian mission history, at least until the late 1950s are available.

Books on the theology of the Moravian Church largely deal with the theology of Zinzendorf[26]. Included are a number of books and articles on the mission-theology of Zinzendorf, and in some cases Spangenberg. Other books, mostly of historical interest, describe the relation between the Moravian Church and other denominations. Naturally, the relation between the Moravian Church and the Lutheran Church creates interest in earlier books, and the interest is seen in present day USA. In the British Province, the relation to Anglicans and Methodists is relevant.

Fundamental understandings of the Moravian Church
When attempting to describe the Moravian Church, there is a need to establish a certain theological platform. That would mean an account of the systematic theology of the Moravian Church. However, there is a real question as to whether such a theology can be said to exist. In addition, if one is looking for a systematic theology *per se* let alone a "Moravian Creed," it will be in vain[27]. Spangenberg states in the

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26 Spangenberg´s *"Idea Fidei Fratrum"* is the best known; one can also mention David Nietzchmann´s *"Grundlehren der Evangelischen. Gemeinen, die man seit 300 Jahren die Brüder nennt,"* Büdingen 1742 and the books of Hermann Plitt: *"Die Gnade und Wahrheit in Christo Jesu,"* Niesky 1883 and „*Die Gemein Gottes in ihrem Geist und ihren Formen,"* Gotha 1859. In 1749 the Moravians published in London "An account of the doctrine, Manners, Liturgy, and Ideons of the Unitas Fratrum."

27 A modification to this statement is proper: The Easter Morning liturgy is under strong influence of the creeds, and we can well understand it as a creed in its own right. Many Moravians do so (Freemann 1998, p.9). Zinzendorf saw the Easter Morning celebration in connection to the Orthodox Church.

preface of "An Exposition of Christian Doctrine" that it is not a confession or a creed, but an expression of the Moravian insight into the Gospel (Spangenberg 1959, Preface of author, p. IV.). The Augsburg Confession is the confession of the Moravian Church, says Spangenberg. Zinzendorf had the view that one cannot write a systematic theology anyway, the only Christian system is Christ. That does not necessarily mean, however, that a Moravian theology is absent; only that Christianity itself is not conceptional or creedal but relational. Neither does it mean that creeds are unknown to Moravians. Since Zinzendorf was close to the Lutheran Church, the Augsburg Confession played an increasingly important role in the Moravian Church. The "The Groune of the Unity" document still plays an important role today, at least in Europe and USA, in the Eastern West Indies Province and in parts of Tanzania. The Moravians consider it a doctrinal statement, but not a creed. On the contrary, it does mention "the creeds (that) in particular gained special importance."

Two other documents are important to mention: The first is "A Brotherly Agreement" of 1527 and the second is "The Moravian Covenant for Christian Living, formerly known as The Brotherly Agreement of the Moravian Church," revised several times. The former expresses the spiritual life of the early Herrnhut community and the latter is a modernized version used in the US Moravian Church.

The role of Scripture in the Moravian Church calls for attention. The Holy Scripture is the sole standard of the doctrine and faith of the Unitas Fratrum (COUF 1995: p.14.)[28]. The Moravian Church considers the "Word of the Cross" the centre of Scripture; the theology is Christocentric. The creeds recognised by the Unitas Fratrum formulate "a Scriptural confession" (COUF 1995: p.14). The creeds must be proven in light of Scripture. Scripture has no system but Christ, meaning it is not possible to find a philosophical, much less any theological system in the Bible as was attempted by the Lutheran scholastics.

It is relevant to consider how the Moravian Church understands her own theological view. When statements are made to the effect that the Moravian Church was formed by awareness that Christianity is relational and devotional, not conceptional, these refer to the concept of the Heart Religion which is, relational and devotional in its own right (Freeman 1998: p.5). The experience of faith and life is foundational and when so, it is an experience shared by Africans, Americans and Europeans alike, independent of their cultural context. The historical and cultural contexts shape the conceptional, liturgical, and institutional expressions of the visible Church. The Ancient Moravian Church explains its theological understanding by dividing theological and ecclesial matters into essentials, ministerials, and incidentals. The Moravian Church in different parts of the world shares a number of liturgical and institutional expressions. The relational and devotional apprehension of Christianity is the fundamental understanding in Moravian theology, the conceptional, liturgical, and institutional expressions are the framework in which the Moravian Church is settled,

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Originally, the creedal part had a Christological focus, but was later extended to a Trinitarian creed (*Handbuch* 1990, p. 53). "The Moravian Covenant for Christian Living" states that "A Moravian confession of faith is to be found in the Easter Dawn Liturgy" (Moravian Covenant, p. 6). The liturgy is in substance mainly Luther's Shorter Catechism, modified over the years. It can therefore be maintained that no specific Moravian Creed is avail-able, but a desire to present such a one, or at least being able to express a creed of the Moravian Church, can to some degree be recognised.

28 Church Order is quoting "The Ground of Unity".

and they developed in accordance with the Heart Religion. They are the vehicle of the Heart Religion and unless they fossilize, remaining devoid of substance, they will on the one hand develop in accordance with   faith and life, and on the other hand they will support faith and life and thus offer a framework for devotional life in a relational mode.

The theology of the renewed Moravian Church was in the early days strongly influenced by Count Zinzendorf. Though several of the issues of his time play a less significant role in the 21st Century, a number of the topics of his time still have relevance for understanding the Moravian Church today. The Enlightenment questioned the concept of original sin, which leads to the corruption of the human nature, because it questioned human capability and motivation. Zinzendorf, being under influence of the Enlightenment[29] , recognised the value of human life without giving up the idea of the Fall, which according to the argument of the Enlightenment resulted in at least limitations in human nature. The important theological perception of Zinzendorf was that the original sin was taken away on the cross, as it is expressed in liturgical formulation: "for you have through your blood reconciled all things with yourself, (be it) those on earth as well as those in heaven."[30] This means that God through his grace has freed all human beings from original sin, certainly, but it further means that humanity has a potential.

Zinzendorf makes the connection between creation and salvation, mein Schöpfer mein Heiland as the starting point for his understanding of the Trinity (Hennig 1939; p.45). He partly bases this assumption on his understanding of the word logos in the Prologue to the Gospel of John. Logos is not signifying "word" or "speech," but ratio, causa, i.e. *causa prim*a, and that means God (Freeman 1998: p.83). One can only understand the Christocentric theology, when appreciat-ing that Christ is creator, being within the Trinity. Zinzendorf develops the un-derstanding of the Trinity and describes God, the Father, as almighty, above the whole creation, holy and loving, together with the Spirit, who is above the souls. As the Saviour is causa principalis (prima) the Spirit is *causa instrumentalis*. As Hennig points out the phrase , "My Saviour my Creator" indicates that man and God belong together, that the creation is the heart of the Creator (Hennig 1939; p.56.)[31]. It also reflects a radical understanding of God's incarnation in Christ; the incarnation is creation returning to the creator, or rather the creator reclaiming the relationship with the creation.

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29 When the term Enlightenment is used, it is used recognising the extensive width in understanding the issue. Immanuel Kant called it the time when man "stepped out of his self inflicted tutelage," and became an autonomous individual, equipped with sound reason, critical sense and free discernment (Bredsdorff 2004:11).

30 From the Danish Liturgy: "thi du har jo ved dit blod forligt alle ting med dig selv, væresig dem på jorden eller dem i Himlene."

31 Hennig has intensively dealt with the sentence Mein Schöpfer mein Heiland, but space does not permit a further examination of the notion here. Likewise, Hennig addresses the issue "Zinzendorf and the Enlightenment." He suggests that the concept Creator/Saviour is Zinzendorf's answer to the enlightened man who struggles with how to deal with the revelation in contrast to rationality. Hennig says "In this formula is for the Enlightener (Aufklärer) Zinzendorf a clear testimony found… which man can include in his confession: The enlightened man is found right in the centre of revelation, otherwise revelation was nothing" (Hennig 1939:56). (My translation)

Tolerance was another issue of the Enlightenment. Pietism is a movement parallel to the Enlightenment and partly a child of it, as by putting the individual personality including the religious feelings[32] , in focus, it was a rebellion against the church as institution and worldly power: The individual personality was the carrier of truth, not the church as an institution. The grandmother of Zinzendorf brought him up almost in the core of the Hallensic Pietism. She was close to Francke, and partly for that reason Pietism strongly influenced Zinzendorf's thinking. However, he developed in the early 1730s a critical attitude to the Hallensic pietism. Zinzendorf gradually came to a rejection of the Pietistic striving for holiness as he, in accordance with Luther, focused on the centrality of grace.

Turning away from legalism and the Pietistic struggle for salvation and sanctification, Zinzendorf, and together with him the developing Moravian Church, found confidence in God's grace and forgiveness and emphasised the joy of salvation. The Moravians were given the label "the cheerful Pietists," indicating that the pious ways and the importance of the individual as a Christian remained intact, but without any rigid Pietistic legalism. Within the Moravian Church the "teaching of universal justification,"[33] became a watermark of Zinzendorf's theology. It developed into the concept of Heart Religion[34], and positioned the Herrnhutism[35] in relation to Pietism. To Zinzendorf the Saviour/Creator is tolerant, gentle and patient and this meant that forms of religion are conditioned historically and culturally, according to Zinzendorf (Freeman 1998; p.47.).

Having depicted Herrnhutism as a strain of Pietism, as far as the role of the individual was emphasised, the accent on community and fellowship in Herrnhutian thinking, exemplified through the establishing of closely knit communities in Moravian settlements, is equally important. As an example, the Choirs and the Bands in the Moravian settlements were groups that served the community and the individual members alike.

When describing important issues in Zinzendorf's theology, the impact of mysticism must be included. The role of mysticism in the life and thinking of Zinzendorf changed during his life, but he was constantly under the influence of several currents of mysticism of his time. According to Dietrich Meyer, Zinzendorf's mysticism was coloured by his belief in the eminent importance of grace (Freeman 1998; p.58ff.). He stated that his mysticism was Christ's mysticism; only through Christ can human beings come to know His Father. Zinzendorf was often attacked for being a separatist for the way he established Herrnhut as well as for some of his words and writings .

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32 Speners "Pia desideria," 1675 marks the outset of pietism.

33 First, found in the late 16th Century by Samuel Huber.

34 The individuals having "Christ in his/her Heart" belonged to the Heart Religion and were in principle found in within all denominations.

35 "Herrnhutism" and "Herrnhutian" is used here deliberately in a direct translation from German (and Danish), although the use of these words is not common in the English language, they would rather be "Moravianism" and "Moravian." The word Herrnhutism indicates the sum of what originated from Herrnhut, and is a concept, which is used especially in continental Europe.

He was, therefore careful to avoid the separatist tendencies of mysticism, underlining that faith was found even in the historic churches; people of the Heart Religion were found in all churches. Zinzendorf uses the term "Religion" for that which communicates God through Christ. The knowledge of God was found through Christ and thus the knowledge of God was clear and not hidden in the darkness.

Music and poetry were important to Zinzendorf and a musical tradition developed within the Moravian Church.

The Globalised Moravian Church
The history of the Moravian Church is normally divided into two main-parts: The Ancient Moravian Church and the Renewed Moravian Church. This makes sense, because the Ancient Moravian Church existed in a defined period, from 1457 to c.1630. After a period of time the Renewed Moravian Church came into existence in the new settlement in Herrnhut, and the official date of founding is August 13, 1727. The time between the disappearance of the Ancient Moravian Church and the reappearance of the church is called by Moravians "the time of the Hidden Seed."

The idea of a third period of the Moravian Church, namely from the middle of the 20th Century, when the Mission-Provinces became Unity Provinces, is when the Moravian Church went from consisting of two Moravian provinces, the European and the American with a central leadership in Europe, to consisting of more (and more) provinces, most of them now in the former mission-areas. This is a paradigm-shift; this is when the Moravian Church moves from being a Western church doing mission overseas to being a globalised church with a growing constituency in the Global South and a stagnating group of members in the North. This is a time when the church in some areas develops into a majority church and experiences a new development of not only theological orientation, but also leadership, membership and self-understanding.

Essentials of the Ancient Moravian Church
Many recognise the Moravian Church as the church which originated in Herrnhut, Count Zinzendorf being the primus motor, and the Moravian Church in the early days of Protestant mission being the church which sent the greatest number of missionaries to distant places. However, what today is considered the Moravian Church is in fact the Renewed Moravian Church, or even the Globalised Moravian Church. The Ancient Moravian Church is the antecedent of the Renewed Moravian Church.

John Hus (1369-1415) is not the founder of the Moravian Church, but his teaching and preaching in Prague, inspired by John Wycliffe (1324-1384) from Oxford, and especially the execution of John Hus as a heretic at the Council in Constance in 1415 together form part of the roots of the Moravian Church. Hus was critical towards the Roman Catholic Church and its abuses, especially the sale of indulgences, Roman Catholic beliefs and practices in relation to the administering of Holy Communion and the preaching in Latin, all common practices at the time.

A small group of Taborites wanted to establish a Christian community in which they could live according to their faith. They were under the influence of Peter Chelchicky, who had studied at university, and was a peasant, thinker, and pacifist. In 1457, they founded the Jednota Bratrska society, in Latin the Unitas Fratrum. Initially it was nothing but a group of people living in the village Kunwald, under the leadership of Gregory, a nephew of the Utraquist archbishop Rockycana, but the rulers considered them heretics and persecuted them severely in the following years. More and more people joined the group and, in 1464, the group held the first synod, which agreed upon a creed. They gave up their membership of the existing church and a Waldensian bishop ordained three of its members; the Unitas Fratrum was now a church. The history of the Ancient Moravian Church takes us through almost two centuries of Central European church history – and political history. It remained small; some accounts say it had up to 150,000 adherents. The ideal of the first generation of the Brethren was the Early Church, the focus was the saving work of Jesus Christ, and their way they lived out their faith was to devote themselves in complete obedience to what they interpreted as the standards of Christ. Their central Biblical text was the Sermon on the Mount. The Brethren were inheritors of the Taborite, the radical form of the Husite Reformation. In this early period, the distinction of Christian faith and life between essentials, ministerials (that which served the essentials) and incidentals (the way things were done) played an important role.

During the first decades of the Lutheran Reformation, the Ancient Moravian Church struggled to position itself between Lutheranism and Calvinism; after the Schmalkald War, accommodation with Lutheranism and Calvinism became a practical necessity, because many brethren sought freedom in Poland and Prussia (Rican, 1992: p.394.)[36]. In the second half of the 16th Century, the Brethren expressed their fundamental openness to the European Reformation in all its tendencies and they dealt theologically with the questions discussed in the Reformation churches. According to Molnàr, in the end, the result was the Calvinisation of the Unity. In the discussion with the other reformers, the fundamental ecclesiological principle of the Unity was the maxim of not allowing the intervention of secular power into matters of faith, which is freely given by God (Rican 1992: p.394.).

Throughout its history, the Unity was generally illegal and avoided absorption by the larger Protestant movements, yet it was always seeking contact and cooperation. The Battle at the White Mountain in 1620 marks the end of the Ancient Moravian Church, the Unitas Fratrum, and although in the following century it continued to live in small cells in Poland, it literally disappeared from the scene. In the Moravian tradition, the time from the end of the Ancient Moravian Church until the advent of the Renewed Moravian Church is called the time of the "hidden seed." The reestablishment of the Moravian Church in 1727, is considered by the Moravians to be the new sprouting of what had been waiting dormant for decades.

The Ancient Moravian Church developed from a rather radical movement into a church, which embraced a theology based in the second Reformation. It did so under the impact of writings of Peter Chelchicky, through an acceptance of creeds, a socially

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36 The author of the final chapter (p.390-420) of Rican's book "The History of the Unity of Brethren" is Amédeo Molnar, surveying the theology of the Unity of Brethren.

less revolutionary attitude, acceptance of, for example, a cup for Holy Communion made from silver, and acceptance of a liturgical structure in the church service. One exponent from that period is the scholar, teacher, and bishop Jan Amos Comenius.

The renewed Moravian Church and her settlements
The official date of founding of the Renewed Moravian Church is August 13, 1727. Only five years previously, the German Christian David and a few other Christians, who had their roots in the Ancient Unity, had been looking for a place to live in freedom. They founded the town Herrnhut in Upper Lusatia in Lower Saxony on the land of Count Zinzendorf. In 1732, ten years after the first beginnings were established in Herrnhut, five years after the founding of the church, the first missionaries crossed the Atlantic, travelling from Herrnhut, boarding a ship in Copenhagen, and landing in St. Thomas at the former Danish West Indies, (today U.S. Virgin Islands) on August 21, 1735. Herrnhut was still under construction, the principles of a Moravian settlement were still at the developmental stage and the structure of a Moravian Congregation was still a hazy cloud of ideas and experiments. Important liturgical structures and theological ideals, like the Pilgrim Congregation, the "Ideal Striver" even the Sifting Time[37], were all yet to come. The Renewed Moravian Church did not even exist as a church yet. Nevertheless, the mission to foreign countries had started.

If one is looking for a systematic theology per se let alone a "Moravian Creed," this will be in vain. The Augsburg Confession is the confession of the Moravian Church, says Spangenberg. What in the understanding of Zinzendorf comes closest to a creed is *"Ein und Zwanzig Diskurse über die Augsburgshe Confession,"* but this is not a creed. However, this does not mean that a Moravian theology is absent; only that Christianity is not conceptional or creedal but relational. Neitherdoes this mean that creeds are unknown to Moravians. The "The Ground of the Unity" document plays an important role, and two other documents are also important to mention, and are dealt with in more detail below: The first is "A Brotherly Agreement" of 1527 and the second is "The Moravian Covenant for Christian Living, formerly known as The Brotherly Agreement of the Moravian Church," revised several times. The former expresses the spiritual life of the early Herrnhut community and the latter is a modernized version used in the US Moravian Church. The Scripture is, according to the Moravian Church, what the Triune God has used as a vehicle for His revelation; the Holy Scripture is the sole standard of the doctrine and faith of the Unitas Fratrum. The Moravian Church was formed by awareness that Christianity is relational and devotional, not conceptional, it refers to the concept of the Heart Religion, relational and devotional in its own right (Freeman 1998: p.5). The experience of faith and life is foundational. The historical and cultural contexts shape the conceptional, liturgical, and institutional expressions of the visible Church. The Ancient Moravian Church offers in its theological understanding a model for understanding the relation between relational/devotional and conceptional by dividing theological and ecclesial matters

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37 During the period lasting from 1743 to 1750 Zinzendorf and his followers used a mystical language in an overwrought way to describe Christ and their relation to him.

into essentials, ministerials, and incidentals. However, although the relational and devotional apprehension of Christianity is the fundamental understanding in Moravian theology, the conceptional, liturgical, and institutional expressions are the framework in which the Moravian Church is settled, and they developed in accordance with the Heart Religion.

A description of the significance of the Moravian values in connection to the Moravian towns is one of the important issues in trying to understand what the Moravian Church is in Continental Europe. The renewed Moravian Church was born as a "Settlement Congregation"[38], and for almost two centuries its development in Continental Europe took place mainly within the settlements, although these also served many outreach purposes. Comparatively there were far fewer new Moravian church settlements in the British Isles, , though Fulneck in Yorkshire and Grace Hill in Northern Ireland are examples of classical Moravian Settlements. However, the official (British) point of view in 1891 was that "settlements (are) not of the Essence of the Brethren's Church." (Church Book 1891: p.12ff). One could argue that the establishment of Herrnhut, with its special social organisation, was not the necessary outcome of their religious views. Rather, because the exiles from Moravia and Bohemia came to live in a foreign country, relatively isolated from the indigenous people, they naturally formed a society in which they felt comfortable. Moreover, they had to comply with the regulations of the Peace of Westphalia, stating that the community would have to exist only under special territorial regulations determined by a Sovereign or Overlord. When settlements were established in the UK, it was only because the Moravian preachers were obliged by law to obtain a license allowing them to preach, and they therefore also decided to found settlements.

The settlements were theocratically ruled for shorter or longer periods, but they all included a certain degree of democracy. There is an inner relationship between what later generations labelled as Herrnhutism and the spirit of Enlightenment. As a religious body Herrnhutism included spirituality, enthusiasm, and rationality, the rationality component became especially important after the death of Zinzendorf in 1760 and this is indeed visible at the time of the establishment of the later settlements.

It is equally important to note that the development of Moravian towns is one of three characteristics of the Moravian Church. The other two are the mission work and the Diaspora work.

The founding of Herrnhut is the new beginning. Notably, the founding of a town is at the same time the founding of a new church, a new denomination. Of course, in 1722 that was not a visible fact; for quite a long time the inhabitants of Herrnhut were part of the Lutheran congregation of Berthelsdorf. Christian David only brought the first "real" descendants of the Ancient Unity into Herrnhut in 1724. There is also an

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38 A settlement congregation is in German Ortsgemeine. The German term indicates that it is a congregation situated in an Ort; in a particular location. The term finds its use as a description of a congregation in a town or village, often being a Moravian settlement, contrary to a regional congregation, which is the contemporary term for a congregation covering a larger area with smaller groups of Moravians living scattered.

interesting debate on whether the fathers of Herrnhut were of Czech or German origin. They came out of Moravia, the present day Czech Republic, but it seems they had roots in the German part of the population. The architecture of Herrnhut shows more connection to Saxony than to Moravia, which is not surprising, as the German influence in Herrnhut was strong.

No plan is known to have existed apart from what was apparently a vision of Christian David and of Zinzendorf. Zinzendorf's vision was to establish a village that should function as an ecclesiola in ecclesia at Berthelsdorf. Zinzendorf had a number of ideas, not fixed into spatial patterns at the time, rather visions of a better life for those complying with his ideas, visions for a society with a kind of theocratic government.

The real plan and the perfect plan

The plan of Herrnhaag serves as a model for several later Moravian settlements. Zinzendorf was finally banished from Saxony in 1736 for being a heretic. It was then that he uttered his famous words, "We must now, … "gather together the Pilgrim Congregation and proclaim the Saviour to the World."[39] Following Zinzendorf's banishment from Herrnhut, and needing a new base from which he could put into practice his ideas of bringing the Gospel to foreign and overseas destinations, Zinzendorf and his followers were allowed to settle at Marienborn. They founded a settlement, which they called Herrnhaag (The Lord's Grove). The congregation wanted to design the town to suit the purpose: To function as headquarters for the activities, and the base for the missionary outreach. This alone however would not necessarily result in the town plans in it self.

A perfect plan can be imagined (Buijtenen, 1975: p.468.). It shows the centre as square (Platz). The Hall (Saal) is situated immediately on the square, in a central place, together with the congregational houses (Gemeinhäuser) facing the square, and behind these the private and individual houses are found. The number of streets varies from one settlement to the other, but they should form a symmetric pattern towards the square. Traffic should pass through at the outskirts of the town. The planners would situate the Choir Houses in accordance with the position of the church, meaning the Sisters' houses should be close to the end of the church where the Sisters sit (the Sisters' side) etc. The inn (Gemeinlogi) is close to the main entrance of the square on the brother's side. Even private houses of prominent persons would be facing the square (Merian in Buijtenen 1975: p.467f).

Richter's explanation of the structure of a Moravian Settlement Congregation (Richter 2003: p.3.)[40] shows the square (Platz) as the absolute centre, the church (Saal) located on one side, other communal buildings, Choir houses, and other buildings on

39 Hutton, Book II, Ch. 5: The edict of banishment, accessed 01.06.12, available on http://www.fullbooks.com/History-of-the-Moravian-Church1.html

40 It has been shown that a number of types Moravian Settlements exist, hereunder the "Cross road design," (Herrnhut, Ebersdorf, Kleinwelka), the "Two road design" (Herrnhaag, Christiansfeld, Gracehill), the "Four road design" (Gnadau, Königsfeld, Sarepta, Niesky, Nazareth), the "Parallel design" (Fulneck, Fairfield, Elim), (source Architect Jørgen Toft Jessen, exhibition in the Christiansfeld Centre, April 2008). It is a similar exercise to what Richter does,

the other three sides. The axis dividing the church into a Sisters' side and a Brothers' side, divides the whole structure, making the positioning of the Brothers' house, the Sisters' house etc. obvious. The square is principally devoid of traffic, leaving space for people to meet in individual or communal circumstances.

It is more than likely that the cross being formed by the pathways and the water fountain in the centre of the square carries the symbolism of Christ, being the invisible centre of the community.

Notably the symmetrical design, beginning at the hall , and continuing out into the town, corresponds with a separation of genders, but also with the equality between genders. Already early in the history of Herrnhut, Sisters were included in the various management boards, not in equal numbers with the men, but still showing a comparatively high degree of equality.

The utopian city

The development of the early town plans coincided with the time in the life of Zinzendorf, and therefore in the life of the Moravian Church, which is called the "Sifting Time." Zinzendorf developed a substantial mystical religious ideology, focusing strongly on the Saviour (Religion of the Saviour), the wounds of the crucified Christ, and the relation between the believer and the crucified in that time. It grew out of all proportion and called a lot of negative attention to the Moravians, but influenced the design of the settlements. The intimate relationship between the congregation and the Saviour meant that the Saviour truly was living in town, the point of focus being the church hall, in which the congregation would experience deep fellowship during the church service. The late Baroque elements suit the purpose. *"The Saviour has in such a wonderful way built himself a home, like those seen in the Oriental air castles that one moment were there and the next were gone."* (Buijtenen 1975: p.472f.) .

A question is, in which sense was Zinzendorf under the influence of mysticism, especially the Protestant mysticism represented by Johann Arend. In any case, Zinzendorf's Christo-centrism seems to overpower the mysticism, especially the teaching of the "Inner Light." Yet, Zinzendorf being drawn towards mysticism in his younger days and living through the "Sifting time" later, indicates that the whole idea of a city built on Christian principles related to ideas shared with 17th and 18th Century mysticism (Bergmann 1961: p.44ff.).

The notion of the ideal city is presented through the preceding decades in various forms. The one to mention here is Johann Valentin Andreae's *"Christianopolis,"* an utopian city[41]. Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) presented the idea in Strasbourg in 1619 as *"Republicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio,"* a classic utopia in line with "Utopia," especially "the town Amarout." It is possible that the Puritan Settlement of New Haven from 1638 is a reflection of Adreae's Christianopolis, delivered via the last bishop of the ancient Unitas Fratrum Jan Amos Comenius

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when finding two types of settlements and additionally special cases (Richter 2003:3-6). Also Merian shows different types of settlements (Buijtenen, 1975:469ff)

41 Accessed 02.06.12, available on http://www.trivia-library.com/a/utopia-theory-in-history-christianopolis.htm seen on 01.01.09. Andreae's Book Christianopolis has been published numerous times.

(1592-1670). Comenius was fond of Andreae. It is unlikely that any direct line of Comenius' involvement with Andreae and the plans of Herrnhaag can be proved. Andreae's second letter to Comenius includes the following: *'You may read the tablets of our shipwreck, and improve them if you wish. We shall be happy if our great design is not annihilated. Thus, sailors comfort themselves, who through sailing the wrong way, fortunately open up new lands to their successors. The goal was to destroy idols in Religion and in Science [Literature], and to replace them with Christ'.* However, the idea of Christianopolis being an inspiration is not foreign. Seng states: *Finally the Zinzendorfian beginnings in Herrnhut and Herrnhaag in Wetterau can be mentioned, as like the compact town-like structureof Andreae's Christianopolis, in these pietistic settlements make for such a straight, though less closed uniform type of house building would have given. As something new, the house of gatherings (Versammlungshaus) was seen as the centre, circumvented by a vegetable garden like in the description of the island of Sinold.'* (Seng, 2001: p.87.).

Weber's theory applied to Moravian settlements
Max Weber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism[42] is a study of the relationship between the ethics of ascetical Protestantism and the emergence of the spirit of modern capitalism. Weber argues that the religious ideas of groups such as the Calvinists played a role in creating the capitalistic spirit. Weber first observes a correlation between being Protestant and being involved in business, and declares his intent to explore religion as a potential cause of the modern economic conditions. He turns to Protestantism for a potential explanation. Protestantism offers a concept of the worldly "calling," and gives worldly activity a religious character. While important, this alone cannot explain the need to pursue profit. According to Weber, Calvin provides this explanation. As Calvinism developed, a deep psychological need for clues about whether one actually had a guarantee for s alvation arose, and Calvinists looked to their success in worldly activity for those clues. Thus, they came to value profit and material success as signs of God's favour. Other religious groups, such as the Pietists, Methodists, and the Baptists, though not believing in predestination as the Calvinists do, had similar attitudes but to a lesser degree.

So according to Max Weber, Protestantism is the foundation of capitalism because the Protestant, especially the Pietists and the Puritan Christian person, is industrious, but not being allowed to indulge in extravagances he will conserve the yield of their labours in capital. In the case of the Moravian settlements, a certain part of the yield is for the benefit of the congregation, the society, and it is therefore contributing to the relative wealth of the communities. There is no doubt that the Moravians felt strongly the "moral justification of worldly activity" as being the right to work for the community. Peculiar for the economic set up in the Moravian settlements was the fact that eventually the artisans owned their own businesses, but owed their freedom of action to the Elders who were granting permission to do business within the towns[43].

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42 The following is available in Weber's „Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus", Danish translation: „Den protestantiske etik og kapitalismens ånd."

3.13 Johann Valentin Andreae's Christianopolis, presented by Sir Thomas More in Strasbourg as "Republicae Christianopolitanae Descrip-tio", 1619.
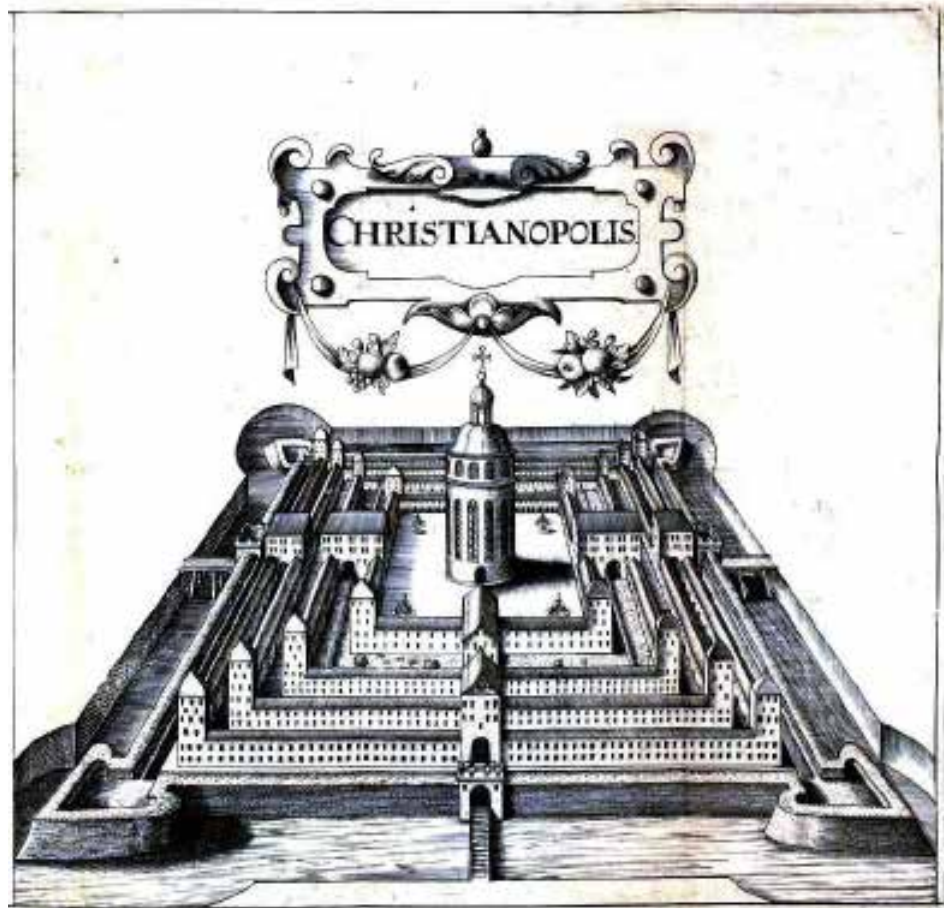
Gollin points out differences between the economic development of Herrnhut and of Bethlehem, PA. They were both dominated by the idea that Christ was the owner of all possessions, though the communal economy in Bethlehem from 1742-1762 was different from that of Herrnhut. Herrnhut had a small, but significant number of individuals from the German aristocracy (Gollin 1967: p.217ff.). According to Gollin, Weber is only dealing with the community of Herrnhut, not with that of Bethlehem, which is a mistake, because Herrnhut is not representative for the Moravian settlements and certainly not for Bethlehem. This still does not change the fact that industrious townships developed in and under groups of people that bore all the important signs of being Pietistic. It is also a fact that these same groups, mainly through their own labour, were able to sustain large costs in financing endeavours in the mission fields, meaning yielding a profit not being spent on their own immediate needs, rather being invested in long-term projects[44].

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43 Bethlehem, PA, operated from 1741 to 1762 as a cooperative, communal society, referred to as "The General Economy." Individuals were in this period not supposed to own land or businesses. According to Katherine Carté, Bethlehem's leaders never intended the communal economic structure to be a permanent aspect of life for the Moravians in North America." (see www.zinzendorf.com) The system changed in 1762, allowing individual ownership of businesses, but still on land leased from the congregation. In 1844 the church abolished the lease system.

In the period from 1760 to 1782, the church made a constitution for the Moravian Church. The government of the Saviour played a strong role because the Moravian congregation was supposed to be a particular people of the Lord. The constitution could even deal with detailed questions. Nevertheless, before the Synods agreed upon the constitution, work committees had been chewing through the paragraphs, and that meant that they had worked through the problems in a rational process (Thyssen 1984: p.153.). The regulation of many details and plans of the settlements took place through the influence of the constitution.

**Life and work in the early settlements**
The people living in Herrnhut were under strict rule (Hutton 1909, Book 2, Ch. III). The employment of the pattern established there, was in use for the development of more than twenty Moravian settlements all around the world. The Elders of the church watched over every phase of life, secular as well as spiritual. The village itself operated on a communal basis in which every member contributed according to his ability and shared according to his need. There was no competition in business, and the congregation owned and controlled all the resources of the community. The industrial arts were carried on within the village, and many Moravians were noted artisans. Those who did not work as artisans often laboured on the farms. They, too, lived in the village; but every day they went to the adjoining fields. The Christian religion was as much a part of life as breathing. Naturally, all who came to Herrnhut or one of the other communities to apply for membership were subjected to a careful screening. Many applications were turned down. Neither Herrnhut nor any of the later Moravian settlement looked for converts.

The congregation consisted of those who remained at home and worked and those who went out to carry the Gospel to other lands or participate in the Diaspora work. Bishop Spangenberg told those who lived in the settlements that they were the "commissariat," or "the supply department," for those on active mission in faraway lands. Each person contributed to the welfare of all, and each received according to his or her needs; Zinzendorf's ideas were important for the development of the settlement Bethlehem, PA. He believed the Moravians themselves ought to support their preaching and missionary work through their own resources, rather than relying on payment from the communities and congregations they served. This would allow the Moravians to understand themselves as independent servants of the Saviour, not as slaves to the people they tried to help and teach (Carté).

The discipline, order, control, and piety were decisive factors in designing and constructing the town. The work discipline was instrumental in erecting, not only Herrnhut, but many of the other towns as well, often built in a relatively short time.

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44 Interesting and relevant as it might be, this is not the place to move into a deeper discussion with Gollin. It is a not only fruitful, but also necessary discussion between Political Science and Theology. However, what is relevant here is that according to Gollin the developments in Herrnhut and Bethlehem were very different, mainly due to circumstances that were not theological but social and anthropological.

This was a new and very practical way of interpreting praxis pietas. The economy of the settlements as a whole was built on agriculture, industry, building construction and trade, though the importance of the different activities differed from town to town: Examples of this can be seen from the fact that Bethany (1759) in North Carolina was mainly a smaller farming community, while *Christiansfeld* (1773) in Denmark was a small-scale industry and artisan's community.
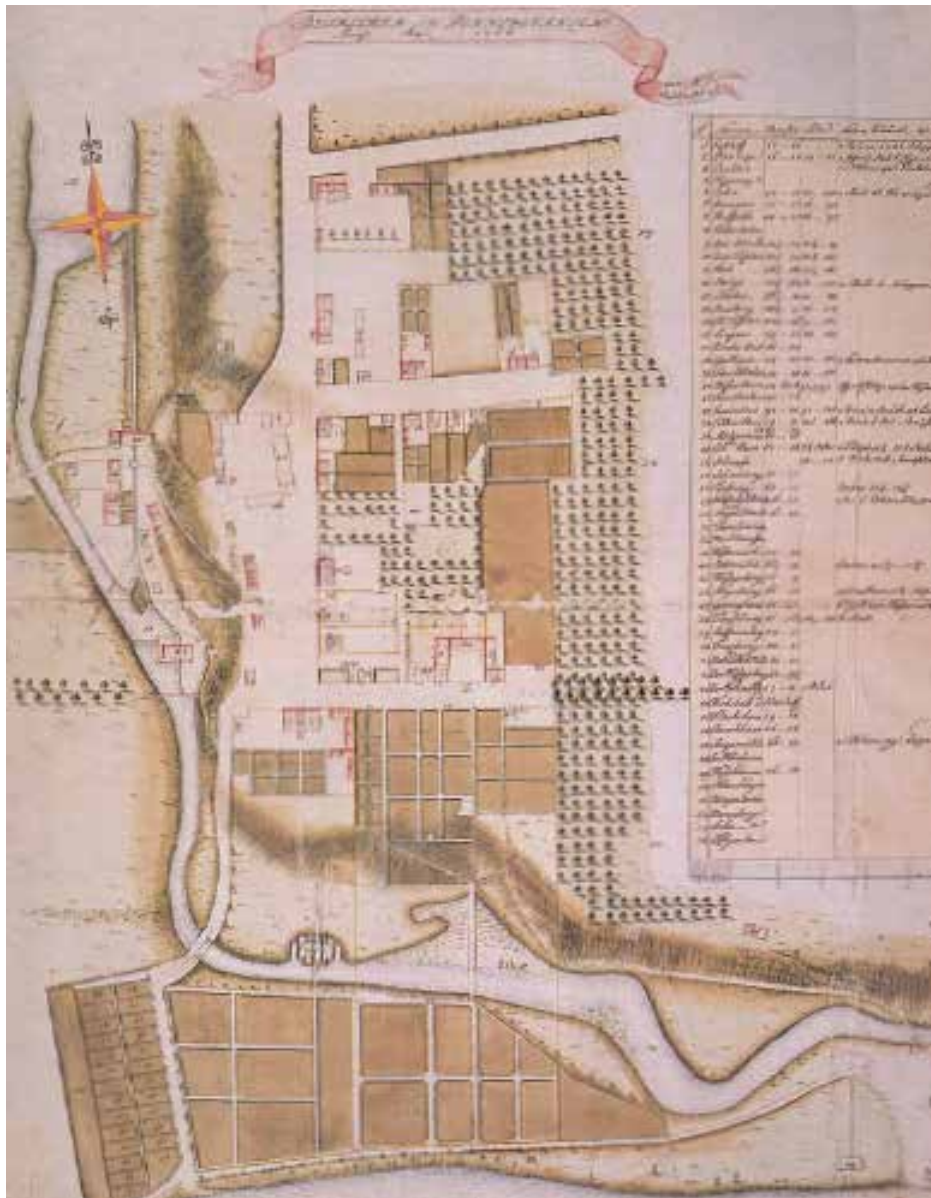
3.14 Plan of Bethlehem in
Pennsylvania, may 1766.
(Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut)

None of the businesses were based on competition, but on control by the Elders who through granting permissions to individuals and Choirs secured the variety of crafts and industries to supply whatever the inhabitants needed. This economic set-up is crucial for the development of the towns, partly because the quality of the artisans' work should be high in order to satisfy the Elders, partly because new settlements would give room for new master artisans needing a place to work, but not being in competition with a fellow master in an existing town. The concept of group endeavour was a priori in working within the Moravian settlements. In Herrnhut, the property belonged to the so-called "Diacony," holding the lands, farms, and all larger establishments under control. The village and the society spent the revenues for general purposes.

After the events on August 13, 1727, an intercession started, and was to last for over 100 years. It meant that in Moravian understanding even building projects and new settlements were an issue dealt with spiritually. In a Moravian settlement, any daily task of work was a Gottesdienst, a "Service for God" (Schempp 1969: p.35).

The influence on contemporary Moravian life and values of the Moravian towns
It is obvious that the Moravian towns represent a number of values. Beyond any doubt, they have historic significance; they might have a direct influence on present day Moravian life as well. Even to individuals outside the ranks of the Moravians, the towns have something to offer. The settlements are complex entities, and the functions of the towns have changed. In a postmodern world, which in many ways is more complex than the 18th and 19th Century, the Moravians find other qualities from living in the towns today than their predecessors did. Put together with the fact that the Moravian way of living has dramatically changed; the life and to some degree the values have changed, though the core and the identity prevails; the description of their influence can in any case only be incomplete. Present day Moravians are not living in a one or two hundred year old time capsule, but are partakers in the contemporary society. Yet, philosophical ideas and religious values connected to being Moravians play a role, and these values are to some extent related to the towns and settlements. Therefore, an attempt to pinpoint the influence on today's Moravian life presented through the Moravian towns shall be ventured here:

Liturgical life and aesthetics
The idea is that any work, any task, is a service to God. Many other Christian groups and denominations share this belief and this service is currently performed by supporting the church, the poor, the mission, through living in consciousness of the environment, etc. The Moravian terminology of liturgical life derives from Zinzendorf's understanding of liturgy. Most clearly within the Moravian Church this can be traced in the amount of volunteer work offered by substantial numbers of Moravians who often spend several hours a week doing different activities related to the congregation: Meetings, music rehearsals, serving as a servant in the hall (Saaldiener), singing in the church choir, doing upkeep and repair work on property

owned by the church, etc. The liturgical life is an integrated part of living as a Moravian in a Moravian settlement, qualities like "identity," "service," "hope," "resources for assisting fellow human beings" can be mentioned. Moravians will state that they connect a number of positive experiences to a liturgical life.

The architecture is for the one living in or visiting a Moravian town, something that has aesthetic[45] value. The whole idea of having the central square as a place for the celebration of life, the church being the obvious focal point, where in the worship and spiritual life with God and fellow human beings is most intensively lived. Then again, observing the other houses on the square, moving to the business and private quarters, ending at God's Acre, many people will tend to find clear aesthetic qualities. What many people perceive as peace and tranquillity in buildings, squares and gardens, reflect qualities of a time past. If the aesthetics in a Moravian settlement is a perception of a structured sensation, it expresses what Locke (1632-1704) and Hume (1711-1776) argue, i.e. that it makes up the fundamental comprehension, meaning that the aesthetic contains a value *per se*. This would hardly be surprising seen in a post-renaissance philosophical historical perspective. It means that it might be possible to find a Kantian transcendental aesthetic emerged in the Moravian aesthetic. Kant (1724-1804) indeed argues that one must take away attention from the experienced objects like time, space, things etc. and draw attention to the experience itself. The experienced things, the town room, the buildings, the square etc. are instrumental for the experience.

In being a congregation *(Gemeinde)*, one must bear in mind the Moravian understanding of the fact that the physical context plays a role, as the congregation is able to identify with not only a geographical place, but also with a structure. This construction contains a number of qualities and tasks, a structure, which contributes to the definition of the group and which expresses some of the desires and the identity of the group. However, as the settlements, the structures are found in different places, and as the fundamental identity of the group is based upon a common faith and conviction, namely the Christian Gospel, the Moravian group is not found only in Moravian towns. It is a fact shown by the development of the Moravian Church in different cultures and without the settlements, as is the case of the Tanzanian Moravian Church.

The settlements have been important in shaping the Renewed Moravian Church and they still form an important part of the Moravian identity, directly in Europe and USA, and indirectly through the fundamental understandings developed within the settlements. However, no settlements were founded in East- and Central Africa or in Central America.

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45 Aesthetics is here understood as the teaching of the beautiful or the noble as being something that one can perceive (perceptio). This is normally understood as being found in the fine arts.

Description of the Moravian settlements that could best fulfil UNESCO's criteria

The following represents a brief description of the settlements that satisfy the requirements for 'settlement congregations' and 'place congregations'. The description is in alphabetical order. All texts and illustrations are derived from 'Deutscher Historicher Atlas, no. 3'. The atlas' text concerning Herrnhut is very comprehensive and is thus reproduced in slightly abridged form.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, USA
Bethlehem in Northampton County was founded about 100 km north of Philadelphia at the confluence of the Monocacy Creek and the Lehigh River. In 1741, the Unity managed to buy 500 acres of land. The name of the settlement goes back to Zinzendorf, whose arrival there coincided with Christmas Eve. The outpost above the river valley, which grew constantly due to immigration, developed into the most important Moravian base in North America. It became the seat of the Pilgrim Congregation responsible for the inland mission, and the site of several trades. While comprehensive planning is hardly recognizable in the settlement's layout, there is a functional differentiation in its parts. The place developed along the main road coming in from the south, with two almost parallel streets branching off eastwards. The Brethren's main buildings were erected along the southern one. The far north was occupied by the congregation farm.

The place became the centre of a "common economy" of the Brethren´s settlements in the area during the first few years. To those within the Barony of Nazareth belonged not only the settlement of Nazareth, but also the agrarian settlements scattered across the territory, such as Gnadenthal (1745), Christiansbrunn (1752) and Friedensthal (1755). One special annexe was Gnadenhütten, about 40 km upstream on the Lehigh River, a settlement of 500 Mohany who lived under the pastoral care of Bethlehem, also on a common budget. There was no individual husbandry of private property throughout the whole economic and settlement structure. However, the system of common housekeeping collapsed in the 1760s and was replaced by one of private initiatives controlled by the congregation which also retained all land and real estate. Despite these reforms, the population decreased as immigration from European congregations diminished and harsh restrictions kept non-members from moving in. The 1820s witnessed the beginning of industrialisation in the Appalachians with coal-mining in the Lehigh River valley. In 1854, when the settlement congregation was dissolved and integration into Co. Northampton took place, population figures was just above 1000, but then, as an important centre of the coal and steel industries (Bethlehem Steel Works), Bethlehem grew to become an important industrial town.

1 BETHLEHEM (Pennsylvania)

TOPOGRAPHIE VON BETHLEHEM PA.

Bethabara, North Carolina, USA

In 1753, the pioneering settlers came from Pennsylvania via the Great Wagon Road to Wachovia. To get their colony started, they formed a temporary settlement congregation which they called Bethabara (House of Passage). The settlement had probably not been conceived of as permanent, so there had not been a formal plan for its layout and the buildings were only log cabins on stone foundations. In 1755, a grist mill was erected. Fear of Indian attacks in the vicinity led the settlers to surround the place and the remote mill, even God´s Acre, with a stockade in order to protect themselves and other settlers in the area. When hostilities with the Indians ceased, Bethabara began to flourish. Reuter, the experienced surveyor who had surveyed Wachovia, drew up a plan for the further extension of Bethabara in 1758. It was an attempt to integrate existing structures into a regular layout plan which was hardly realized. Moreover, a fairly large congregation house was built. By and by, Bethabara´s success questioned the initial plan for a central settlement in Wachovia. Ultimately, another successful foundation, Salem, took on this function leading to the decline and abandonment of Bethabara as most inhabitants relocated after 1771.
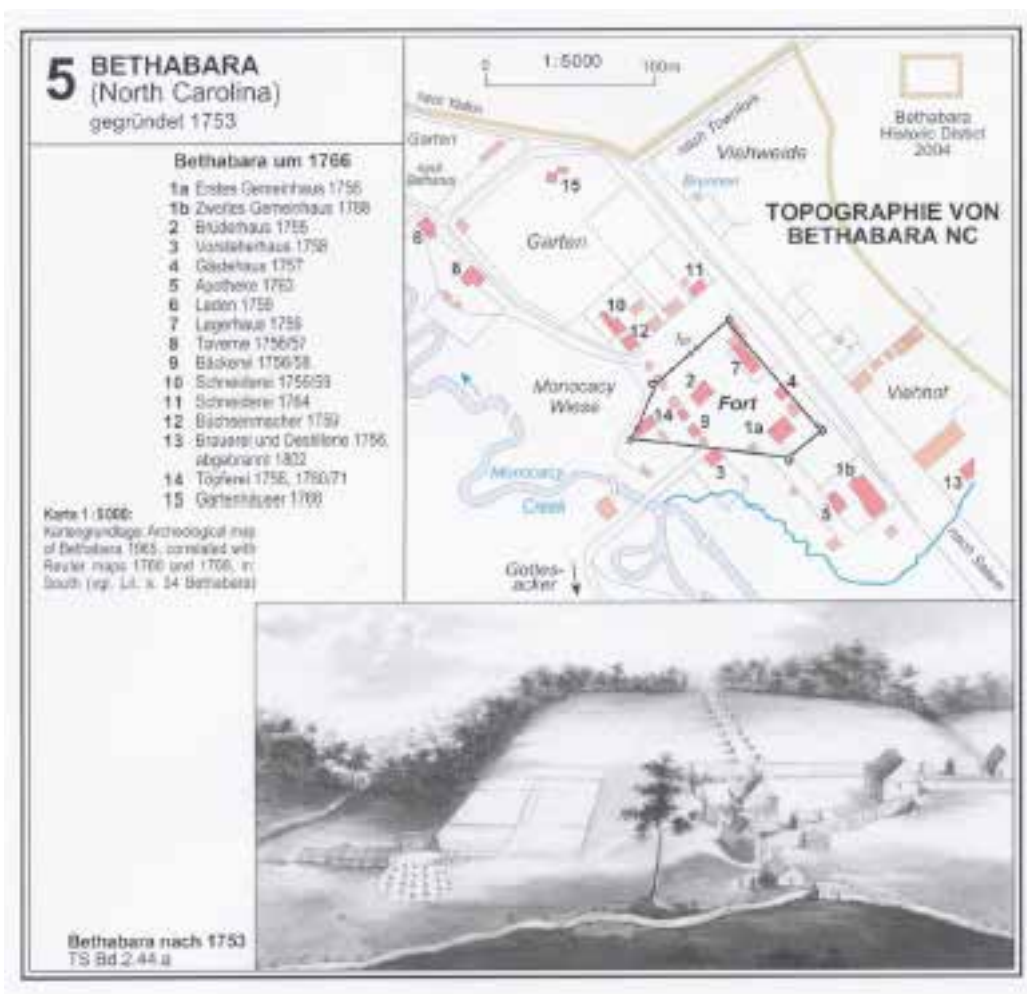
Bethania, North Carolina, USA

Bethania´s foundation followed in 1759 as an agricultural settlement about 5 km northwest of Bethabara. This was on the one hand due to the temporary sharp increase in population in the wake of unrest, and on the other, a way to curb Bethabara´s unwanted dominance in Wachovia. Reuter initially measured out a rectangular village of 2000 acres and 24 plots, comparable to the new foundations in Central Europe. The plots were surrounded by rectangular orchards on three sides. The settlers in the southern Lower Town were regular Brethren, while those in the northern Upper Town were refugees who wanted to become congregation members in Bethabara. After the disturbance in the frontier zone had ceased, the seven Brethren in the Upper Town pressed for an extension of the plots already in use at the expense of the vacant ones, because they wanted to build bigger houses. Reuter was therefore charged with conducting a survey of Bethania which then became enlarged to 2500 acres. The central square, too, was affected by the re-organization as the settlement became a two-row street village. The settlement congregation was given a congregation house (three consecutive buildings), but no facilities for the single brothers. Bethania continued to rely on its agricultural produce. Marketing benefited from a wooden plank road with a length of about 207 km by which the rural site was made accessible in 1854.

***Christiansfeld*, Denmark**

Christiansfeld was created under Danish rule in the former Duchy of Sleswick, in the young moraine landscape north of the Jutlandish harbour town of Hadersleben (Haderslev). The Brethren´s entry to Denmark was facilitated by Zinzendorf´s ties to the court in Copenhagen. As a cousin of Queen Sophie-Magdalene, he had been invited to the coronation of Christian VI. In the capital, he instantly introduced Moravian assemblies which continued on a smaller scale after his departure. From 1735 the movement spread in the country, especially on Fyn and in Jutland. One result was the foundation of a small congregation in the hamlet of Stepping. Although the Moravians' work in Denmark was growing, a dispute between the King and the Count proved obstructive to their activities. However, when King Christian VII (1766-1808) visited the Moravian settlement in Zeist on a journey through Europe, the attitude towards the Unity of the Brethren at court changed for the better and the ruler proposed to found a settlement congregation in his dominion. Earlier decrees against the Brethren were revoked and they were allowed to freely pursue their religious practices in his territories. The financier Christian August Struensee proposed founding a congregation in northern Sleswick to boost the weak local economy. The King, who was also Duke of Sleswick readily accepted, partly because the Danish state was Lutheran. The Unity of the Brethren agreed to settle in the Duchy and drew on its Copenhagen members Jonathan Briant and Johannes Prætorius to initialize the foundation process.

The royal stable at Tyrstrupgård in Haderslev was bought, not far from the Moravian toe-hold in Stepping and just a little west of the Kongevej, the main country road running north-south across the Jutland peninsula. In 1772, the king signed a concession with far reaching privileges for the place which was to be named after him. On Sundays, church services were held in Danish, on weekdays in German. *Christiansfeld´s* basic layout is shown in an undated plan signed by "Schlegel," although the final plan probably goes back to Johannes Prætorius who had participated in the foundation of Gnadau in 1767. The design is based on two parallel main streets, the Lindegade and the Nørregade, the former linking Stepping to the Kongevej. These parallel streets were connected by a rectangular central square, on the western side of which the congregation hall was built. The development of the settlement was complete by 1800.

Aided by the royal dynasty and thanks to the various trades, practised there, the settlement prospered, only to lapse into a period of stagnation after 1814. The Kongevej vas re-aligned in 1853 to run directly through *Christiansfeld* where the congregation had kept lodgings at the junction with 4t5. There, the convention which ended hostilities between Denmark and Germany was concluded in 1864. From then up until 1920 the Danish border ran a few kilometres north of *Christiansfeld*. The building structure of the market town (dating from 1869) has been well preserved to date. *Christiansfeld* is a main congregation for an affiliate community in Hamburg.

13 CHRISTIANSFELD (Dänemark, Sønderjyllands Amt)
gegründet 1773

1:25000   0 ___ 500 m

- 🟡 Gutshof
- 🟥 Ortslage 1773
- 🟩 Gottesacker

TOPOGRAPHIE VON CHRISTIANSFELD

▭ Grenze der Herrnhuter Siedlung 1790

1:5000   0 ___ 100 m

Gottes-acker 1774

Nørregade

Lindegade

Christiansfeld 1797, Zentraler Platz
TS Mp.161.3

1a Interim-Gemeinsaal 1773-77
1b Gemeinsaal 1776/77, Anbauten 1796/97
2a Haus des Vorstehers 1773
2b Haus des Predigers 1773
3 Brüderhaus 1774, erweitert 1777, 1793, 1801
4 Schwesternhaus 1776
5 Witwenhaus 1779, Seitenflügel 1797/98
6 Gemeinlogis 1773, später Hotel
7 Apotheke 1788
8 Laden 1779
9 Knabenschule 1788
10 Mädchenschule 1784
11 Honigkuchenfabrik 1783
12 Spritzenhaus 1779

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Ebersdorf, Germany

Ebersdorf is situated in the plateau-like Thuringian Slate Mountains close to the River Saale´s middle reaches. This rural settlement in the Oberland, first mentioned in 1401, had originally been a manor with an outlying estate and twelve farms which became the residence of a side-line of the house of Reuz in 1694 (-1848). Countess Erdmuthe-Benigna von Solms-Laubach had at the end of the 17th century introduced a strictly Pietistic form of life in accordance with the ideas of Philipp Jacob Spencer. Her daughter, Zinzendorf's first wife, had been brought up in this way.

In Ebersdorf Castle (built in 1698, park laid out in 1710), a castle congregation had evolved gradually alongside the Lutheran parish. This already had its own assembly hall for religious purposes and in 1715 its separation was put into effect with the appointment of a court pastor. The first Moravians who came to Ebersdorf, however, did not simply join the castle congregation. One group of awakened, among them household staff, soon met for their own assemblies. Because of their educational work in the orphanage they held their meetings there from 1736 onwards. The Single Brothers and Sisters who until then had lived in the castle, moved into two houses flanking the entrance opposite the church. Eventually, the "Congregation of Institutions" led, on the basis of two princely decrees (1746 and 1751), to the establishment of a fully-fledged settlement congregation. Thus, Ebersdorf consisted of three parts, the village with its parish church, the representative castle and the Moravian settlement with its characteristic buildings along the road to Lobenstein. The Moravian settlement´s successive evolution created a slightly random layout pattern. The broadening on one side of the main road in its southern course may be a planned invention to form the typical square with the (adjacent) congregation hall (1746). God´s Acre had already been created in 1740 by Georg Steiner, a student of the Prussian landscape architect Peter Joseph Lenné.

Ebersdorf became the site of many trades in the Coir houses and in several factories (sealing wax, cardboard articles, tobacco refining). However, this kind of economic impulse did not suffice to lead the remote place into the age of industry. The duality of two municipalities in Ebersdorf was only abrogated in 1920 in the newly founded state of Thuringia.

7 EBERSDORF (Thüringen, Saale-Orla-Kreis)
gegründet 1746

1:25000

Schloss

Herrnhuter Siedlung 1761

Gottesacker 1748

Karte 1:25000
Kartengrundlage: Topographische Karte 1:25 000,
Ausschnitte aus den Blättern 5536 Lobenstein, 5536
Hirschberg a. d. Saale, Ausgaben 1996
weitere Quellen: TS Mp.61.3 (1761), TS Mp.61.9
(1761), TS Mp.61.1 (1762), TS Mp.61.5 (1789) TS
Mp.61.2 (1790)

**TOPOGRAPHIE
DER SIEDLUNG DER
HERRNHUTER IN
EBERSDORF**

Karte 1:5000:
Kartengrundlage: Croquis über das Dorf
Ebersdorf 1853, Verjüngung 1:2 000, (Archiv
Brüdergemeine Ebersdorf, TS Mp.61.6.a (1869)
weitere Quellen: TS Mp.56.11 (vor 1761), vgl.
Lit. S. 35 Ebersdorf)

Grenze der
Herrnhuter
Siedlung

1:5000   100 m

1 Gemeinhaus 1746
2a vorläufiges Brüderhaus 1742-48
2b Brüderhaus, entstanden seit1736 durch
    Übernahme d. Waisen- u. Armenhauses,
    1786 abgerissen für Neubau Großes
    Brüderhaus, dort 1847-1898 Erziehungs-
    anstalt für Knaben
3a vorläufiges Schwesternhaus 1742-um 1748
3b "Comtessenhaus", 1745-51 Schwesternhaus,
    dann vorläufiges Witwenhaus
3c "Sonausches Haus", 1745-51 Schwesternhaus,
    1752 Gemeinlogis
3d Schwesternhaus, dort 1847-94 Erziehungs-
    anstalt für Mädchen
4 Witwenhaus 1783, Anbau 1796
5 Haus von 1746, darin Apotheke 1748
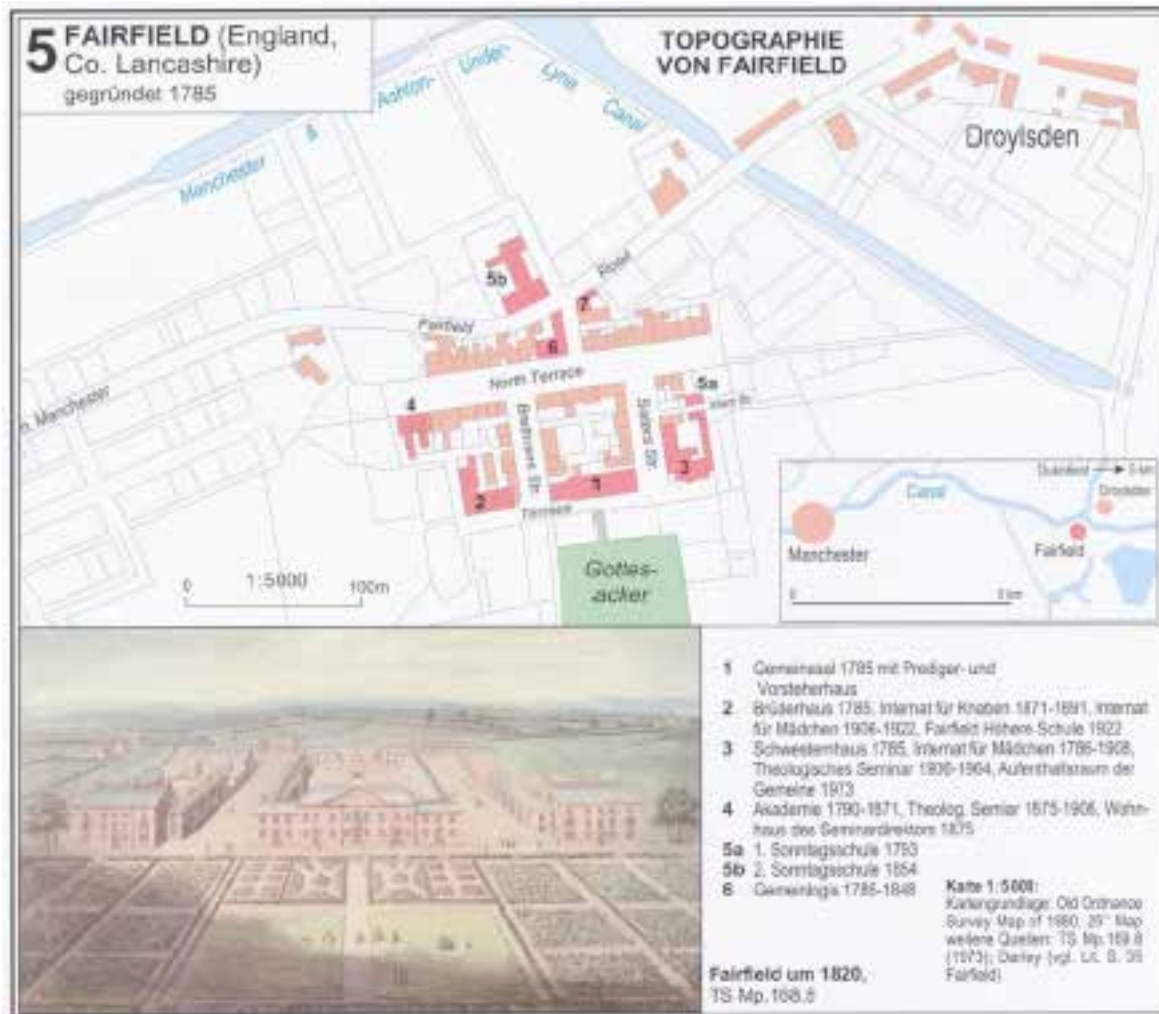6 Haus von 1750, darin Thurn- u. Tax'sche Post
7 Tabakfabrik 1766

Ebersdorf 1789
TS Mp.61.5

237

Fairfield, England

Fairfield (Lancashire) is situated in the western foreland of the Pennines, about 7 km form Manchester´s city centre. Since 1743, a congregation for the awakened in three counties had been growing in nearby Dukinfield for which a hall was furnished in 1751 (enlarged 1764). The single Brothers and Sisters found accommodation in privately owned houses before accommodation buildings were created a few years later. The general situation in Dukinfield, however, restricted further development to a small scale. Benjamin Latrobe, leader of the British Province, therefore participated in planning a new community in 1783. This settlement congregation, Fairfield, was created in the heavily industrialized district of Droylsden where a suitable plot of land was available.

Fairfield was built by its own people, headed by Brother John Lees from Clarkesville. He did not only contribute his craftsman´s skills, but also money, presumably from a coal-mining business. Fairfield represents an individual planning concept for a Moravian settlement and its layout shows great town-planning skills. The preliminary designs should be attributed to Latrobe´s son, young Benjamin Henry who later was to become a famous architect. Several drawings by his hand are extant, one ground plan of the whole ensemble and several elevations for the Moravian standard buildings. The eventual realization came to be more compact with the blocks of houses slightly less stretched. The largely symmetrical composition is accessed by a road opening to both sides into a place-like main street from which again two broad streets (Brother Street and Sister Street) connect orthogonally narrow "terrace". North of this axis, akin to Fulneck, is a row with the hall in the centre, adjacent to the houses of the supervisor and the preacher as well as the Houses for the single Brothers and Sisters, beyond the broad streets. The terrace opposite the row of buildings leads into an open area opposite the exit from the hall, towards God´s Acre. Passing through the sequence of spaces from the north can, symbolically, be interpreted as the way to God. The main buildings in Georgian style resemble veritable mansions.

In 1785 Fairfield consisted of the hall, Choir houses and 13 residential houses. Several Moravians moved there, especially from Dukinfield which, nevertheless, maintained an active congregation. Part of the population was employed in a cot-ton mill. Initially, logistics were a problem due to the settlement's peripheral location, but it was improved in 1795 when the Manchester, Ashton and Oldham Canal was dug. Fairfield was famous for its schools and, for some years, was the home of the Theological College of the British Province.

5 FAIRFIELD (England, Co. Lancashire)
gegründet 1785

TOPOGRAPHIE VON FAIRFIELD

Droylsden

Manchester

1:5000

Gottes-acker

Manchester   Canal   Fairfield   Droylsden

Fairfield um 1820,
TS Mp. 168.6

1 Gemeinsaal 1785 mit Prediger- und Vorsteherhaus
2 Brüderhaus 1785, Internat für Knaben 1871-1891, Internat für Mädchen 1906-1922, Fairfield Höhere Schule 1922
3 Schwesternhaus 1785, Internat für Mädchen 1786-1908, Theologisches Seminar 1906-1964, Aufenthaltsraum der Gemeine 1973
4 Akademie 1790-1871, Theolog. Seminar 1875-1906, Wohnhaus des Seminardirektors 1875
5a 1. Sonntagsschule 1753
5b 2. Sonntagsschule 1854
6 Gemeinlogis 1786-1848

Karte 1:5000:
Kartengrundlage: Old Ordnance Survey Map of 1960, 25" Map weitere Quellen: TS Mp. 169.8 (1973); Darley (vgl. Lit. S. 35 Fairfield)

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Fulneck, England

Fulneck (West Yorkshire) is located on the steep north flank of a side-valley to the River Aire in the eastern foothills of the Pennines, south of the market town of Pudsey, which has now become a district of Leeds. From 1738 Benjamin Ingham, an itinerant preacher of Anglican background, had actuated a lively movement of awakening in West Yorkshire, between Halifax and Leeds. The Moravians in London took an interest and formed a Yorkshire Pilgrim Congregation "tak-ing over" the societies he had founded. Their first congregation centre was to be Smith House, a cottage east of Halifax. By 1743, 47 Brethren has come to serve as preachers in five districts. In some places, local members already had build-ings for assemblies. At the same time the Single Brothers and Single Sisters were encouraged to move into small Choir houses scattered in and around Pudsey. In 1742, Zinzendorf visited West Yorkshire and was impressed by the progress of the "revival" spearheaded by his collaborators. As the lease for Smith House expired, he recommended focusing the movement´s organization in the region by estab-lishing the first English settlement congregation there.

On his journey, the count overlooked a green valley south of Pudsey and was so mystically inspired by the scenery that he envisaged founding a settlement (Lamb´s Hill) on the southern incline of a ridge called Fallneck. As luck would have it, the terrain was soon offered for sale. Priced below value, Ingham pur-chased the Fallneck estate with about 9 hectares for the Moravians. The settlement was created along a terrace partly driven into the deep incline. The first part of the building programme encompassed the spiritual and administrative core, i.e. the typical congregation house (Grace hall, 1746) with the hall on the first floor and the adjoining supervisors´ houses as well as the two Choir houses for the Sin-gle Brothers and Sisters at some distance (1749). Ingham´s plan to construct a hall as a separate building further up the hill was not pursued. In the following decades, the ensemble of isolated buildings was condensed to become the compact row. Further buildings, among them family homes, were loosely scattered along a slightly raised through road. Down the slope from the terrace were gardens and meadows; God´s Acre was situated on the periphery. In 1763, the settlement´s name was modified to Fulneck, alluding to the provenance of John Amos Comen-ius (1592-1670), the last bishop of the old Unitas Fratrum.

The years between 1746 and 1790 witnessed an increase in population and economic activity. Although the spacious grounds of the settlement permitted small-scale farming, the Brethren focused on trade and crafts. From their new outpost the Moravians displayed brisk activity in the whole area, leading to the extension of some congregations, e.g. by Choir houses in Littlemoor and Wyke. Fulneck itself gained importance in education.

2 FULNECK (England, Co. West Yorkshire)
gegründet 1744

0   1:5000   100m

1 Gemeinsaal 1746/48
  auch Knabenschule
  1753-1785, Mädchen-
  schule 1755-1004
2 Brüderhaus 1749
3 Schwesternhaus 1748
4 Witwenhaus 1763/65
5 Gemeinlogis 1771
6 Laden 1771
7 Apotheke
8 Knabenanstalt 1785
9 Mädchenanstalt
10 Wasch- u. Backhaus
11 Sonntagschule 1874

Karte 1:5000
Kartengrundlage: Old
Ordnance Survey Map,
Sheet, Pudsey 1908,
Original 1 : 2 500, ver-
kleinert auf 1 : 5 000,
weitere Quelle: Fulneck
Archives, Portion of
FU/25/1TS Mp.172,9
(1768), Strong (vgl. Lit. S.
33 Fulneck)

Fläschennutzung 1768

Anstalts-Felder

Felder der Brüder

Felder der Schwestern

Fulneck
1768

Garten

Garten

Garten

Gottes-
acker
1749/50

Die Terrasse

Fulen

Fulneck

Leeds

**TOPOGRAPHIE
VON FULNECK**

Fulneck 1755
TS Bd.37 a.21

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Gnadau, Germany

Gnadau is located in the extensive Magdeburg Börde (or plain), about 8 km west of Barby, not far from where the Saale flows into the Elbe. In 1748, Heinrich XXVIII Reuz (1692-1748), Count and Lord von Plauen zu Köstritz, leased Barby castle with an outlying estate. His successor ceded it to Zinzendorf, his brother-in-law, for the Unity. There, a congregation was formed which met in the castle chapel and arranged a graveyard. Temporarily, the castle became the seat of central Unity facilities. When the lease expired in 1765, Count Heinrich XXV von Reuz-Lobenstein took over the castle and outlying estate from the Electoral of Saxony under an hereditary lease in place of his late father and in the name of the Unity. To secure the unimpeded existence of the congregation, it was agreed to set up a new colony on the lands of the outlying estate of Döben. Thus, Gnadau was founded in 1767. When the lease elapsed in 1808, the Barby congregation was integrated there. Gnadau´s plan is regarded as a Brethren Unity´s ideal layout. The settlement is arranged around a square ornamental place, the straight streets lining and intersecting it form eight compartments. The main buildings are arranged openly around the square and the hall with adjacent buildings placed on one of its sides, flanked by the houses of the Brothers and Sisters. The planned settlement is encompassed by an avenue lining its square form and setting it off against the monotonous Börde landscape. The manorial economy of Döben was later supplemented by working a printing press and a bakery (Gnadau Prezeln) to sustain the living of the Brethren. In 1814 the "Gnadau Institutes" (Gnadauer Anstalten" were set up, first with a boarding school for girls, followed by one for boys (1832-61). Gnadau has exerted influence on the other Protestant churches on several occasions (in 1841 with the Friends of the Light (Lichtfreunde) movement and in 1888 with the formation of the Association for Evangelical Communities and Evangelization (Verband für Gemeinschaftspflege und Evangelisation).

12 GNADAU (Sachsen-Anhalt, Kreis Calbe a. d. Saale)
gegründet 1767
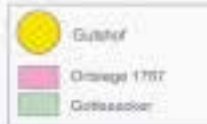
Gnadau

Döben

Gut

Legend:
- Gasthof
- Ortslage 1767
- Gottesacker

1:25000

Karte 1:25000
Kartengrundlage: Topographische Karte
1:25 000, Ausschnitt aus dem Blatt 4036
Calbe a. d. Saale, Ausgabe 1926

Karte 1:5000:
Kartengrundlage: Findeisen (vgl. Lit.S.
35 Gnadau;
weitere Quellen: TS Mp.53.7 (1767), TS
Mp.53.4 (vor 1848)

1:5000

**TOPOGRAPHIE
VON GNADAU**

Plananlage
1767

1 Gemeinsaal 1780/81
2 Brüderhaus 1769
3 Schwesternhaus 1774,
   erweitert 1779, Kleines
   Schwesternhs. um 1783,
   Diasporahaus
4 Gemeinlogis, Gasthof 1767
5 Predigerhaus 1779
6 Interim-Gemeinsaal 1771,
   danach Schulhaus für
   Knaben

Zinzendorf-
platz

Gottes-
acker
1767

Gnadau um 1850,
Straße mit Saal und Chorhäusern
TS Mp.54.14

Gnadenberg, Poland

Gnadenberg in Lower Silesia is situated close to the densely wooded foothills of the Bóbr-Kaczawa Gory (Bober-Kaczbach-Gebirge). The Moravian settlement was founded about 4 km from the medieval potters´ and weavers´ town of Boleslawiec (Bunzlau), along the important High Road from Dresden to Wroclaw (Breslau). The Prussian cavalry captain Hans Friedrich von Falckenhayn had bought the Kruszyn (Groz-Krausche) and Laziska (Loosnitz) manors there. The starting-point for the Moravian settlement was a castle congregation that had been active for some years in Groz-Krausche when the owner attained Friedrich II´s special concession to establish – almost simultaneously with Gnadenfrei – a second settlement congregation in Lower Silesia, in 1743. Most of its population came from the Protestant parishes in the Princedom of Jawor. One influx in particular was that of the Brethren who left Neusalz in 1759 because of military activities in the area (see below).

The lord partitioned off a narrow stretch of his lands, a fallow meadow near the manor. Its location at the foothill called Bergel was taken up in the place name Gnadenberg (=Mount of Grace). Due to its position just south of the High Road it was well connected to long-distance traffic, but was also endangered in times of military confrontations. Gnadenberg´s street grid was designed in a strictly symmetrical pattern which can be traced even into the shape of the plots. A central square with eight construction sites around it was formed by the rectangular intersection of two pairs of parallel streets. Building activities commenced with the congregation hall in the middle of the northern side, but left many gaps in the following years, especially to the south. After the Seven Years War, further immigrants initiated a new building phase during which the settlement´s density was increased and a larger hall was erected on the square. The flourishing trades and commerce brought on tensions because the site was located within the precincts of Bunzlau. In 1781, the arising disagreements were temporarily smoothed out by state regulation. Commerce in Gnadenberg was restricted, but the trading regulations were not unbearable. In the 19th century, the settlement saw no great changes as it was hardly touched by industrialisation. It gained some importance in education (boarding school for girls, 1810).

In 1945, Gnadenberg sustained considerable damage in the battle for the Bober crossing at Bunzlau. The congregation-period building ensemble suffered severe damage. The Polish settlers since 1947 erected four tenements at the site of the hall, the former centre of the community.

4 GNADENBERG (Niederschlesien, Kreis Bunzlau),
GODNÓW (Województwo Dolnośląskie)
gegründet 1743

1:25000

○ Gutshof

▢ Ortslage 1780

▢ Gottesacker

TOPOGRAPHIE VON GNADENBERG

Karte 1:25000
Kartengrundlage Topographische Karte
1:25000, Ausschnitt aus dem Blatt
4759 Bunzlau, Ausgabe 1906
weitere Quellen: TS Mp.1.30.a (1751),
TS Bd.3.14 (1759), TS Bd. 13.5 (1761),
TS Bd.1.31.a (am 1780), TS Mp.30.16
(1906)
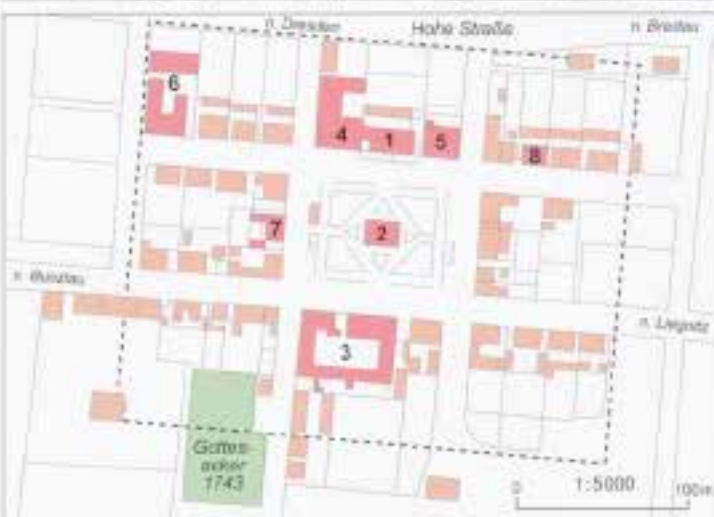
1 Gemeinhaus 1743, nach 1761 Predigerhaus
2 Gemeinsaal 1781
3 Brüderhaus 1759
4 Schwesternhaus 1752, mit Mädchenanstalt vor 1810
   (1852 Neubau westl. vom Gemeinhaus)
5 Witwenhaus 1753
6 Gasthof um 1765
7 Hirschberger Haus 1744

⬚ Konzept zur Plananlage 1743

Karte 1:5000
Kartengrundlage TS Mp.144.2 (1847)
weitere Quellen: Kessler-Lehmann, Schulte
(vgl. Lit. S. 35 Gnadenberg)

1:5000

Gottes-
acker
1743

Gnadenberg 1755
TS Mp.144.14

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Gnadenfeld, Poland

Gnadenfeld is located in the fertile foothills of the Glubczyce Gory (Leobschützer Bergland). King Friedrich II was interested in having Moravians settled not only in Lower, but also in UpperSilesia to support demographic and economic development. As early as 1743 he had granted a settlement concession for Rozumice (Rösnitz) in the Glubczyce (Leobschütz) district, but constant quarrels with the landlord as well as the Lutheran clergy caused the Brethren to finally abandon the project.

Ernst Julius von Seidlitz had, in 1766, acquired the Pawlowiczki manor in the Kozle (Cosel) district for his son Christian Friedrich. Yet, the king unexpectedly denied assigning the concession for Rösnitz to this new manor in 1768. Nevertheless, several families of Brethren actually went there and, in 1771(72, the first craftsmen´s houses marked the beginning of Moravian settlement activities. In 1777 the owner ceded part of the meadows near the manor and, finally, a special concession was obtained in 1780 for setting up a settlement congregation. In a way this was an enclave in a predominantly Catholic territory.

Plans for Gnadenfeld had to take into account an existing row of buildings. Thus, a small settlement on a rectangular scheme was created with two streets passing through it forming, together with two narrow connecting streets, a rectangular square. There, the foundation stone for the hall was laid in 1781. Opposite the two broad streets leading to the west, the Choir house for the Single Brothers (1783) was built, and to the east that for the Single Sisters (1785). Most plots in the southern part were occupied only after 1790. The initial hope that primarily religious fugitives from Bohemia and Moravia would come there were frustrated, especially so when Emperor Joseph II´s 1781 Decree of Tolerance caused a drop in migration. The craftsmen´s settlement hardly grew and gaps were filled in only gradually. Gnadenfeld became the seat of the Moravian´s Theological Seminary on the European continent (1818-1920), but no major effects followed from that. The ensemble consisting of the hall and Choir houses was destroyed in military operations in 1945. The Moravians left the place and the reconstruction shows little, if anything, reminiscent of their times.

14 GNADENFELD (Oberschlesien, Kreis Cosel),
gegründet 1780 *PAWŁOWICZKI (Województwo Opolskie)*

Riedgrund

★ Gnadenfeld II

Pawlowitzke

Gnadenfeld

1:25000

Karte 1:25000
Kartengrundlage: Topographische Karte 1:25 000,
Ausschnitt aus dem Blatt 5774 Groß Neukirch. Ausgabe
1936
weitere Quellen TS Mp 147.10 (1770), TS Mp 159.1 (1828)

**TOPOGRAPHIE
VON GNADENFELD**

Karte 1:5000:
Kartengrundlage: TS Mp 159.2 (1889)
weitere Quellen: TS Mp 142.5 (1782),
TS Mp 142.5.b (vor 1784), TS
Mp 142.5.a (1784), TS Mp 149.13
(1809), TS Mp 147.3 (1843), Schulte
(vgl. Lit. S. 35 Gnadenfeld)

Gut
Pawlowitzke

Gottes-
acker
vor
1790

alter Friedhof
1770er Jahre

1:5000

Bauphase
bis 1784

1   Gemeinsaal mit Predigerhaus 1781
2a erstes Brüderhaus 1780
2b zweites Brüderhaus 1783
3   Schwesternhaus 1785
4   Witwenhaus 1771
5   Gemeinlogis um 1783
6   Apotheke 1796
7   Doktorhaus 1780
8   Laden 1780
9   Knabenanstalt 1810
10 Mädchenanstalt 1790
11 Bäckerei 1780
12 Kattunfabrik seit 1792
13 Seifensiederei 1782
14 Schmiede 1784, später Kurbelwellenfabrik
15 Töpferei 1781, später Ofenfabrik

Gnadenfeld um 1850
TS Mp 174.2

Gnadenfrei, Poland

Gnadenfrei in Lower Silesia was created in the foothills of the Góry Sowie (Eulengebirge). The undulating landscape is interspersed with scattered hillocks. Parallel to the Sudety Mountains, the Pilawa (Peile) winds through a valley before emptying into the Weseritz. In Peilau, the longest Silesian Waldhufendorf-type village, the Pietist Ernst Julius von Seidlitz acquired the neglected manor below the Questenberg in 1734. It was located in the traditionally Catholic Duchy of Swidnica (Schweidnitz) and in the last years of Habsburg rule became an attractive meeting-place for the awakened in Silesia, especially from the protestant Princedom of Brzeg (Brieg). In 1739, however, Seidlitz was imprisoned for over a year in Jawor (Jauer) because of his ties with Zinzendorf and the pious functions held in his castle. After Friedrich II´s invasion of Silesia (1640) the manor quickly became one of the new centres of Moravian activity. The king offered the Brethren permission to settle in eight places of his new provinces, Nether and Upper Silesia. This general concession was soon followed by a special concession for the Seidlitz manor. Its owner vested the future settlement congregation with part of his ecclesiastical rights. The name of the settlement is an expression of the fact that after Silesia's transition to Prussia the manorial lord was, by an act of grace (Gnade), allowed to go free (frei) from prison.

Settlement activities in the 18th century were carried out in two stages. In 1743, Seidlitz provided a small section of land left of the Pilawa and south-east of the castle area, as chosen by Zinzendorf. The definite boundaries were determined only in 1763. The country road from Niemcza (Nimptsch) to Dzierzoniów (Reichenbach) served as the settlement´s main axis. Towards the south, two streets lined a square forecourt and the hall. The Choir houses were situated on the outer side of these streets, and private tenements in a parallel street running north of the main axis. After the Seven Years War, the influx of the awakened rose once more. The central area between the parallel streets was then extended towards the slope to accommodate a larger hall. By and by, building sites along a new street tangential to the square were opened up. After a fire in 1792 the place was rebuilt in the former way.

Before 1850 Gnadenfrei became the site of a range of crafts and services, among which were several schools of more than local standing. Due to its small acreage, the place missed out an early industrialisation. This situation was changed only by the reform of 1928, when larger part of the neighbouring settlement along the Pilawa came to be administered from Gnadenfrei. The place was peripheral when Soviet troops marched into Silesia in 1945 and was not taken over until after the German surrender. The historic centre had become vertically and horizontally dense at the end of the 19th century, but in the form typical of older developments of residual persistency. The congregation hall was destroyed in a fire of unknown cause in 1946. Other relics of the Moravian Church were put to new uses.

3 GNADENFREI (Niederschlesien, Kreis Reichenbach),
PIŁAWA GÓRNA (Województwo Dolnośląskie)
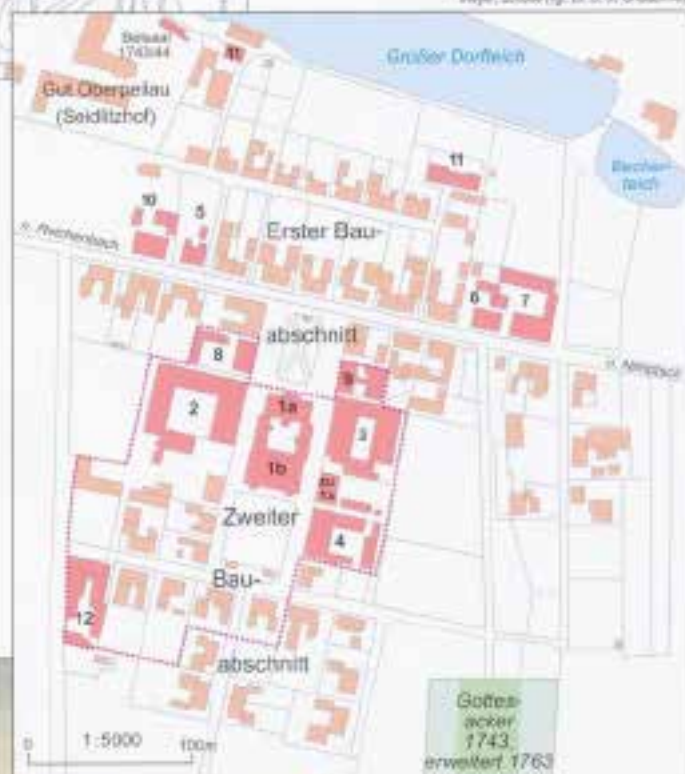gegründet 1743

Legend:
- Gutshof
- Ortslage 1743
- Gottesacker

Karte 1:25000
Kartengrundlage: Topographische Karte
1:25000, Ausschnitt aus dem Blatt 5065
Gnadenfrei, Ausgabe 1936
weitere Quellen: TS Mp 140.2 um 1800,
TS Mp 141.8 (1858)

Karte 1:5000:
Kartengrundlage: TS Mp 158.3 (1848)
weitere Quellen: TS Sd.3.10 (1750), TS
Mp.143.14 (1750), TS Mp 142.4 (1750),
Meyer, Schulte (vgl. Lit S. 35 Gnadenfrei)

1:25000   500m

TOPOGRAPHIE
VON GNADENFREI

1a Kleines Gemeinhaus und Kleiner
    Kirchsaal 1746
1b Großes Gemeinhaus mit Großem
    Kirchsaal 1788
2   Brüderhaus 1746
3   Schwesternhaus 1746
4   Witwenhaus, Neubau 1790
5   Privathaus, Wohnhaus der Witwer
6   Gemeinlogis 1755, Apotheke 1790
7   neues Gemeinlogis 1790
8   Laden 1753
9   Mädchenanstalt 1791
10 Herrschaftshaus, Neubau 1776
11 Katunfabrik
12 Gerberei

        Brand 1792

Belsaal 1743/44
Gut Oberpeilau
(Seidlitzhof)
Großer Dorfteich
Reichen-teich
Erster Bau-
abschnitt
Zweiter
Bau-
abschnitt
Gottes-
acker
1743,
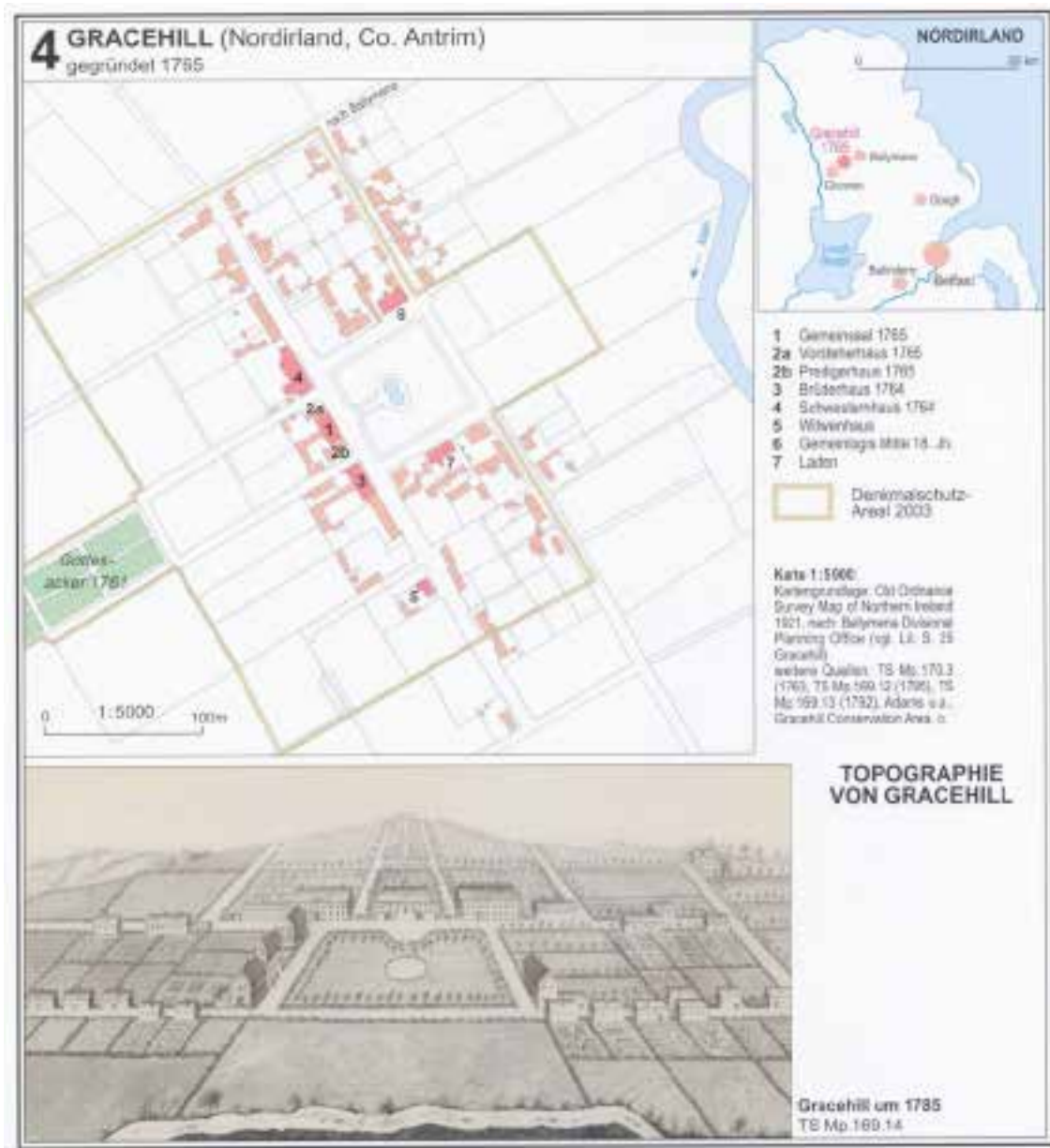erweitert 1763
1:5000   100m

Gnadenfrei 1795
TS Mp.141.13

Gracehill, Northern Ireland

Gracehill (Co. Antrim) is situated west of Ballymena and north of Lough Neagh on the Long Mountain´s moderate slope towards the River Maine. Early on, the Unity of the Brethren had gained a foothold in Ireland due to the dedication of the charismatic preacher John Cennick. The majority of the adherents were to be found in the rural areas of Protestant regions, especially in a broad belt around Lough Neagh. In 1749, Cennick moved to Gloonan. Active societies sprang up in three other places nearby: Ballymena, Grogan and Doagh. Quickly small assembly halls and the first signs of spatial organisation of the Single brothers followed. The strong movement of awakening in this region eventually led to the foundation of a settlement congregation. A suitable stretch of land in Ballykennedy Townland, near the four societies, was purchased in 1759 and the first activities were co-ordinated from Gloonan. In 1763, a planning commission was appointed.

Gracehill's schematic layout betrays an exact knowledge of comparable foundations on the Continent. The rectangular street grid is made up of two parallel streets about 400 metres in length, connected by two short streets on both sides of an open central square. The Unity Administration sanctioned the plan, but after confirmation by lot in 1764 the two long streets were narrowed. The settlement was to be aligned to the assembly hall, next to the Choir houses of the Single Brothers and the Single Sisters with large plots for their self-supply as well as God´s Acre as extension to the hall´s plot. The Administration in Herrnhut granted a loan for the most urgent building measures. Apart from the hall (1765), these comprised the Choir houses, because Single Brothers and Sisters were already living under primitive conditions in common lodgings in Ballykennedy and Gloonan, respectively. The family homes followed between 1768 and 1792. The buildings of, large, dark, cubic stone blocks stood in contrast to the white cottages traditional in Co. Antrim. The open centre was formed by a square with a fish pond, lined by a double row of trees and a thorn hedge.

The Brothers initially prepared for occupation in the linen industry, the Sisters in handwork, but neither proved very profitable in the long run. The congregation, therefore, opted for a wide range of trades. The settlement was fundamentally preserved intact as it had been in the 18th century and in 1975 was the first place to be declared a Conservation Area in the denominationally divided province of Northern Ireland.

4 GRACEHILL (Nordirland, Co. Antrim)
gegründet 1785

NORDIRLAND

1 Gemeinsaal 1765
2a Vorsteherhaus 1765
2b Predigerhaus 1765
3 Brüderhaus 1764
4 Schwesternhaus 1764
5 Witwenhaus
6 Gemeintags Mitte 18. Jh.
7 Laden

Denkmalschutz-Areal 2003

Karte 1:5000

Kartengrundlage: Old Ordnance Survey Map of Northern Ireland 1921, nach: Ballymena Divisional Planning Office (vgl. Lit. S. 25 Gracehill) weitere Quellen: TS-Mp. 170.3 (1763), TS Mp.569.12 (1795), TS Mp.169.13 (1792), Adaris u.a. Gracehill Conservation Area. o.

TOPOGRAPHIE VON GRACEHILL

0 1:5000 100m

Gottes-acker 1764

Gracehill um 1785
TS Mp.169.14

Herrnhaag, Germany

Herrnhaag is easily accessible, situated in the Lower Hessian Wetterau, a transit region crossed since medieval times by the High Road connecting the commercial centres of Frankfurt and Leipzig. In the early Modern period, the area was in the hands of the Counts of Isenburg-Büdingen. With the prospect of economic benefits for his country, the reigning Ernst Casimir issued an Edict of Tolerance in 1772 to attract religious fugitives as settlers. Initially, Huguenots and Waldensians came, then Separatists and diverse groups of Inspired which resulted in the development of a suburb (Vorstadt) in Büdingen. After Zinzendorf had used first the Ronneburg and then Marienborn Castle for the Pilgrim Congregation, he now opted for a new settlement congregation in the

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Wetterau. In 1738, a contract with far-reaching privileges was therefore signed by the Count of Büdingen and the Unity.

The territorial prince advised the Moravians to build a settlement in a stretch of wood adjacent to Büdingen where an earlier settlement had been developed from 1713. The Moravians, however, successfully developed a solitary space a few kilometres south-west of the residential town, probably in view of its proximity to the High Road. They were given the Vonhausen manor, about half of which was designated for the settlement. Ernst Casimir demanded a regular layout for the new settlement and a plan had to be submitted in advance. A sketch (of unknown authorship) was supported by Bishop David Nitschmann in 1738, but no documents pertaining to it are extant. A square place made accessible by peripheral streets with adjacent building lines became the settlement´s centre. Each of its four sides was occupied by two plots of equal size. In the outer corners of the intersecting streets there were four more plots, adding up to a total of twelve. The square was closed by eleven broad, two-storey buildings with protruding mansard roofs while one side remained empty.

The planned layout was largely followed, but whether a specific functional arrange-ment of the buildings had been intended, as the Choir houses in corners next to the congregation house suggest, remains an open question. The individual buildings appear to have been created according to momentary needs, lastly the "Lichtenburd" with the congregation hall, designed by Siegmund August von Gersdorf. The two streets running east-west reached from the square to the High Road. The southern one led past the inn and reached the small House of the Single Brothers whereas the northern street provided access to some humble craftsmen's dwellings. These houses of the centre would not have been part of any initial planning and, hence, were not subjected to rigid regulations later on. The symmetrical layout and the relative uniformity of the houses along the square´s sides which generate a the impression of a cohesive space, allow one to conclude that there had been not only a minute geometrical ground plan, but also instructions concerning the decoration of the facades. The central place was, afterwards, divided into four segments excluding a circular patch around the well. This measure further enhanced the effect and became exemplary for later settlement congregations.

It is true that Herrnhaag was the first Moravian settlement to be planned in a consistent manner, but it should not be stylised as an "ideal city". In the symbiosis of an almost courtly architecture and a park-like decorated central place, a settlement had been created that in its elegant character resembled some kind of small princely residence. Herrnhaag had in less than 15 years grown to be the new administrative and cultural centre of the Brethren. In 1747, Zinzendorf moved into the Lichtenburg and put an end to a period of over-enthusiastic spirituality ("Sichtungszeit"- a period of examination or sifting through) among its inhabitants. The Büdinger lordship had had its hopes on a massive economic boost being provided by the Moravians´ factories, but this fell short of their expectations. Thus, in 1748, Ernst Casmir's successor prohibited any further expansion of the settlement and, when quarrels concerning temporal and spiritual sovereignty arose in 1750, decreed that all its 973

inhabitants had to leave his territories within three years. They went to other Moravian settlements, such as Niesky, Neuwied and Zeist, or those in Pennsylvania. Soon, the Unity of the Brethren also left Marienborn. Herrnhaag was sold in 1769. In 1828 Inspired Christians from Edenkoben appeared on the scene, but left again in 1843. Most buildings fell into disrepair and vanished. The "Lichtenburg" and the Sister´s house have recently been re-created and, as solitary buildings, bear testimony to the former splendour of the first planned Moravian settlement.
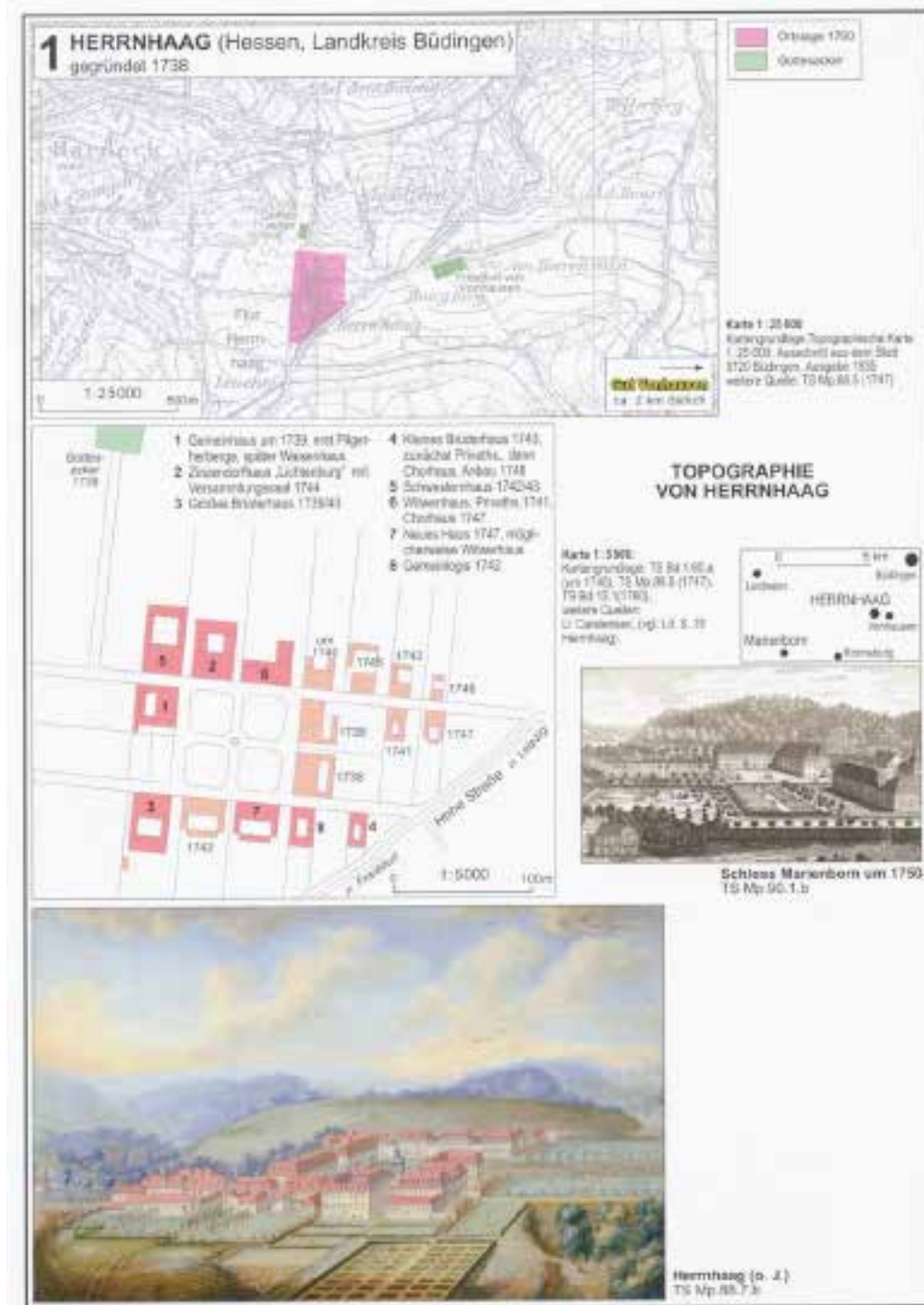
Herrnhut, Germany

Herrnhut is situated in the south-eastern part of eastern Upper Lusatia, in a landscape dominated by valleys running through undulating plateaus with interspersed buttes. One of these, north of the site, is the Hutberg, remnant of an intrusive lava dome. It towers about 30 meters above the surroundings which are only partly covered by loess loam. Settlement in this region was intensified during the Medieval German eastward expansion when Lokatoren (lessors) were appointed to found numerous Waldhufendorf-type villages such as Berthelsdorf and Hennesdorf. Berthelsdorf stretches about 3 km along the bottom of a deep trough valley where the Brethelsdorf wasser flows via the River Pleinitz into the (Lusatian) Neize. Herrnhut was founded opposite the Hutberg on a small plateau where the old commercial route between the medieval towns of Löbau and Zittau crosses the periphery of the land of the Berthelsdorf´s village.

In spring 1722, the ingenious count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) gave instructions from Dresden to Johann Georg Heitz, the estate manager on his Berthelsdorf manor, to provide for the newly arriving Moravian families and to allocate a site on the village lands which would be suitable for their temporary residence. Initially, he did not intend to erect a permanent settlement for the religious refugees there. As late as summer 1722, he negotiated with his brother-in-law, Heinrich XXIX Reuz, to purchase two feudal manors in the latter´s Thuringian dominions. The circumspect estate manager Heitz, on the other hand, had further-reaching plans and immediately went for a permanent settlement located between the Heinrichberg and the Hutberg along the significant trade route. He understood that, due to the scarcity of land, a settlement not of farmers, but of artisans was to be created for which an arterial road was useful. Heitz gave a description of what the town was intended to look like: "…that the first houses must be laid out in such a way that they finally, together with those that follow later, enclose a square in order to be able to seal off the whole place with two gates so that goods may be stored safely overnight and the place would be convenient for a marked place. The well – which is bound to be rather expensive – is, however, to be located in the middle of the square…" The selected site had previously been used as grazing ground (Hutung). The derived place name "Herrnhut" was immediately read by the Brethren as a symbolic designation for a place under the protection (Hut) of the Lord (Herr).

The first house, a smithy used for making knives, was occupied in October 1722. Zinzendorf had five simple buildings erected for another small group of newcomers. The first modest houses without outbuildings were situated along the country road and formed a continuous line. From the mid-1720s onwards expansion occurred around the open space with the fountain opposite the houses along the country road. With these buildings in privileged position, the settlement expanded eastwards. Zinzendorf tried to found Pietist institutions along the lines of the Hallensian organisation. Thus, in 1723, he established a charity school in Berthelsdorf and in 1724 introduced the by now resident carpenter Christian David to put up a broad building with a mansard roof facing the new, still relatively few, houses on the wide square in Herrnhut. This was to be a boarding school for the children of the nobility (Adelspädagogium), so it was furnished with a hall for the young nobles' social occasions. This school, however,

existed for only two years. The building eventually became the congregation house (Gemeinhaus) for the evolving community, with the (repeatedly-enlarged) little hall serving as a congregation hall, the centre of community life with (sung-) services, "Lovefeasts" and "Unity days". In 1725, Zinzendorf prepared for his own move to Herrnhut and had a modest one-storey manor house of simple wooden construction erected at right angles to the school. There, the count presided over many assemblies which were held in the residential garden (1728, extended 1731) whenever the weather allowed.
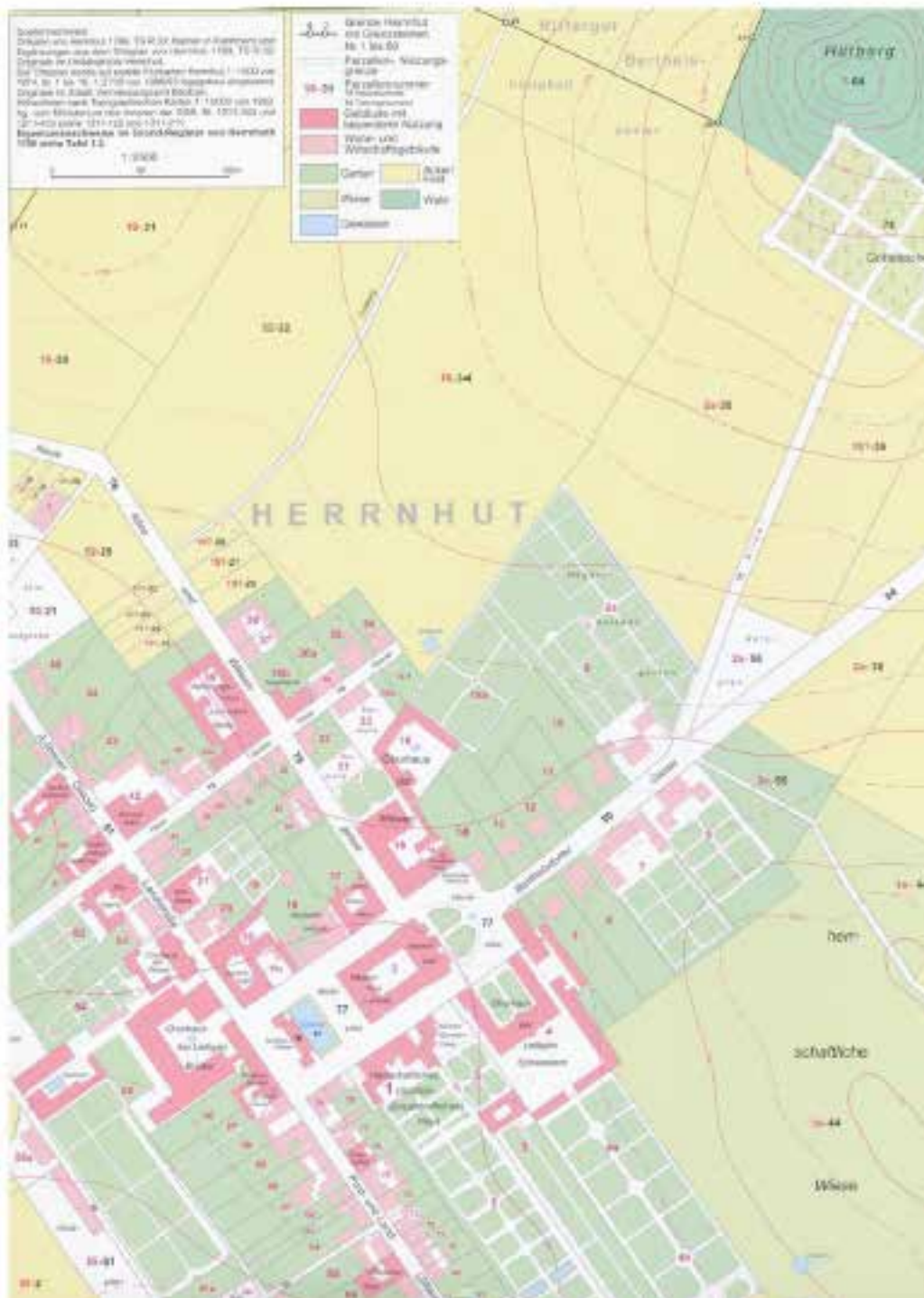
The steady stream of exiles from Moravia increased. In April 1727 Herrnhut consisted of about 30 houses and 220 inhabitants, two-thirds of whom were Moravian emigrants. Now was the time to pursue the reform of religious life and to build a community for everyone to take part in. Herrnhut´s congregation brought about inner structures which were to form the basis of a common life according to Christian principles. These included first the "Bands", then the "Classes" and, finally, the "Choirs". Certain elements in the settlement´s building structure corresponded to the division in Choirs. For the Choirs of the Single Brothers, the Single Sisters and, eventually, the Widows and the Widowers, individual buildings were constructed with various features: the houses of the unmarried, for example, had workshops on the ground floor and, on the first and second floor, the Choir´s common hall, dining room, dormitories and guest rooms. The massive constructions are strongly reminiscent of the period´s civic architecture and became characteristic features of the growing settlement.

The first members of the congregation were buried in the graveyard of Berthelsdorf, because Herrnhut belonged to its parish. A graveyard of the Brethren´s design, Gods Acre (Gottesacker) was laid out in 1730. On the south-western slope of the Hutberg an area was measured out and soon surrounded by a rampart. A straight main path divided the area in two, one half for the graves of the male, the other for the female deceased. From 1797 onwards, the burial plots were occupied in chronological order. Every grave was marked only by a simple stone laid flat on the ground with a short inscription.

In Herrnhut the first congregation hall was constructed relatively late. The foundation stone was laid in May 1756. By then the old congregation house could not possibly have accommodated all the community members. As a site for the new hall, the free square in the centre of the place parallel to the congregation house was chosen. Without overriding the previous proportions it became the dominant feature in the townscape.

As a settlement, Herrnhut was evolving gradually by successive expansion as well as internal alterations. In 1734, Herrnhut had as many as 600 inhabitants. From the mid- 1740s, several of the early houses of traditional wooden construction were relocated to the edge of the settlement and replaced by bigger, massive structures with mansard or hipped gable roofs and symmetrically structured façades. Several of the well-tended, quite often even park-like gardens were adorned with small summer houses. The transformation of a simple craftsmen´s colony to a Moravian settlement with a part-urban, part-courtly character was on the whole, completed. The idea of a settlement organized around the square, like Heintz had initially favoured, had proven to be open to slight variation. The place´s centre was largely determined by the hall with its annexes and the Choir houses nearby. The imposing manor house (the Herrenhaus, extensively rebuilt in 1781) featured a high mansard roof, outer staircase and two wings that stretched out in the manorial garden. As the seat of the Unity Administration, it added to the place´s representative character.

The settlement also stood out in respect of its up-to-date technical infrastructure. The missionary and Diaspora work had become a particular financial burden for Herrnhut since the 1730s. Donations by the Count´s family or benevolent nobles could not sustain these activities in the long run. The workshops in the Choir houses, too, could only contribute small amounts. Crucial to the progress Herrnhut achieved in the second half of the 18th century was the ingenious Alsatian businessman Abraham Düringer (1706-1773), who Zinzendorf had gained as an asset to the community. Based on the manufacturing of an extensive range of goods (printed calico, sealing wax and cigars), he built up a commercial enterprise and also a widespread wholesale trade, e.g. in colonial goods. Here, the Brethren made good use of their manifold international and overseas ties so that considerable wealth came to Herrnhut, and it expanded. From the central square the neue Gasse road was measured out in a rectangular pattern and further houses were erected.

While the Brethren´s settlement congregation had for a long time been a political municipality, the modern state asserted a strict separation of political and ecclesiastical administration. The basis of Herrnhut´s municipal constitution became the territorial municipality statute (Landegemeineordnung) passed in the Kingdom of Saxony in 1838. With the introduction of real estate register in 1843, an inventory had to be made of the Brethren´s real estate. The Unity Administration was accepted as the congregation´s legal representative and the community´s houses in Berthelsdorf as well as the plots in Herrnhut were registered as its property. In 1844, the Royal Court of Appeals in Beutzen granted the Unity Administration feudal rights in Berthelsdorf and invested it with the manors Berthelsdorf, upper and lower, Grozhennersdorf including Heuscheune, Oberrennersdorf and all property pertaining to these; rights to the Kleinwelka manor were later granted on the same terms.

As a result of the community´s tight organisation and international connections, trade and manufacturing had been exemplary, but the 19th century brought drastic changes. The cramped Choir houses with their rigid rules were no longer able to keep up with the technological progress, the increased use of machinery and the growing importance of private enterprise. Those who were able to afford it used the experience gained in the Choir houses to start up their own businesses. The introduction of the Saxonian municipality statute now allowed non-members to move to Herrnhut and, as freedom of trade set in, it became possible to found companies there. Herrnhut was connected to the railway in 1848 (-2002) and in 1893 (-1945) a narrow-gauge railway to Bernstadt entered into service. The 19th century had begun with a prolonged phase of stagnation; between 1804 and 1867 no houses had been built. This standstill was accompanied by a decrease in population of 300 inhabitants, so that the 1800 level of about 1200 people was not reached again until 1900. Then, a renewed increase in population allowed the place to expand along the existing roads to the northwest. Before World War I about 80 new buildings were erected; between the wars 30 more were added. After World War II the population rose to about 3000 people, especially due to expulsions from neighbouring states. Most came from predominantly Catholic regions and, in 1956, they established their own church in Herrnhut.

The final stages of World War II did not leave the townscape unscathed. The town had been prepared for defence as late as 8th may 1945 and was held by Wehrmacht rear-guard units until it was taken by the Red Army. On the day after the armistice, Soviet soldiers set the town on fire destroying 45 buildings, particularly in the centre. Under socialist rule the congregation hall (1953) and the manor house (1977) were restored, while on the west side of the square (Zinzendorfplatz) and its northern extension, a school and a line of several blocks of flats were built from prefabricated elements, disregarding the former alignment. In post-socialist times the appearance of the townscape was improved by refurbishing several buildings. The former visual unity of the central square, however, has so far not been achieved.

Hope, New Jersey, USA

Hope in Co. Warren is about 30 km east of Bethlehem, where the road to the coast crosses Beaver Brook. On a farm in this area lived Johan Samuel Green who had become a Moravian after having made the acquaintance of some travelling preachers. He offered to give over all of his lands to the Unity to found a settlement like Bethlehem. The Moravians, however, bought 1500 acres of his land. The decision to build a settlement may have been linked to the idea of creating an economic centre in a rural region. Beaver Brook´s water power was regarded as an important asset of the site. In 1769, the first new settlers arrived and in 1770 the place was called "Greenland" after the former owners. The first enterprise was a grain mill ("Moravian Mill") and soon several handicraft businesses followed, such as tannery and dye works. The Unity of the Brethren ultimately decided to continue the settlement systematically. Thus, while taking into account existing structures, an extension was pegged out in a regular pattern in 1774.

The place now was made a settlement congregation and its name Hope was determined by casting lots. Construction of the congregation house commenced in 1781. Around 1790 its population was about 100, but this diminished again before 1800. The school for boys and girls had to close after only a few years. In 1808, the congregation abandoned the settlement and all Unity land and buildings were sold while almost all of the inhabitants joined the Brethren in Pennsylvania. The Unity as a whole was not prepared to keep on supporting a settlement which was not self-sufficient, especially as financial problems had been mounting since Zinzendorf´s death.

Kleinwelka, Germany

Kleinwelka in the Lusatian Fields (Lausitzer Gefilde) is located near Bautzen (Budysin), the administrative centre in the area of Sorbian settlement. Welka, first mentioned in 1318, was owned by a knight Friczko de Wolkowe in 1345. In 1705, Johann Christoph von Heldenreich, then owner of the manor, had a new manor house erected.

Friedrich Caspar von Gersdorf, owner of four manors in Lusatia, had supported the Sorbs in the Diaspora, but his successor as Lord of the Manor at Teichnitz (north of Bautzen) was not prepared to agree to the establishment of further Moravian assemblies. The administrator of Teichnitz, the Sorbian Brother Matthäus Lange, therefore bought the nearby Kleinwelka manor in 1747, turning it into the new centre
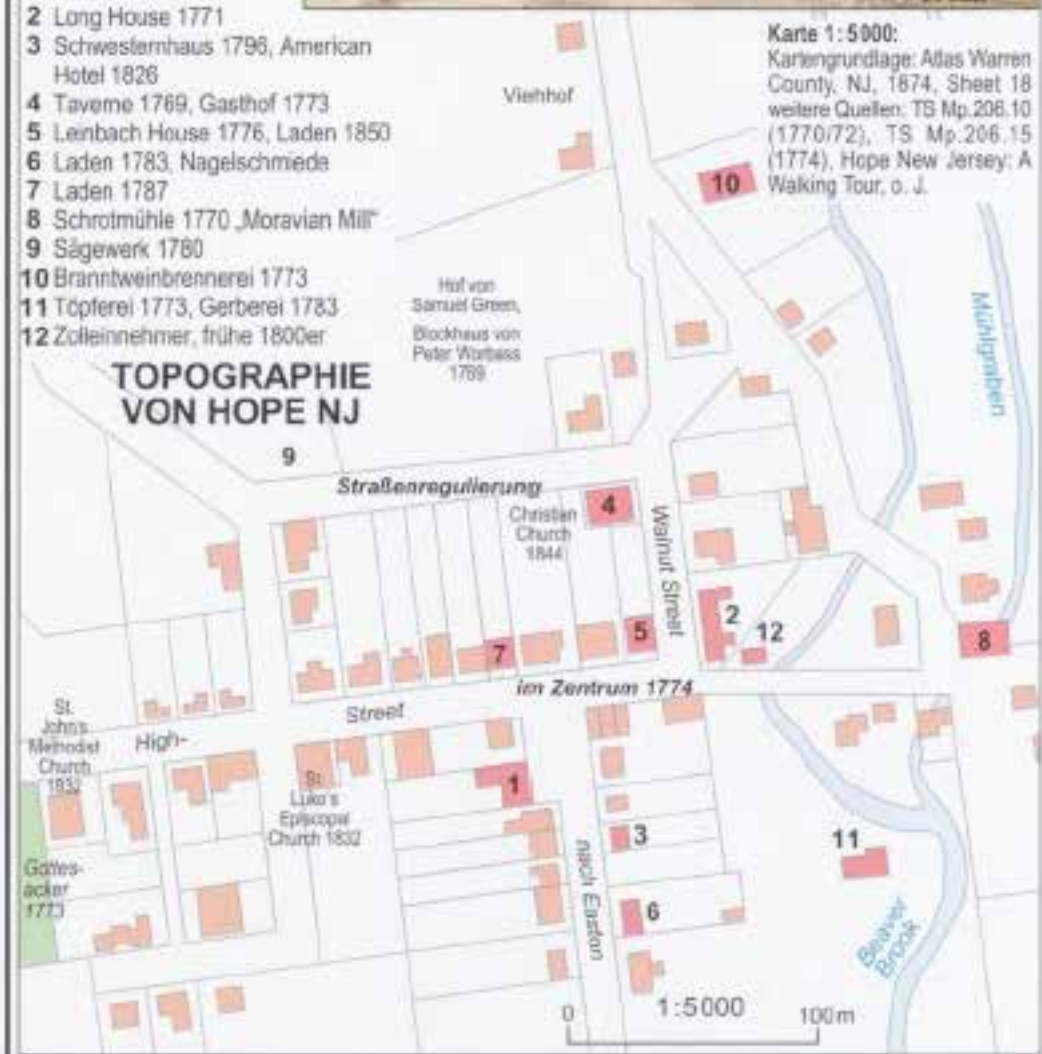
4 HOPE
(New Jersey)
gegründet 1769

ehem. Gemeinsaal 1857
Moravian Archives,
Bethlehem PA

1 Gemeinhaus 1781
mit Pastorenwohnung,
Schulräume für Knaben,
Courthouse 1824, Inn bis
1910, First National Bank
seit 1911
2 Long House 1771
3 Schwesternhaus 1796, American
Hotel 1826
4 Taverne 1769, Gasthof 1773
5 Leinbach House 1776, Laden 1850
6 Laden 1783, Nagelschmiede
7 Laden 1787
8 Schrotmühle 1770 „Moravian Mill"
9 Sägewerk 1780
10 Branntweinbrennerei 1773
11 Töpferei 1773, Gerberei 1783
12 Zolleinnehmer, frühe 1800er

TOPOGRAPHIE
VON HOPE NJ

Karte 1:5000:
Kartengrundlage: Atlas Warren
County, NJ, 1874, Sheet 18
weitere Quellen: TS Mp.206.10
(1770/72), TS Mp.206.15
(1774), Hope New Jersey: A
Walking Tour, o. J.

Viehhof

Hof von
Samuel Green,

Blockhaus von
Peter Worbass
1769

9

Straßenregulierung

Christian
Church
1844

Walnut Street

im Zentrum 1774

St.
John's
Methodst
Church
1832

High-

Street

St.
Luke's
Episcopal
Church 1832

Gottes-
acker
1773

nach Easton

nach Easton

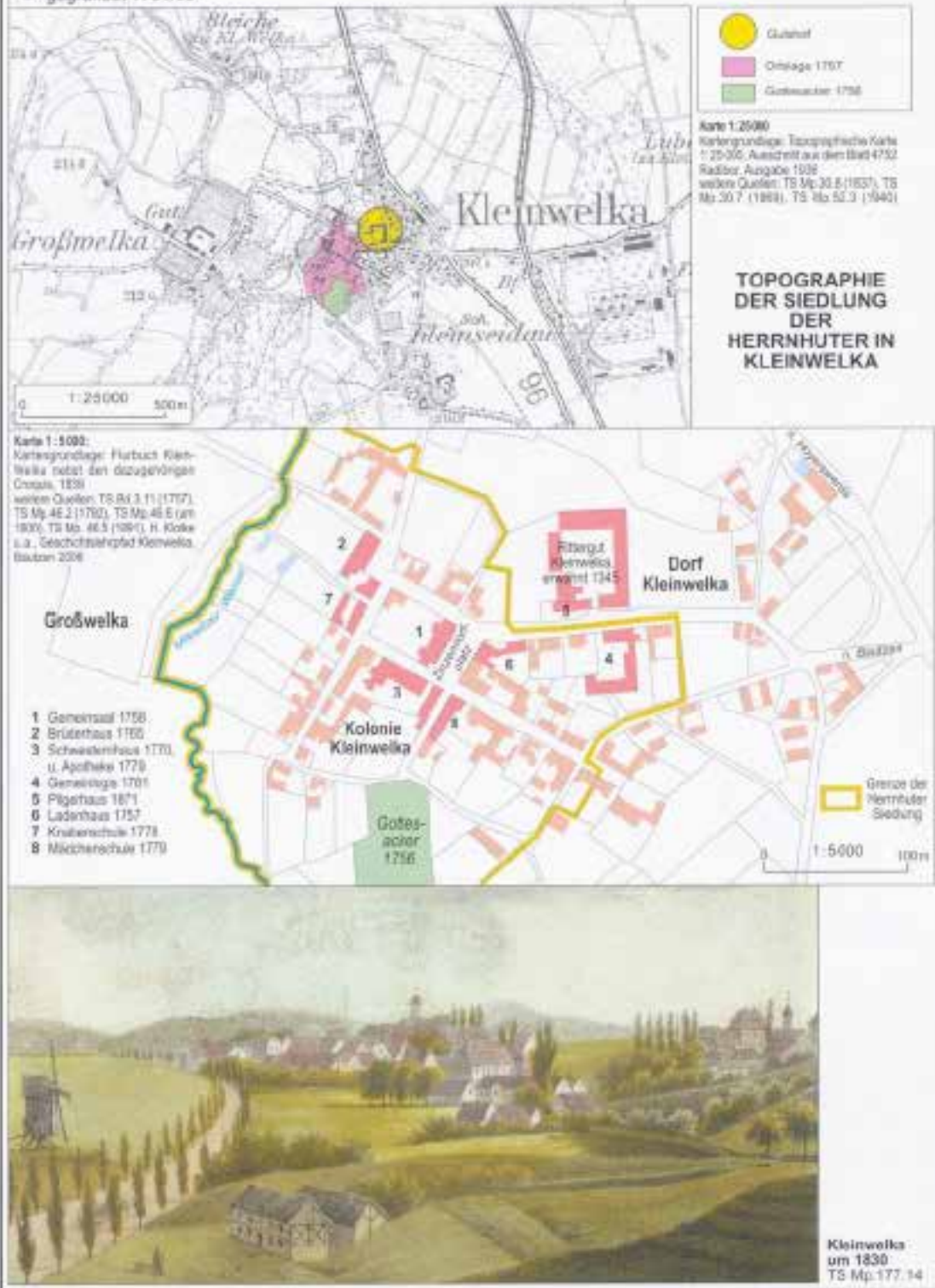Mühlgraben

Beaver Brook

0   1:5000   100m

for Diaspora work among the Sorbs. He took in the Brethren from Teichnitz, allowed the followers of the Unity to assemble in the manor house and, eventually, let them settle down on the grounds near the village. Agnes Sophie von Reuz, Zinzendorf´s sister-in-law, assumed ownership of the manor in 1756. Statutes were signed in 1760 when the place already had 443 inhabitants, and the full rights of a settlement congregation were awarded in 1772. The initial Sorbian character of the place petered out, a process in which the adverse attitude towards the Moravians of the Protestant regional church as well as of many Sorbian clergymen played a part. Thus, the village´s name Kleinwelka caught on for the colony which had initially been called Wendisch Niesky (Serbska Nizka).

The early Moravian settlement stood apart from the medieval hamlet because of its relatively broad and straight streets. The centre of the new place was made up by a rectangular square cut out from the upper part of an expanse on the flat slope towards the Milkwitz valley. The typical congregation buildings accumulated about it and along the access road, formerly an alley to nearby Grozwelka (Wulki Wjelkow). Due to its economic activities based on the principles of Moravian spirituality, especially the grain, beer, and wine trade, the colony of Kleinwelka was often at odds with the Bautzen citizenry. Only the notable bell foundry with up to 50 labourers, started up by a coppersmith in 1803 (to 1896), was without competitors. The settlement congregation not only formed a standard-language enclave in the Bautzen region, it also gained importance through its educational institutions for children of missionaries from kindergarten-age on. Until 1945, they came to Kleinwelka for several years and then went on to attend the Niesky boarding school. After the dissolution of feudal ties in 1839, the village (95 inhabitants) and the colony (439 inhabitants) at Kleinwelka became separate municipalities. In 1844, the Unity bought the manor which was then leased out until 1893. The congregation consisted of 484 members in 1899. In Dresden, a new branch opened as a town congregation. Grosswelka beyond the River Milkwitz, was in 1936 suburbanized to Kleinwelka which, in turn, became a district of the town of Bautzen in 1999.

Königsfeld, Germany
Königsfeld is located at 760 m.a.s.l. in the central Black Forest, in an area which is not suitable for farming. The former bailiff Lehmann from Mönchs-weiler, a sympathizer of the Brethren, bought the derelict cottage named "auf dem Hörnle" in the Burgberg district) and the small "Stellwaldgut" manor (in the Erdmannsweiler district) to provide for a Moravian settlement in the Kingdom of Württemberg, in 1804. The area, of about 100 ha was to be liberated from the joint settlement of three villages which required a ballot in the third district (Weiler) and the payment of a fee. In 1806, King Friedrich I of Württemberg allowed an independent and fully privileged municipality to be constructed. He decreed that it should be given the name Königsfeld (King´s Field) in remembrance of the foundation of his kingdom, but the name was reinterpreted by the Brethren as having a religious significance. The name persisted, even when the settlement congregation was transferred to the Grand Duchy of Baden as early as 1810.

9 KLEINWELKA (Maly Wjelkow, Sachsen, Stadt Bautzen)
gegründet 1751/60

Gutshof
Ortslage 1757
Gutsäcker 1756

Karte 1:25000
Kartengrundlage: Topographische Karte
1:25000. Ausschnitt aus dem Blatt 4752
Radibor, Ausgabe 1936
weitere Quellen: TS Mp.30.6 (1837), TS
Mp.30.7 (1869), TS Mp.52.3 (1940)

**TOPOGRAPHIE
DER SIEDLUNG
DER
HERRNHUTER IN
KLEINWELKA**

Karte 1:5000:
Kartengrundlage: Flurbuch Klein-
welka nebst den dazugehörigen
Croquis, 1839
weitere Quellen: TS Bd.3.11 (1757),
TS Mp.46.2 (1782), TS Mp.46.6 (um
1800), TS Mp. 46.5 (1861), H. Klotke
u.a., Geschichtslehrpfad Kleinwelka.
Bautzen 2006

Großwelka

1 Gemeinsaal 1756
2 Brüderhaus 1765
3 Schwesternhaus 1770,
  u. Apotheke 1779
4 Gemeinlogis 1761
5 Pilgerhaus 1871
6 Ladenhaus 1757
7 Knabenschule 1778
8 Mädchenschule 1779

Dorf
Kleinwelka

Rittergut
Kleinwelka
erwähnt 1345

Kolonie
Kleinwelka

Gottes-
acker
1756

Grenze der
Herrnhuter
Siedlung

1:5000

Kleinwelka
um 1830
TS Mp.177.14

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15 KÖNIGSFELD i. Schwarzwald (Baden-Württemberg, Schwarzwald-Baar-Kreis)
gegründet 1807

1:25000

○ Gutshof

■ Ortslage 1809

■ Gottesacker 1809, erste Erweiterung 1870

Karte 1:25 000
Kartengrundlage: Topographische Karte 1:25 000,
Ausschnitt aus dem Blatt 7916 Königsfeld, Ausgabe
1940
weitere Quelle: TS Vp.61.1 (1809)

**TOPOGRAPHIE
VON KÖNIGSFELD**

Hörnlihof
königsfeld

zum Hörnlihof

Platz

1 Gemeinsaal 1812
2 Vorsteherhaus 1812
3 Brüderhaus nur kurze Zeit
4 Schwesternhaus 1810
5 Witwenhaus 1861
6 Diasporahaus 1861
7 Gemeinloge 1807
8 Laden 1813
9 Knabenanstalt
10 Gerberei

Karte 1:5000
Kartengrundlage: TS.Mp.86.10.a,b,c
(1963)
weitere Quellen: TS.Mp.83.2 (1809),
TS.Mp.86.13 (1919), Rückenschuh
(vgl. Lit. S. 30 Königsfeld)

Königsfeld um 1830
TS Mp.82.5.a,b

The last Moravian settlement to be founded, Königsfeld`s layout goes back to a plan by a Brother from Neuwied, Georg Adam Heizer, and follows the characteristic pattern. The centre is a square with four straight streets leading in at the corners. The congregation hall is located in the middle of the northern side. The choir houses of the Single Brothers and Sisters are on the same side in the far corners between the incoming streets, but their broad main fronts are aligned with the streets, not the square. Königsfeld had strong financial backing in Switzerland where the Unity maintained a few societies (Basel, Bern, Zürich), but not any proper settlement congregations. When, in the mid-19th century, Protestants in the Palatinate were pressed by Bavarian authorities, several families moved to Königsfeld and also purchased land in the neighbouring districts. Königsfeld´s economic basis was to be the crafts, but attempts to set up manufactories remained unsuccessful in the long run. Nevertheless, the place acquired central functions, especially through educational institutions. Up until 1900 Swiss students were prominent among the numbers of boarding school children. After the railroad was opened, the climatic health resort attracted scores of new inhabitants, mainly pensioners, so that the settlement was extended primarily by their villas. Königsfeld became a political municipality only in 1895 and has since been expanded by several incorporations.

Lititz, Pennsylvania, USA
Lititz in Lancaster County lies in the Piedmont about 120 km southwest of Bethlehem. Zinzendorf had already been aiming to found another settlement as he travelled through Pennsylvania. This was to become a settlement congregation in which immigrants from Europe could lead a life which was less strict compared with that in the other two settlements in Pennsylvania. The settler George Kline, impressed by the Christian message, had erected St. Jacob´ Church and graveyard in 1744, which was served also by Unity preachers. This was followed the next year by a congregation house in Warwick for the Brethren who lived on scattered farms. Kline´s ideas went further. Eventually, he gave his whole cohesive estate of 491 acres over to provide for a Moravian settlement, advanced payment for the supervisor´s house and also had a

congregation house erected. Following Zinzendorf´s earlier suggestion the evolving place was called Lititz and was marked out in 1757 under the supervision of the surveyor Reuter.

The settlement was dominated by a long, straight, main axis with 81 plots, extended to the south in an oblong central place surrounded by the Unity buildings. God´s Acre, the Brethren´s substitute for the graveyard at St. James, now on the periphery, was fitted into the orthogonal pattern a little south of the square. The off-centre congregation hall for Warwick, in the eastern part, was relocated as a school building to the north east corner of the square. In 1759, the congregations of Lititz and Warwick were united and some years later a new congregation house was built in Lititz. St. Jacob´ Church deteriorated and was torn down in 1771. The expanding place attracted trades of all kinds and became an important site for secondary education (Linden Hall Academy, Beck´s Lititz Academy). Lititz was run exclusively by the Unity of the Brethren, until it acquired village status in 1888.

Nazareth, Pennsylvania, USA
Nazareth in Northampton County is situated on the fork of the Delaware about 9 km from the Blue Mountains. The Moravian settlement was started when Georg Whitefield, who was in financial difficulties, sold the 5000 acres of land purchased in 1740 to the Unity the following year. Whitefield House, a stone mansion, was now completed and became the temporary residence of the first families. From 1745 on, they moved to "Old Nazareth", a simple group of houses further south. The stone mansion became the nursery and also served as a congregation hall. Indian unrest in 1756 made fugitives from the Frontier draw back to Nazareth. Parts of the site were surrounded by palisades. When Zinzendorf pondered taking permanent residence in America, the offside mansion Nazareth hall was built for him (foundation stone 1755). The simple settlement Old Nazareth had been growing without a plan and now showed signs of disrepair. After the end of the common economy (*cf.* Bethlehem), New Nazareth was created in 1771. The layout plan with a central market place is shaped like a Latin cross. The upright pole is directed south; the transom reaches west to the forecourt of Nazareth Hall in a rectangular way. The road, which had initially led past Old Nazareth, was now redirected through the main street. After the end of the settlement congregation, new growth impulses led to the extension of the two "skeletal" main axes of New Nazareth into a grid pattern. The most important product of its industry, based on the raw materials available in the Appalachian foreland now became cement.
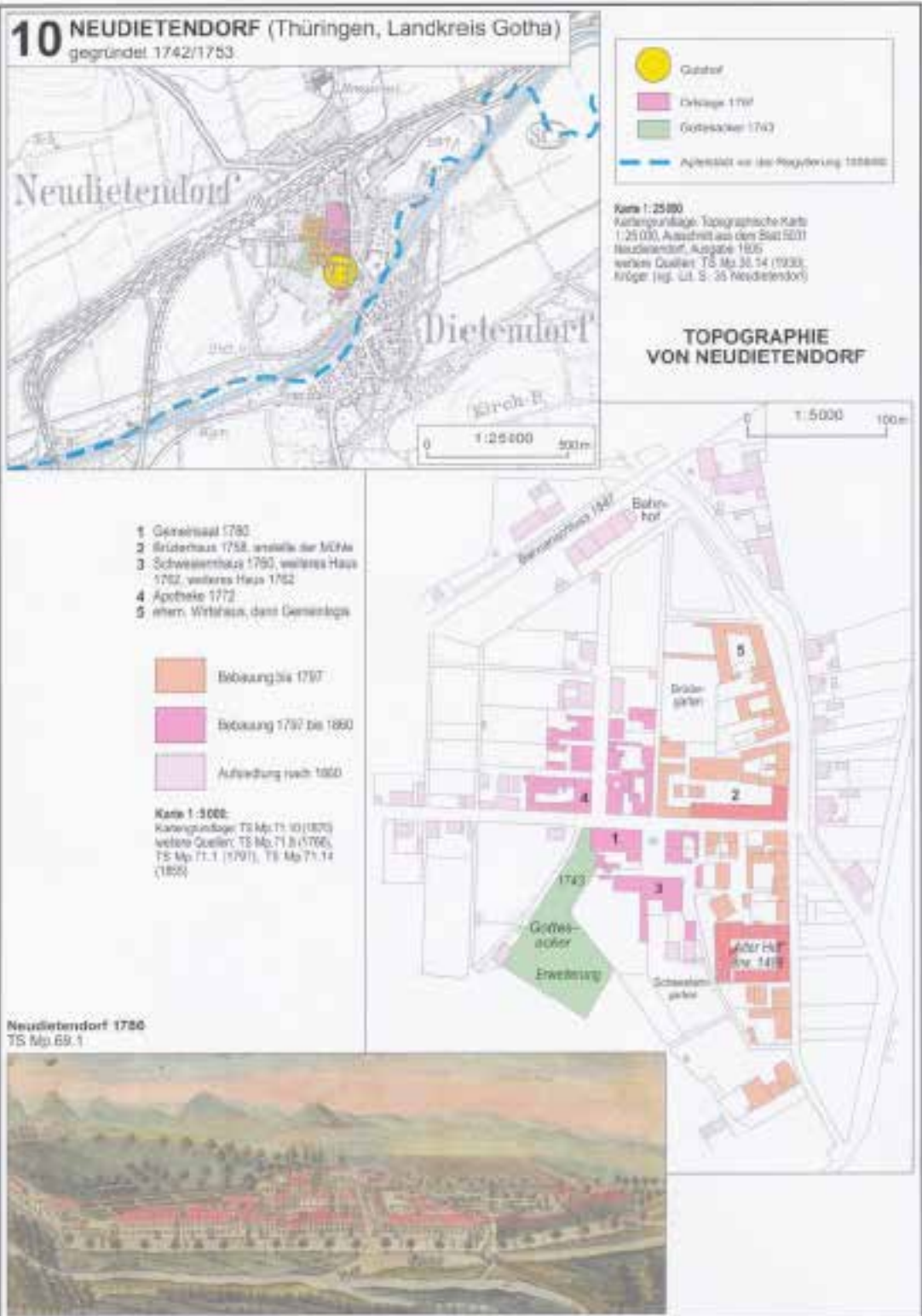
Topographie von Nazareth PA

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Neudietendorf, Germany

The village of Dietendorf in the southern Thuringian Basin on the right bank of the Apfelstädt River which runs into the Gera. The village was first mentioned in 1147. In 1408, a feudal manor on the left bank was bestowed upon the Witerde family. Special rights pertained to this "Alter Hof" (Old Manor), such as higher jurisdiction, privilege of settlement and ecclesiastical patronage. In the 14th century, two mills and a tavern are recorded at the crossroads of two major trading routes.

In 1734, the village belonged to the Duchy of Gotha when the Prussian minister Freiherr Gustav Adolph von Gotter purchased the manor. There, he sat up a wool factory and allowed Dutch weavers to build a row of houses along the river bank. The enterprise failed and after about eight years the settlers left what had been called "Neu Gottern". A wealthy Moravian Brother, Count Balthasar Friedrich von Promnitz, bought the empty settlement in 1742. The manor was handed over along with all the privileges, demesne, residential and farm buildings, tavern and factory attached to it. The Moravian settlement was called Gnadenthal ("Valley of Grace"). However, the ducal government and the Lutheran church were less then accommodating in their attitude towards it. Also, the settlement had been begun with the Unity´s consent, but without that of Zinzendorf. After his return from Pennsylvania he took countermeasures and caused the obedient settlers to retract in 1743. Zinzendorf´s subsequent proposal to subject "Neudietendorf", as it came to be called, to the Lutheran church for appearances and, initially, form a Moravian congregation was thwarted by an order of the Consistory (1747) demanding that the place be ecclesiastically organized just like another parish. The disappointed Brethren now moved on to Silesia and even Pennsylvania.

A third attempt to develop the place finally proved successful. In 1752, the manor was bought by Günther Urban von Lüdecke, proprietor of the Trebus manor, and the ducal concession was granted soon after. Due to the extension plans for the growing settlement the congregation received permission to set up its institutions and be subject to both, Unity and Consistory. The task at hand now was to create a functioning settlement structure from existing buildings to suit the needs of the congregation´s daily life and spirituality. From 1770 on, the existing row of houses was adjusted to the new ends and the rearward terrain was opened up by an almost orthogonal street, running south to the place with the congregation hall. The other Unity buildings were scattered along the two main streets.

In 1856, the "Alter Hof" was handed over to the Unity by the last countess (Charlotte von Einsiedel) of Berthelsdorf manor. The connection to the railway and subsequent upgrading to a freight depot at the rail hub of the lines Frankfurt-Leipzig and Stuttgart-Berlin brought further momentum to the place which, at the time, was already dominated by trades. The overall appearance of the locality changed markedly when the River Apfelstädt was regulated in c.1860, leaving the former east bank open for development. In 1933 the older Dietendorf became part of the municipality of Neudietendorf.

10 NEUDIETENDORF (Thüringen, Landkreis Gotha)
gegründet 1742/1753

Neudietendorf

Dietendorf

1 : 25 000

0   1:25000   500 m

Gutshof

Ortslage 1797

Gottesacker 1743

Apfelstädt vor der Regulierung 1858/60

Karte 1 : 25 000
Kartengrundlage: Topographische Karte
1 : 25 000, Ausschnitt aus dem Blatt 5031
Neudietendorf, Ausgabe 1905
weitere Quellen: TS Mp 38.14 (1930);
Kröger (vgl. Lit. S. 35 Neudietendorf)

TOPOGRAPHIE
VON NEUDIETENDORF

1 : 5000   100 m

1 Gemeinsaal 1780
2 Brüderhaus 1758, anstelle der Mühle
3 Schwesternhaus 1760, weiteres Haus
   1762, weiteres Haus 1762
4 Apotheke 1772
5 ehem. Wirtshaus, dann Gemeindings

Bebauung bis 1797

Bebauung 1797 bis 1860

Aufsiedlung nach 1860

Karte 1 : 5000:
Kartengrundlage: TS Mp 71.10 (1870)
weitere Quellen: TS Mp 71.8 (1766),
TS Mp 71.1 (1797), TS Mp 71.14
(1855)

Bahnhof

Brüder-
garten

Gottes-
acker

Erweiterung

1743

Schwestern-
garten

Neudietendorf 1780
TS Mp 69.1

Neusalz, Poland

Neusalz lies in Lower Silesia where the Odra (Oder) takes a bend to the north. The site goes back to 1583, when Emperor Ferdinand I establisher the "Zum neuen Saltze" estate comprising a salt evaporating facility which remained active until 1710. From then on, Neusalz developed into the most important harbour for navigation of the River Oder. While invading Silesia in 1740, Friedrich II came to appreciate the settlement´s strategic location. In 1743 he granted town rights, and it was his original proposal to establish an independent quarter for Moravians. The Unity agreed

although no awakened Christians were living in the area at the time.

After the granting of the special concession in 1743, the "Moravian Quarter" was set up close to the harbour basin ("Alte Oder"). Siegmund August von Gersdorf came up with an overall plan for the town. A planning sketch that was only realized in parts had the site divided up by two parallel streets running south, connected by an intersecting street. A Baroque axis made the large central square accessible by foot, leading from the hall in the north through an elongated garden and to God´s Acre. Along the streets, solitary buildings were set in a roughly symmetrical pattern. The settlement, as it was actually built, must be seen as an unfinished version of this plan. Of the two parallel streets only the eastern one connecting Berlin and Wroclaw (Breslau) was developed, so that the Baroque axis came to be off-centre. After the Battle of Kunersdorf (1759), Russian troops looted Neusaltz and the Moravian Quarter was burned down completely. The members of the congregation had, however, been able to escape to other Moravian settlements, especially Gnadenberg. The King pressed for their quick return, but until after the end of Seven Years War the Moravians were disinclined to do so. Then, the place was rebuilt under Gersdorf´s supervision in the same way as before and without attempting to complete the plan.

The Brethren´s factories played a crucial role in the financial subsistence of the whole Unity. From 1811 onwards the weaving mill in the Brothers´ house was to become the nucleus of the town´s largest industrial concern, the famous Gruschwitz Textilwerke AG. The congregation´s shop, reopened in 1762, developed into the important trading and shipping company as well as the Meyerotto banking house. The Prussian municipal statutes (Städteordnung) made the settlement congregation a fourth quarter of the Old Town in 1809. World War II did not lead to massive destruction in Neusalz, but the ensuing expulsion of its inhabitants brought about the end of the Moravian Quarter and the surviving buildings were put to new uses.

5 NEUSALZ a. d. Oder, (Schlesien, Kreis Lebus), *NOWA SÓL* (Województwo Lubiskie)
gegründet 1745

Ortslage 1775

Gottesacker 1775

Karte 1:25000
Kartengrundlage: Topographische Karte 1: 25.000,
Ausschnitte aus den Blättern 4160 Neusalz, 4260
Beuthen a. d. Oder, Ausgaben 1933

TOPOGRAPHIE DER SIEDLUNG DER HERRNHUTER IN NEUSALZ

Karte 1:5000:
Kartengrundlage: TS Mp.148.2 (1758), TS
Mp.148.1 (1794), TS Mp.160.10 (1755), TS
Mp.160.1A (1928)
weitere Quelle: Kessler-Lohmann (vgl. Lit. S.
36 Neusalz)

STADT NEUSALZ

MÄHRISCHES VIERTEL

Neusalz 1758
TS Mp.148.8

Neusalz, Situation vor der
Zerstörung 1759

1 Gemeinhaus
2 Brüderhaus
3 Schwesternhaus
4 Witwenhaus
5 Gemeinlogis
6 Laden
7 Apotheke
8 Fabrik
9 Niederlage
10 Gerberei
11 Lohmühle

Plananlage von 1745

269

Neuwied, Germany

The town of Neuwied is set in the Neuwied basin on the lower terrace on the right bank of the Rhine´s middle reaches. It was founded were the Absolutist County of Wied bordered on a short stretch of the stream. After the Thirty Years War, Count Friedrich III felt compelled to leave his castle, now devoid of military value, and to set up residence in a place more favourable for the development of his impoverished lands. Following a mercantilist settlement policy, the count, a reformed Protestant, granted settlers the freedom of worship, first "in their houses" and soon gave permission for them to build churches. Eventually, seven privileged religious communities settled in the town, the last of which were the Moravians. Leaving Herrnhaag, a first group came to Neuwied, and others followed. Most of them were Swiss by origin and in favour of a reformed prince. After some initial indecision, in 1754 Zinzendorf issued an instruction from London ordering the congregation to stay in Neuwied. Early in 1756 he acquired a settlement concession.

The town flourished and its layout developed into a pattern of differently sized, nearly rectangular blocks, which one by one were opened for development. Straightaway, the Moravians had reserved the right to live among themselves in a separate block on the south-eastern edge of town. Here was situated the "Bagelsche Haus" in which the Moravians had first been accommodated, but otherwise it had been mostly vacant. The uniform row of two-storey houses constructed was now made up of late Baroque-style buildings with mansard roofs. In 1773, the Marienborn congregation was transferred to Neuwied after the Unity had sold the castle there. In 1781 the territorial prince granted a new concession and placed another vacant block at the Brethren´s disposal. The typical buildings were quickly erected. The congregation hall was visually emphasized by its position slightly back from the street row. A third building phase began in 1868 with the Friedrichstrasse extension. The extended Moravian Quarter had become the only one occupied exclusively by one single religious community, while the members of the other denominations were to be dispersed all over the town.

The Moravians in Neuwied successfully practised various trades up until the 19th century, among them the cabinetmaker Abraham Roentgen and his son, both of whose furniture enjoyed a world-wide reputation. The profits of many businesses were significant not only for the settlement, but the whole Unity of the Brethren. The Neuwied congregation with its boarding schools for boys and girls became important in education, too.

Niesky, Germany

Niesky is situated on the north-eastern periphery of Upper Lusatia amidst a plateau of infertile sandy soils where the Schwarzer Schöps and Weizer Schöps Rivers run just a few kilometres apart. The settlement´s foundation – then in the Electorate of Saxony – was meant to provide a refuge for Brethren exiles from Bohemia. Its location was confirmed by casting lots. There, in the southern part of a longish stretch of manor land, close to the outlying estate, the settlement was begun in 1742. Its basis was a contract made without Bohemian representatives between the owner, Siegmund August von Gersdorf, and the Unity. The place was to have a Bohemian name, the choice being between Nisky (Low or Lowly), Beranekpastva (Lamb´s pasture) and Sbor or Shromázdeni (Gathering). The Bohemian word Nisky was chosen because their new homeland was low in comparison to the mountains of their homeland in Bohemia and because of its connotations of humility or lowliness before God.

The layout is based on a farsighted design by Gersdorf who had trained as an architect in Dresden. From the Trebus manor, a 15 metre wide main axis leads south and reaches the centre of a rectangular open square with a slight bend. From its four corners, two parallel streets run west and east. Initially, Gersdorf only had its east side measured out with the adjacent plots and houses erected there, while the centre of the square had still been occupied by the outlying estate´s buildings. Due to the peripheral situation of the evolving settlement, the incoming Bohemians found no proper outlet for their craft products and many continued their journey onwards to the favourable places offered by Friedrich II in Silesia (see below). The period of Bohemian immigrants forming the majority of the population was short. Of those who had arrived in 1744-45 just six had come to stay and only for the first five years were services held in Czech.

The Unity engaged Gersdorf for building tasks on a regular basis, which suited his predilections. He sold Trebus in 1747, but was called upon to further develop his elaborate planning for Niesky´s extension. The outlying estate was torn down in 1752 and rebuilt a little north of the place (Neuhof). Following Gersdorf´s plans, the central square was now completed with the very first congregation hall on its western edge, accompanied by the Choir houses of the Single Brothers and Single Sisters as solitary buildings in a symmetrical line-up.

The Moravian settlement initially pertained to Trebus, the rights of patronage of which in turn belonged to Hähnichen manor. In 1754, the ecclesiastical dependence was transferred from Hähnichen to Trebus in exchange for a fee. Property in land was not consigned to Niesky prior to 1765 and it gained the status of "settlement congregation" only in 1774 under the terms of a contract between the Brethren and the lordship which at the time was being held by Zinzendorf´s daughter, Maria Agnes. In the following 1770s/80s, Niesky consolidated its role as a centre of crafts and trade. Its importance increased when it was made the site of Unity educational institutions; the Pädagogium Zinzendorf had been established in Lindheim, Wetterau, was transferred to Niesky. From the start it took on a singular character among German Protestant grammar schools. Another remarkable institution was the Mission Seminary established in 1869.

2 NIESKY *Niska* (Sachsen, Niederschlesischer Oberlausitzkreis)
gegründet 1742
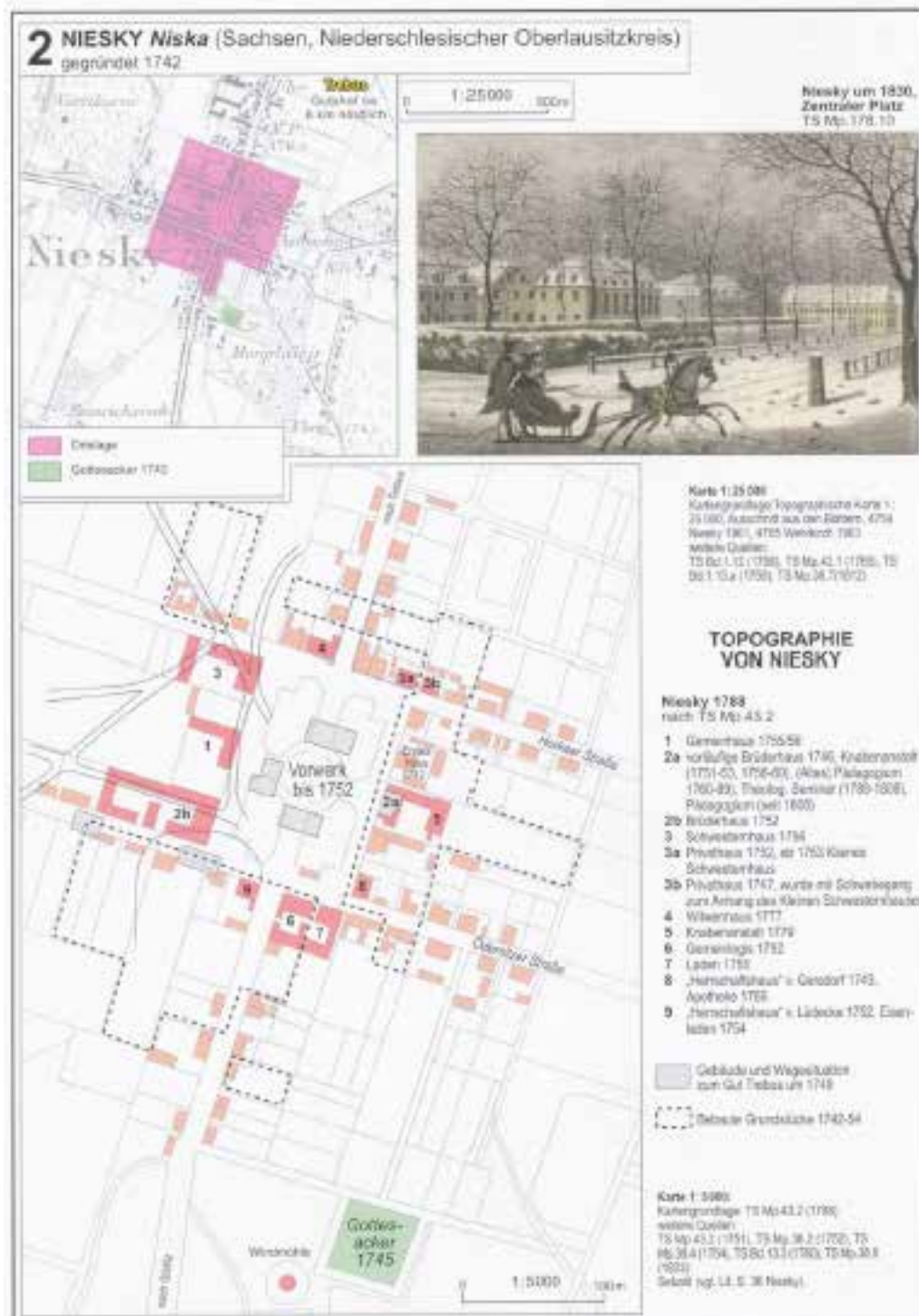
The lordship remained the owner of Niesky up until 1853. The centre of the place with the Unity buildings, which was declared a town in 1934, suffered heavy losses towards the end of World War II. Rebuilding after 1945 was initially carried out in such a way that the image of Moravian Niesky would be blurred. In the meantime, however, the former ensemble has in part been revived.

Ockbrook, England

Ockbrook (Derbyshire), 5.5 km west of Derby, is located in the downs south of the Pennines. Above the medieval village situated in the vale, the terrain for the Moravian settlement of the same name was marked out in 1750. The existence of this settlement congregation owes much to the Rev. Jacob Rogers, curate of St. Paul´s in Bedford, a collaborator of Benjamin Ingham´s. In 1739, when holding a sermon in Nottingham´s market place about 10 km away, he had been invited by the Ockbrook farmer Isaac Frearson to preach in his barn. From then on the place was steadily frequented by itinerant preachers. As early as 1740, a congregation for the awakened Christians was called into being, assembling in a private home.

In 1750, Bishop Peter Böhler decided to found a settlement congregation in Ockbrook. Isaac Frearson sold the land required at a bargain price to the Unity. The plain redbrick houses and the greyish-blue slate roofs, intensive greenery and the unobstructed view of the scenery give the settlement a distinctly rural character. With the buildings grouped along the descending pathway, planned elements in its layout are not immediately apparent. Fulneck, however, may have set an example with its straight row of the most important buildings (hall in 1751, Choir houses in 1759) along the main pathway with their gardens in front. The unmarried mainly worked in textile manufacture. In educational respects the importance of the settlement, once set apart from the village, still lasts to this day.
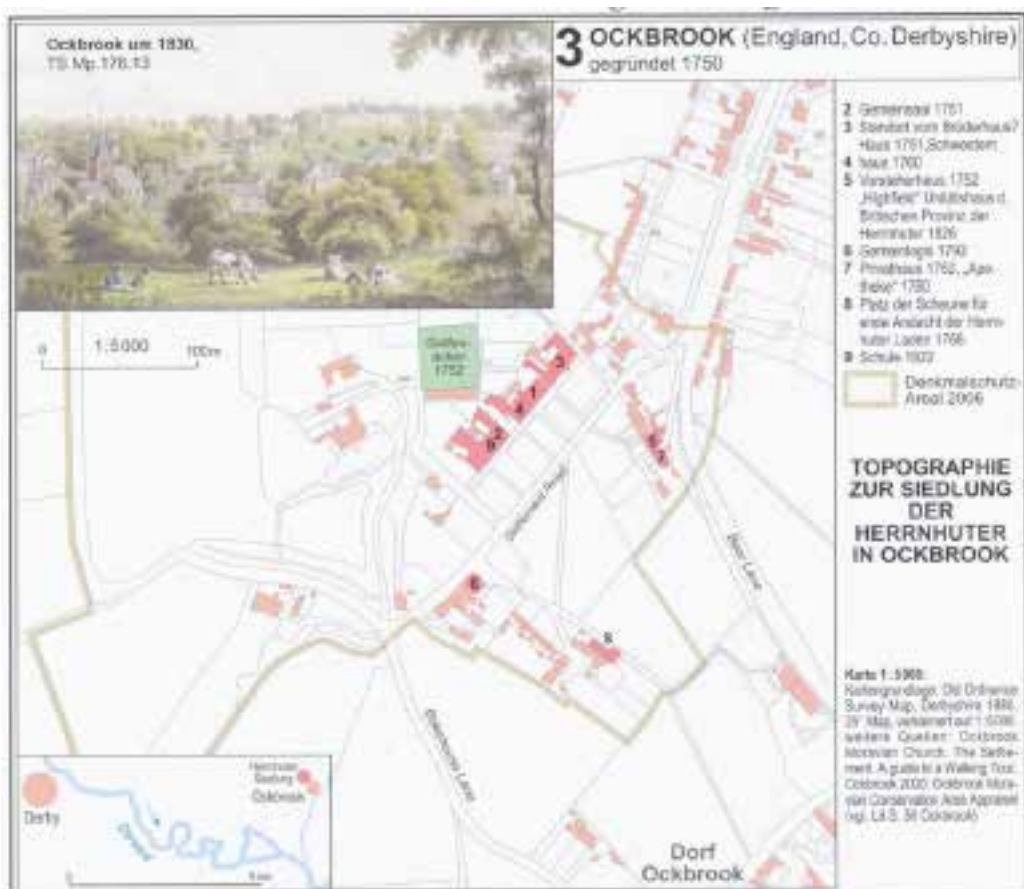
Sarepta, Russia

Sarepta was founded about 30 km south of the city of Tsaritsyn, in the last bend or the Sarpa River before it flows into the Volga. Here, the Volga comes closest to the Don and changes direction southeast to its estuary in a sharp turn. Tsarina Catharine II had, in a manifesto of 1763, encouraged settlement in Volga delta, and just one year later granted a Letter of Donation with generous political and economic privileges for the new settlement. In this way, the Brethren expected to gain an outpost for the mission for the nomadic people of the Kalmyk. The first five settlers chose a location for the settlement. They had brought along a plan sanctioned by the Unity Administration and, after having been approved in St. Petersburg, it was measured out by Russian geodesists. The Sarepta plan had an access road running across the square towards the hall and continuing behind the church as an avenue to God´s Acre. The inhabitants also adopted the typology of the characteristic buildings developed in Germany.
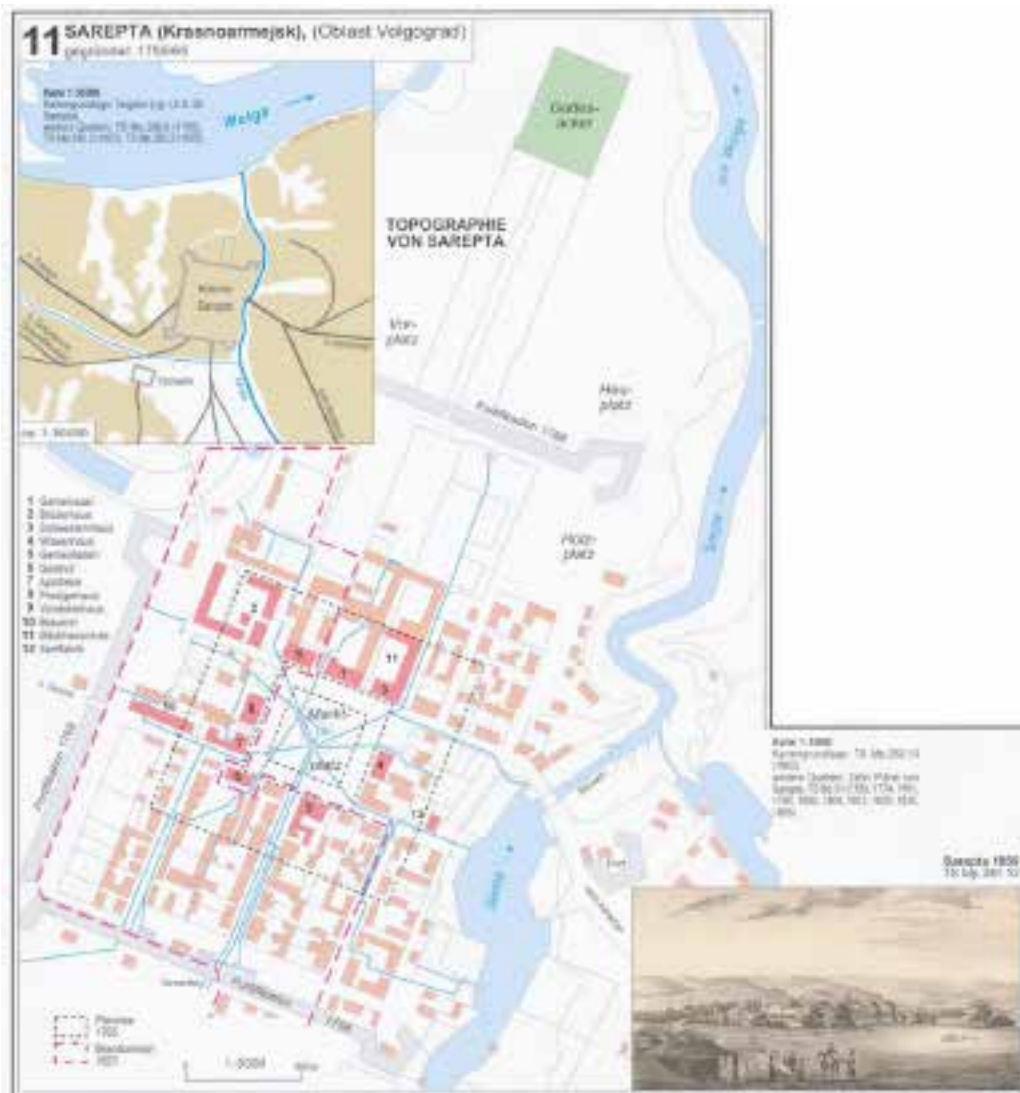
In 1768, the place that had so far been covered only by a loop of the river was fortified with a wall and corner-bastions. Stationed in "Fort" Sarepta was a detachment of Russian soldiers from the Tsaritsyn garrison. The Moravian settlers themselves were exempt not only from military service, but even from defending the place against attacks from the steppe. In the 1774 uprising under Yemelyan Pugachev aiming at the foundation of a peasant state, some of the houses in Sarepta were burned down and fields devastated. Afterwards, the settlers turned even more to their trades as the economic basis of their lives. Several factories were built which were well staffed and equipped due to the Brethren´s many contacts. Thus, the place became an important centre for trade and industry.

As soon as the Kalmyk mission was achieving its first successes, it was prohibited by Tsar Alexander I. This loss, changing political circumstances involving the legal subordination to the Russian government in Saratov, as well as tensions within the off-centre community, prompted the Unity Administration to dissolve the congregation in 1892. In Soviet times, Sarepta was called "Krasnoarmejsk (=Red Army District) which, in 1931, was incorporated in Stalingrad (Volgograd). The former Moravian settlement was in the vicinity of the Battle of Stalingrad taking place in 1942/43 and it served as a Soviet military hospital. It was the only local building complex to survive almost entirely without war damage. Sarepta´s historic centre was modified as part of new town planning measures in 1980 but actions are now being taken for restoring the dignity of the historic ensemble.

Salem, North Carolina, USA
Despite the delay, the plans for the centre of Wachovia had not been abandoned. In 1764, the Unity Administration cast lots and it was decided that one – and only one – town was to be built in the middle of Wachovia. Frederick William Marshall was chosen by the Unity Authority to supervise the construction.. The site also was decided by a lot: a ridge about 16 km southeast of Bethabara. Zinzendorf had already sketched a plan for a round city in 1764 (cf. Excursus). However, directed by Marshall and assisted by Reuter, the place was measured out in a rectangular way. The eastern street constitutes the main axis. It is extended to a square by a vacant block around which the most important buildings are grouped. Settlement activities in Salem (Shalom), as the place was named, probably by Zinzendorf, commenced in 1772. In just a few years, Salem became an important trade and commercial, as well as educational centre for a growing hinterland, and a station for westbound pioneers. Eventually, it became the centre of the Moravians´ Southern Province corresponding to Bethlehem in the Northern Province.
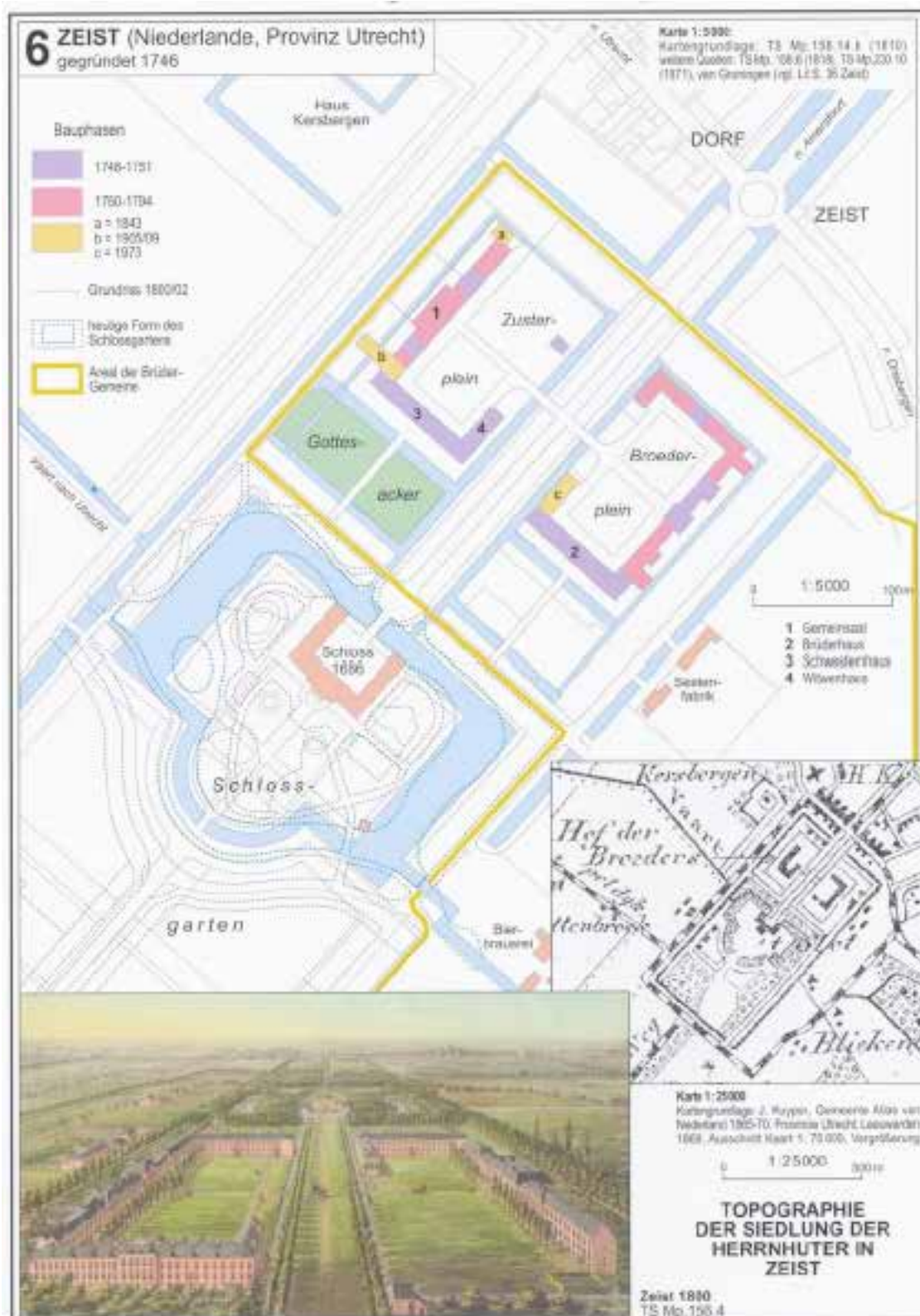
Forsyth County was constituted in 1849 and in 1851 the Salem congregation agreed to give over 41 acres a little east of the settlement site for the administrative centre named after Major Joseph Winston. In 1856 the settlement congregation was dissolved, while Winston gained importance in commerce and industry, functionally trumping Salem. Settlement and town were joined in 1930. Two-thirds of the buildings of (Old) Salem were extant in 1945 and it was decided to preserve its historic centre. Since then, about 40 buildings have been restored and another eight reconstructed.

7 SALEM (North Carolina)
(Rekonstruktion) gegründet 1771

TOPOGRAPHIE
VON SALEM NC

Salem 1848

1 Gemeinsaal 1798
2 Gemeinhaus 1771
3 Brüderhaus 1786
4 Schwesternhaus 1786
5 Gasthof 1784
6 Knabenschule 1802
7 Mädchenstift 1805
8 Wohnung des Inspektors der Mädchenanstalt 1798
9 Wohnung des Administrators
10 Wohnung des Gemeindevorstehers 1797

Salem 1840

Salem 1799

Old Salem
Historic District
2004

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Zeist, Netherland

Zeist is situated near Utrecht where the terminal moraine of the Heuvelrug verges on the Rhine delta plain. The congregation started there in 1747 was to be the second and only successful attempt at founding such a settlement in the States-General of the Netherlands. The "palace," built in 1677-86 on the site of a medieval castle, had been bought in 1745 by the wealthy merchant Cornelis Schellinger, a brother of Jacob Schellinger, and his wife Sophie. The new owner gained rights and liberties in the lordship of Zeist and the adjacent Driebergen to pave the way for the Moravian foundation. He agreed in a contract with Zinzendorf to develop the settlement near the palace. Its continuation was secured in 1767 when the palace and the possessions belonging to it were transferred to Maria Agnes, one of Zinzendorf´s daughters.

The count had far-reaching ideas as to the layout of this settlement that was to stretch out in an axial and symmetrical pattern on both sides of the palace. It was then, however, restricted to the terrain between the palace and the old village of Zeist, adapting and reducing Zinzendorf´s prior conception. The palace became the visual point of reference on an avenue leading towards its centre. On both sides of the road two elongated rectangular squares (Zusterplein and Broederplein) were pegged out and buildings created two courts open to the central road. The buildings along the sides of the open squares were erected in the local fashion. The ensemble, with its protruding buildings in the middle and corners as well as receding "wings", was strictly symmetrical. The spatial arrangement and stylistic congruence of settlement and palace evoke a consistent visual impression. The concept of the broad squares may derive from Zinzendorf´s knowledge of the wide Squares, the attractive new focal points in London´s West End. God´s Acre had come to replace one of the two palace gardens in 1747. Building activities commenced in 1748/50, e.g. with the Choir houses and some elegant residential buildings, but ceased for a few years due to financial reasons. In the following building phase (after 1758) several sites for a congregation hall was discussed, before it became inserted amidst the Zusterplein buildings. Thus, the overall picture was preserved, as it also was in the occasional improvement after 1850. The settlement was, however, never completed with regard to the original plan.

Zeist flourished during the second half of the 18th century, especially due to the products of the Choir house of the Single Brothers and their effective marketing. The economically efficient place attracted several interested visitors, among then King Christian VII of Denmark (*cf. Christiansfeld*).

6 ZEIST (Niederlande, Provinz Utrecht)
gegründet 1746

Karte 1:5000:
Kartengrundlage: TS Mp.156.14.k (1810) weitere Quellen: TS Mp. 156.6 (1818, TS Mp.230.10 (1871), von Groningen i.rgl. Lit.S. 36 Zeist

Bauphasen

1746-1751

1750-1794

a = 1843
b = 1905/09
c = 1973

Grundriss 1800/02

heutige Form des Schlossgartens

Areal der Brüder-Gemeine

Haus Kersbergen

DORF

ZEIST

Zuster-plein

Gottes-acker

Broeder-plein

Schloss 1686

Schloss-garten

Bier-brauerei

Schwestern-fabrik

1:5000   100m

1 Gemeinsaal
2 Brüderhaus
3 Schwesternhaus
4 Witwenhaus

Karte 1:25000
Kartengrundlage: J. Kuyper, Gemeente Atlas van Nederland 1865-70, Provincie Utrecht, Leeuwarden 1868. Ausschnitt Kaart 1:75.000, Vergrößerung

1:25000   500m

TOPOGRAPHIE
DER SIEDLUNG DER
HERRNHUTER IN
ZEIST

Zeist 1880
TS Mp.156.4

Building culture in the Moravian settlements

Prepared by Architect MA Karen Stoklund on the basis of material provided by Architect MA Jørgen Toft Jessen.

The Moravian settlements possess a largely shared architectural language, especially with regards to proportions of the buildings and their placement relative to one another. Certain characteristics are derived from the building style of the region in which the mother town of Herrnhut is located. Other characteristics show clear influence from the building styles of the contemporary nobility. All in all, however, the buildings embody a fascinating meeting of local building styles and that of Saxony. Some buildings are so similar that it is tempting to assume that identical designs were used for their construction. Examples include the Hall in Neusalz and the original hall in *Christiansfeld* as well as a family house by the cemetery in Gnadau and Nørregade 7 by the cemetery in *Christiansfeld*.

3.15 Opposite: Section of façade
from Sister's House in Gracehill.

Hall

The hall is the dominant building in all of the Moravian settlements. Traditionally, it is called a 'Congregation Hall' or 'Hall' rather than a church. Its construction is similar in most towns: A transverse middle section, usually with symmetrical wings; a steep roof with a symmetrically placed spire with bells and a clock; two equal entrances, often placed in the wings; high windows in the middle section, providing light to the large, open church room, often without columns; and an undecorated interior. As far as the latter is concerned, this is usually a light – often white – space with unfixed benches arrayed along the room.

The Hall in *Christiansfeld* is distinguished by being constructed in raw brick, with pronounced wings. The cross-wall construction gives the building a lightness that is not often seen in the other settlements. Prior to the addition of wings in 1796, the Hall in *Christiansfeld* strongly resembled the Hall in Neusalz (Nowa Sol), which was constructed in 1746.

3.16 Hall in Neuwied, built 1783.

3.17 Opposite: Street view in Fairfield.
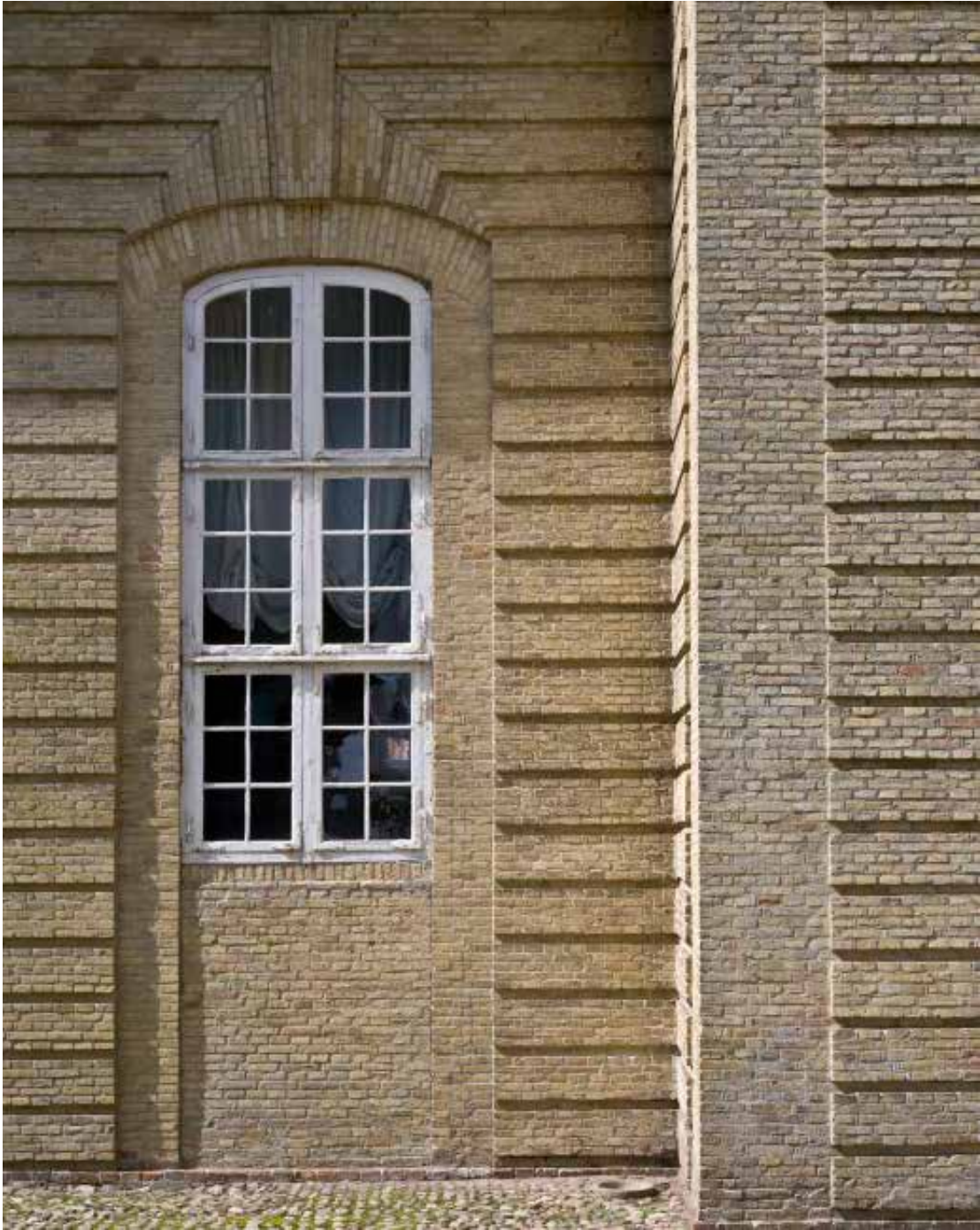
3.18 Opposite: Section of facade
from the church hall in
Christiansfeld.

3.19 Hall in Kleinwelka, built
1758.

3.20 The Hall in Neusalz (Nowa
Sol), built 1746.

Reconstruction of the Hall in
Christiansfeld, prior to the
addition of wings in 1796.

3.21 The Hall in Herrnhut.

3.22 The Hall in Gnadau.

3.23 The Hall in Bethlehem.

3.24 The Hall in *Christiansfeld*.

3.25 Interior of the Hall in
Christiansfeld.

3.26 Interior of the Hall in
Königsfeld.

3.27 Interior of the Hall in
Gnadau.

3.28 Interior of the Hall in
Kleinwelka

Choir Houses

The so-called Choir Houses in the Moravian settlements are all characterised by their impressive size. They were built to serve as homes and workplaces for numerous people and are often built in two storeys with steep roofs to allow the attic space to be made use of, often with many rooms. The sleeping halls were placed in the attic while the other storeys were used for work and leisure.

Already in the 1800s, the Moravians ceased living in these buildings, necessitating new uses for the Choir Houses. Many were converted to housing, muse-ums, etc. Those buildings for which new uses were not found are in rather poor condition as a result.

The Choir Houses possess a number of shared characteristics but are strongly influenced by local building styles. What they have in common are that they are exceptionally deep two-storey buildings, often with a small gable and steep roofs with attic rooms. The Choir Houses are large constructions, often with wings and rear premises where the brothers and sisters could have their workshops. All three Choir Houses in Christiansfeld (the Sisters' House, Brothers' House, and Widows' House) have been fully preserved.

The interiors of the Choir Houses are constructed with a central stair space leading to long corridors lit by a single window at each end.

3.29 Brothers' House in Gnadau.

3.30 Widows' House in Herrnhut.

3.31 Sisters' House in Kleinwelka.

3.32 Sisters' House in Bethlehem.

3.33 Brothers' House in Zeist.

3.34 Brothers' House in
Christiansfeld.

3.35 Widows' House in
Chrisiiansfeld.

Cemeteries

A Moravian Church cemetery is called God's Acre. All such cemeteries are constructed following the same principle, with graves running in long rows of equal length, marked by flat or slightly tilted rectangular gravestones. The cemeteries are divided into square or rectangular fields, marked out by plants.

The entrance to God's Acre is usually marked by an avenue leading to a gateway in wood or stone, topped by a quote from the Bible. The grave plots are not demolished, so it is necessary to expand the cemetery as it fills up.

Some cemeteries separate the brothers from the sisters so that the brothers lie to the left and the sisters to the right of the central pathway. This original principle is not maintained in all cemeteries.

The cemeteries in the Moravian settlements differ widely in terms of maintenance, both when it comes to the gravestones and when it comes to the horticulture. The God's Acre in *Christiansfeld* is among the best maintained.

3.36 God's Acre in *Christiansfeld*.

3.37 God's Acre in Gracehill

3.38 God's Acre in Kleinwelka.

3.39 God's Acre in Niesky

3.40 God's Acre in Herrnhut

3.41 Gateway to God's Acre in
Kleinwelka.

3.42 Gateway to God's Acre in
Christiansfeld.

3.43 Gateway to God's Acre in
Herrnhut.

3.44 Gateway to God's Acre in
Niesky.

3.45 Gateway to God's Acre in
Neuwied.

3.46 Gateway to God's Acre in
Königsfeld.

Structural parallels and differences

Although the Moravian settlements are all influenced by local building styles and local materials, their buildings nevertheless bear the marks of Herrnhut-style construction. Saxon characteristics such as steep roofs, small gables, and many attic rooms (often in multiple levels) are present in a wide range of buildings in Europe and America. In *Christiansfeld*, the very steep, tiled roofs and small gables are particularly distinctive relative to the local building style. The bricks are local (produced in Egernsund by Flensburg Fjord), and the buildings are in raw brick, a trait not found in the German settlements, where façades are plastered and often painted in light pastels. Other settlements, such as Zeist in the Netherlands and Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, also contain buildings in raw brick, constructed from local materials. In Bethlehem, however, one also finds many buildings constructed from stone, as is also the case in Gracehill in Northern Ireland.

It is characteristic of the Moravian settlements that the Central European architectural influences are united with local building traditions and local materials, producing a unique building culture.

The overall effect varies widely, and there are great differences in the extent to which town development (particularly in the 1900s) left its mark on the settlements. The mother settlement of Herrnhut, for instance, was strongly affected by bombardment in 1945, which levelled a large number of original buildings. Lack of maintenance and insensitive renovation have also affected some settlements.

3.47 The church in Fairfield is influenced by English building culture, yet the spire is a recognisable element.

3.48 Building in Gnadenfrei. The body of the building is recognisable, with its depth, steep roof, small gable, and numerous attic rooms. Unfortunately, it has been very poorly maintained.

3.49 Grafenhaus in Herrnhaag, built 1744. The shape of the roof can be recognized in other moravian settlements, primarily in the central European area.

3.50 House by the church square
in Gnadau, built 1771

3.51 Lindegade 28 in
Christiansfeld, built 1773.

3.52 House in Niesky

3.53 Lindegade 28 in
Christiansfeld, built 1773.

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3.54 Stairs in Neusalz (Nowa Sol).

3.55 Stairs in Neuwied.

3.56 Stairs in Kleinwelka.

3.57 Stairs in Gnadau.

3.58 Stairs in Herrnhut

3.59 Stairs in Kleinwelka.

3.60 Stairs in *Christiansfeld*.

3.61 Stairs in *Christiansfeld*.

Challenges in the selection of Moravian settlements to the World Heritage List

During the 17th Century Enlightenment, a number of denominations established their own settlements. What these denominations have in common is a non-mainstream Protestantism. In addition to the Moravian Church, the largest and best known of these denominations are the Shakers, the Amish, and Quakers. Various characteristics differentiate these denominations from Protestants in general as well as from one another.

The Shakers (United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing) were founded in England in 1770. The denomination is best known for its music, furniture design, and model of equality of the sexes. Its settlements were divided into groups or 'families'. The leading group within each settlement was the 'Church Family', which was surrounded by satellite families that were often known by names derived from points on the compass rose. The Shakers lived primarily from their farm work and production of goods and furniture. There are fewer than a dozen Shakers remaining today (xroads.virginia.edu. 12.04.13).

The history of the Amish (Amish Mennonites) began in 1693, and the denomination still exists. The Amish live in an agricultural society, using modern technologies to only a very limited degree. The majority of the Amish live in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. Amish society is based on the ideal of everyone helping one another, clothing that symbolises humility, and separation from the outside world. Unlike other Christian groups, the Amish do not have churches, and services are held in the home every other Sunday (pittsburgh.about.com 12.04.13).

The Quakers are members of a Religious Society of Friends that was founded in mid-17th Century England and Wales. The movement is built upon the belief that each person possesses a God-given inner light. Central to the movement, founded by George Fox (1624-1691), is the concept of 'silent meditation'. The Quakers remain an engaged, faithbased society that works for pacifism, social equality, integrity, and simplicity and is now active in many regions of the world (christianity.about.com 12.04.13).

The Shakers, Amish, Quakers, and Moravian Church are all variously different from mainstream Protestantism. It is, of course, possible to argue that all of these movements should be nominated to the World Heritage List under a single category involving alternative Protestant denominations. However, since they were established and have survived on account of their being different from other denominations, this option seems both complex and problematic. It is therefore most interesting to emphasise the special characteristics of the individual denominations, which is what we focus on here.

In this context, there are three particular aspects that are especially characteristic of the Moravian Church: its missionary work, diaspora, and settlements. The Moravian Church's systematic planning and construction of its settlements is truly unique. We have thus chosen this as our point of departure for comparative analysis. Over the

course of the second half of the 1700s and the first half of the 1800s, the denomination developed a remarkably exceptional, unique, and consistent town planning concept involving characteristic building types that were consciously developed and specially adapted to the Moravian Church's philosophy and social organisation. One piece of evidence of this is that, in 1765, the denomination set up a 'secretariat' in Herrnhut, which was intended both to assist in the planning of new settlements and to approve their designs. This concept has been used to a greater or lesser extent on all continents in which the denomination has been active, and it has been adapted to local building traditions, involving extraordinary skill in house construction and design. This is this in particular that makes the denomination unique in a global context. This aspect is also emphasised in World Heritage 32 COM.

Another point is that the criteria for which settlements are most typical of the Moravian Church are relatively clear and are, in fact, largely measurable. It is thanks to the work presented in Deutscher Historischer Städteatlas nr.3. It is now possible to study original settlement plans and see which satisfy the most criteria that researchers today associate with the ideal Moravian settlement. At the same time, it is possible to count the houses that existed during the settlements' periods of autonomy from 1750 to 1850, which we have selected as the significant period.

Despite this excellent framework for evaluating the settlements, it is nevertheless a challenge to choose just one of the many settlements. The result is dependent on numerous factors relating to which criteria are selected and how many points are awarded for each criterion. We have thus decided to take into account all of the criteria that have been presented by researchers and as set forth in the article by Prof. Dr. Jürgen Lafrenz page 189 and have furthermore sought to award the same maximum number of points for all criteria. This is described in greater detail in the following pages.-

The criteria guiding the comparative analysis of the Moravian settlements

UNESCO's criteria
A characteristic and unique aspect of the Moravian Church is the physical design of its settlements, a design that the denomination developed between 1740 and 1830 and systematically adapted to its needs. The town plans and buildings of the most consistent and complete settlements represented interpretations of contemporary town planning ideals, though in a manner typical of the Moravian Church. The best preserved of these today bear exceptional witness to the Moravian philosophy and way of life as well as to the denomination's skilled architecture and workmanship. We thus feel that the most typical settlements have the potential to satisfy UNESCO's criteria (iii) and (iv).

(iii): bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.
(iv): be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.

Applied to the Moravian settlements, this can be formulated as:
(iii): Moravian settlements bear exceptional witness to Moravian traditions, and the settlements are tangibly associated with the Moravian ideas and beliefs.
(iv): Moravian settlements are outstanding examples of a type of building, an architectural ensemble, that illustrates a significant stage in human history.

The first task of the comparative analysis has thus been to determine the one or more Moravian settlements that originally possessed the most typical and complete physical design.

The other task has been to determine the one or more Moravian settlements that are in the best original condition and thus today bear best witness to the Moravian settlements.

Primary criteria for selection
The Moravian Church established itself in a variety of countries worldwide, and the recorded settlements number in the hundreds. From a theological perspective, we can divide the settlements into four types:

1. Herrnhut town or colony, where both religious and secular life were controlled by the Moravian Church

2. Mission station, with elements of Herrnhut architecture, in places such as South Africa, Tanzania, Nicaragua, the Danish West Indies, and Labrador.

3. Congregations lacking any special constructions besides the church, the vicarage, and perhaps one or more institutions (hospital, school, etc.) but without any characteristic Herrnhut-inspired architecture.

4. Societies as we know them from Sweden, Estonia, and Lithuania and as were previously found elsewhere, for instance in Copenhagen.

As we have seen, the Moravian Church worked over the course of a number of generations on planning and developing its settlements so that they would be best adapted to the movement's faith, philosophy, and physical needs. It must therefore be assumed that these ideas were most thoroughly applied in those places in which the Moravian Church exercised control over both religious and secular life.

It is thus among these settlements that there is the greatest possibility of finding what can be termed the 'ideal Moravian settlement'. The comparative analysis therefore excludes mission stations and smaller settlements.

The primary criteria used to select settlements for inclusion in the comparative analysis are that all of them should be either 'settlement congregations' or 'place congregations'. This means that they need to have possessed an autonomous place or neighbourhood in which both religious and secular life were controlled by the Moravian Church. This ensures that all of the selected settlements have been planned and built by the Moravian Church to the greatest degree, with minimal external involvement.
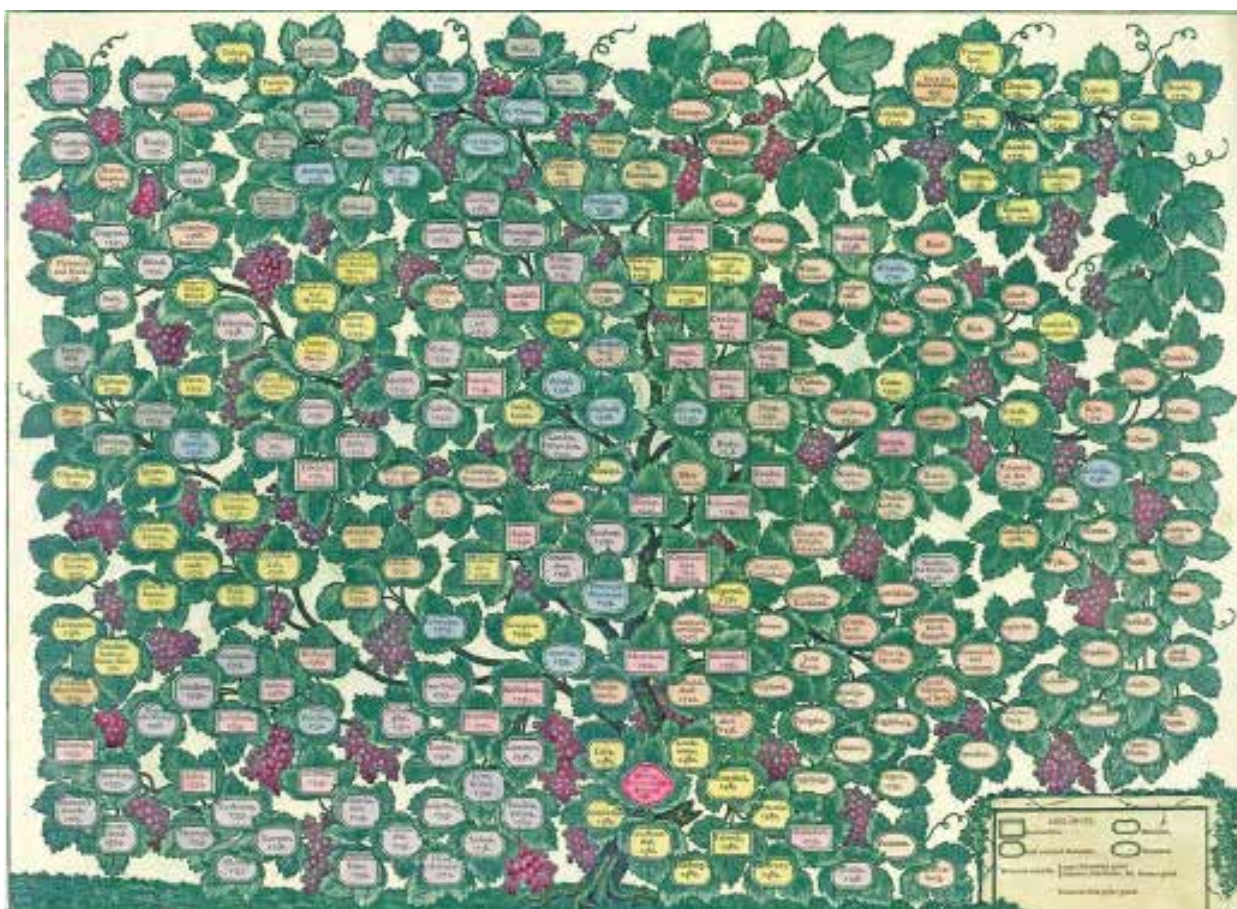
3.62 The Moravians themselves kept records of the chronology of important events in their early history by means of family trees. Based on earlier models, J. Swertner (1797) integrates the evolving structure of settlement congregations and missionary stations in this manner.

Our selection is identical with that described in 'Deutscher Historicher Atlas. nr.3' (Lafrenz 2009: 9 and 24.). Although this text mentions Elim, Gnadenthal, and Mamre as relatively large settlements, these are not described. The Moravian Church lacked the same degree of control over religious and secular life in these three South African settlements, which are thus defined as 'mission stations with elements of Herrnhut architecture'.

Selection of special criteria
The special criteria under Points A and B have been selected on the basis of what researchers today believe were the most important attributes of the Moravian Church's original settlements (Lafrenz 2009: 7-9 and s.24.). Our selection is also guided by an understanding that both the organisation and design of the settlements were conscious actions. Qualities such as order, symmetry, simplicity, and dichotomisation were important. As a result, the most important attributes also possess symbolic value and aesthetic qualities.

The criteria have been selected in such a manner as to permit their registration in as simple a means as possible, allowing one to count, for example, how many of the most important congregational functions a settlement possessed during the period in question and how many it possesses today. The aesthetic criteria are slightly less objectively determined, yet it is nevertheless possible to compare these in a scientific manner by studying old maps and images, visiting the settlements, etc.

The criteria under Point A concern the design of the settlements' town plans and the placement of important streets, squares, parks, and buildings in the town plan. The criteria under Point B concern the typical shared characteristics in the design of the most important buildings in the settlements.

The criteria under Point 3 concern the settlements as they are today, and the criteria under Point 4 concern future plans for the settlements.

The comparative analysis draws no conclusions concerning local characteristics of the architecture in each individual settlement or of the settlements' histories. These are themes that would be relevant to an application by an individual settlement to the WHL. Similarly, extra points are given to settlements that have possessed a congregation in an uninterrupted manner ever since their founding as this exerts a constant effect on trends in construction.

The Moravian settlements that could potentially satisfy UNESCO's primary criteria (iii) and (iv)
The following settlements are either 'settlement congregations' or 'place congregations':

> 1: Bethlehem, PA, USA
> 2: Betharbara, NC, USA
> 3: Bethania, NC, USA
> 4: Christiansfeld, Denmark
> 5: Ebersdorf, Germany
> 6: Fairfield, England

7: Fulneck, England
8: Gnadau, Germany
9: Gnadenberg, Poland
10: Gnadenfeld, Poland
11: Gnadenfrei, Poland
12: Grace Hill, Northern Ireland
13: Herrnhaag, Germany
14: Herrnhut, Germany
15: Hope, NJ, USA
16: Kleinwelka, Germany
17: Kønigsfeld, Germany
18: Lititz, PA, USA
19: Nazareth, PA, USA
20: Naudietendorf, Germany
21: Neusalz, Poland
22: Neuwled, Germany
23: Niesky, Germany
24: Ockbrook, England
25: Sarepta, Russia
26: Salem, NC, USA
27: Zeist, Netherlands.

One or more of these settlements has/have the greatest potential to satisfy UNESCO's criteria (iii) and (iv).

The comparative analysis will show which settlement or settlements hold such a status.

Special criteria for selection of the Moravian settlements to the World Heritage List

During the description of the towns that fulfil the primary criteria, it has be-come clear that it is possible to add more specific criteria to the final assessment. All of these are subordinate to the primary criteria (iii) and (iv).

A summary and explanation of the special criteria are presented below. Criteria 1A – 1N and 2A – 2D concern the original settlements. Criteria 3A – 3N concern authenticity and integrity. Criteria 4A – 4E concern protection and administration. Criterion (iii): Special criteria concerning selection of the original Moravian settlements (1740-1830)

The Moravian settlements' unique town plans and uniform collection of buildings are linked to the denomination's lifestyle, Christina faith, and ideas. The settlements are exceptional examples of the Moravian Church's efforts to build ideal settlements in the latter half of the 1700s.

Special criterion 1A:	The settlement's most central portion was originally planned and built in a strongly ordered orthogonal grid.	Yes: 10p. Partially: 5p. No: 0p
Special criterion 1B:	The settlement was originally planned and built with a central square with tangential streets.	Square with tangential streets: 10p. Square with both types: 5p. No square: 0p
Special criterion 1C:	The settlement should have possessed a Brothers' House, Sisters' House, and Widows' House at a relatively early stage.	Has had all three: 15p. Has had two of the three: 10p. Has had one of the three: 5p. Has not had any of the three: 0p
Special criterion 1D:	The settlement's Brothers' House and Sisters' House with Widows' House was originally laid out symmetrically on separate sides of the Hall.	Relatively symmetrical of separate sides of the Hall: 10p. Well separated: 5p. Uncertain relationship: 0p

Special criterion 1E:	The Hall's main facade was originally laid out in direct association with the central square and placed symmetrically in one of the square's primary axes.	Directly associated with the square in a primary axis: 10p. On the square but not in a primary axis: 5p. Uncertain association: 0p
Special criterion 1F:	God's Acre was laid out within the settlement's plan structure and placed 'behind' the Hall.	Within the plan structure and behind the Hall: 10p. Within the plan structure: 5p. Outside the plan structure: 0p
Special criterion 1G:	The settlement was planned and built with one or two pairs of parallel streets running through the centre of the town and touching the central square.	One or two pairs of parallel tangential streets: 5p. No such pairs of tangential streets: 0p
Special criterion 1H:	God's Acre was designed with a Sisters' side and a Brothers' side with uniform gravestones and preferably with rows of trees.	Sisters' side, Brothers' side, and uniform gravestones: 10p. Mixed Sisters and Brothers with uniform gravestones: 5p. None of the above: 0p
Special criterion 1I:	The central square was planned and built symmetrically and in a central position.	Symmetrical and central: 5p. Not symmetrical and central: 0p
Special criterion 1J:	The settlement possessed a Hotel/Guest House/Common House at a relatively early date.	Had Common House: 5p. No Common House: 0p
Special criterion 1K:	The settlement originally (prior to 1830) possessed a cohesive, open circle of construction around the central town space, constructed by the Moravians.	60-40 constructed properties: 15p. 40-20 constructed properties: 10p. Fewer than 20 constructed properties: 5p

Special criterion 1L:	The settlement was planned and built from the ground up, i.e. the grounds did not possess houses prior to the settlement's construction.	The grounds had no prior houses: 10p. The grounds had prior houses: 5p
Special criterion 1M:	The settlement had a school in the original period.	Had a Boys' School and a Girls' School or a Knabenanstalt and Mädchenanstalt: 10p. Had one school: 5p. Had no school: 0p
Special criterion 1N:	The settlement was originally set apart from its surrounding environment.	Clearly set apart: 10p. Not clearly set apart: 5p

Criterion (iv): Special criteria concerning the design of the original Moravian settlements (1740-1830)

The settlements' buildings are exceptional examples of a type of construction developed by the Moravian Church. The association between the buildings, their uniformity, and their planning and technical details represents an architectural expression of the denomination's traditions, Christian faith, and ideas as well as its skilled architecture and workmanship from 1750 to 1850.

Special criterion 2A:	The settlement consisted of one- and two-storey buildings with structured facades and simple exteriors with minimal decoration (civic Baroque/ Early Classicism).	A considerable majority: 10p. Around half: 5p. A small minority: 0p
Special criterion 2B:	The Hall was clearly distinguished and had spires.	The Hall was clearly distinguished and had spires: 10p. The Hall was clearly distinguished: 5p. The Hall was not clearly distinguished: 0p
Special criterion 2C:	The main hall in the Hall building had a communication board centrally placed on the wall on one of the lengths of the building.	Yes: 5p. No: 0p
Special criterion 2D:	The main hall in the Hall building had a light interior with minimal ornamentation.	Light interior with minimal ornamentation: 10p. Light interior: 5p. None of the above: 0p

Special criteria concerning authenticity and integrity.

Special criterion 3A:	The settlement's most central portion still has a strongly ordered orthogonal grid	Yes: 10p. Partially: 5p. No: 0p
Special criterion 3B:	The settlement's original central, symmetrical square still exists and has maintained its integrity.	Exists and is symmetrical and central: 10p. Exists but is not symmetrical and central: 5p. Does not exist: 0p. Exists with a high degree of authenticity (has maintained original central location): 15p
Special criterion 3C:	The settlement's original main streets running across the town still exist and have maintained their integrity.	All of the streets exist: 10p. Some of the streets exist: 5p. None of the streets exist: 0p. The streets exist and have maintained their status as streets running across the town: 15p
Special criterion 3D:	The settlement's original God's Acre still exists and has maintained its integrity.	Exists and has maintained its integrity: 10p. Exists but has not maintained its integrity: 5p. Does not exist: 0p. Exists with a high degree of authenticity: 15p

Special criterion 3E:	The settlement still has its original Guest House/ Common House and has maintained its integrity.	Exists and has maintained its integrity: 10p. Exists but has not maintained its integrity: 5p. Does not exist: 0p. Exists with a high degree of authenticity: 10p
Special criterion 3F:	The settlement's original cohesive, open circle of construction around the central town space still exists.	A considerable majority exists: 10p. A large portion exists: 5p. A small portion exists: 5p. Exists with a high degree of authenticity: 15p
Special criterion 3G:	The settlement is still clearly set apart from its surrounding environment.	Clearly set apart: 10p. Set apart: 5p. Blends in with its surroundings: 0p
Special criterion 3H:	The original Hall still exists and has maintained its integrity.	Exists and has maintained its integrity: 10p. Exists but has not maintained its integrity: 5p. Does not exist: 0p. Exists with a high degree of authenticity: 15p
Special criterion 3I:	The main hall in the Hall still has a light interior with minimal ornamentation and a communication board centrally placed on the wall on one of the lengths of the building.	Yes: 10p. No: 5p. Does not exist: 0p Exists with a high degree of authenticity: 15p
Special criterion 3J:	The settlement's original Brothers' House still exists and has maintained its integrity.	Exists and has maintained its integrity: 10p. Exists but has not maintained its integrity: 5p. Does not exist: 0p. Exists with a high degree of authenticity: 15p

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Special criterion 3K:	The settlement's original Sisters' hall still exists and has maintained its integrity.	Exists and has maintained its integrity: 10p. Exists but has not maintained its integrity: 5p. Does not exist: 0p. Exists with a high degree of authenticity: 15p
Special criterion 3L:	The settlement's original one- and two-storey buildings in the civic Baroque/Early Classicism style still exist and have maintained their integrity.	A considerable majority: 10p. Around half: 5p. A small minority: 0p. The mass of buildings have a high level of authenticity: 15p
Special criterion 3M:	Original workmanship still exists, and changes and repairs have largely been undertaken in accordance with the original principles.	Largely in accordance with the original principles: 10p. Partially in accordance with the original principles: 5p. Minimally in accordance with the original principles: 0p
Special criterion 3N:	The town has had a congregation continuously since its founding:	Yes: 5p. No: 0p.

Criteria concerning protection of the settlements

Special criterion 4A:	The settlement is not directly threatened with destruction.	Minimally threatened: 5p. Very threatened: 0p
Special criterion 4B:	The settlement's central communal buildings such as the Hall, the Brothers' House, the Sisters' House, and the Widows' House possess a kind of protected status.	Protected by national law: 10p. Protected by local law: 5p. Unprotected: 0p

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Special criterion 4C:	The settlement's circle of construction possesses a kind of protected status.	Protected by national law: 10p. Protected by local law: 5p. Unprotected: 0p
Special criterion 4D:	The settlement has an approved protection plan.	Approved protection plan: 10p. Protection plan under development: 5p. No protection plan: 0p
Special criterion 4E:	The settlement has an administration (either public or non-public but involving the participation of the Moravian Church) that is tasked with administering a protection plan.	Has such an administration: 10p. Has an administration without the participation of the Moravian Church: 5p. Has no such administration: 0p

The special criteria have been selected so that the settlement with the highest number of points will be that which is regarded as an ideal Moravian settlement. In addition, it is necessary for it to have largely maintained its authenticity and integrity and to be protected in the future.

Explanation of the criteria and rationale
The special criteria have been determined on the basis of research carried out in the area over the past decades. Some of the most important conclusions are presented by Jürgen Lafrenz. Furthermore, some criteria have been determined on the basis of descriptions, plans, and sketches that shed light on the settlements' histories and organisational structures during the period when they functioned best, namely at a time between 1750 and 1850. This material has been derived from 'Deutscher Historischer Städteatlas, no.3' and has been used with the permission of Jürgen Lafrenz.

The analysis has aimed to determine the best representation of the Moravian Church's fully developed (or most ideal) settlements. The period between 1750 and 1850 is most interesting in this context since, during this period, the Moravian Church controlled both religious and secular life in its most fully developed settlements. The period can thus be regarded as the relevant period for the present analysis.

Study of the available material from and concerning this period in the history of the Moravian Church has revealed many shared physical characteristics of the Moravian settlements. We know that these historical shared characteristics were the result of conscious efforts to build settlements that suited the Moravian Church's needs, an organic intertwined development of town planning/architecture, theology, and congregational structure. This first and foremost concerned the construction of

settlements that were physically practical and functional yet also fulfilled psychological /spiritual needs such as the denomination's faith and general way of life. The development also concerned building uniform and easily recognisable settlements. This allowed Moravians to feel at home in any of the settlements and made the settlements recognisable in foreign environments, an important advantage, for instance, in the Moravian Church's missionary work and its presence in areas with strong national churches (for instance, in the European context). These shared characteristics have thus been deemed important to the analysis' special criteria.

Nearly all of the historical criteria have been derived from the ideal outdoor spaces, buildings, and building functions for the original settlement's ability to function as a fully developed and autonomous unit. The far most important buildings were the Hall (the church), the Brothers' House, the Sisters' House, and the Hotel (Common House) while the most important outdoor spaces were the central square and God's Acre. The mere presence of these functions was not, however, sufficient. They also needed to be designed and placed in association with one another and in such a way as to fit within the Moravian Church's Christian values and practices.

Our task was to determine which physical elements are most characteristic of the Moravian settlements. It was thus natural to first investigate which elements occur most frequently in the original settlements. This is, however, insufficient when it comes to the Moravian settlements, for it was also necessary to investigate whether some settlements are closer than others to a relevant ideal.

We can be fairly certain that the Moravian Church possessed certain ideals regarding how their settlements should be structured. For example, designs of ideal town plans were widely available when the Moravian Church developed its characteristic settlements. In the article by Jürgen Lafrenz, he discussed whether the denomination may have had an 'ideal plan' of this kind in mind as a model. He makes special note of designs that could have been of significance: Zinzendorf's 'Unitas' model for a round settlement in Wachovia and Levitene's ideal town, which Reuter has sketched out on the basis of written texts. It is likely that these ideals influenced the Moravian settlements, yet there were numerous other role models available as well, such as Utopian towns like Andreae's 'Christianopolis' and more general contemporary town planning principles.

At the same time, it could be argued that the eventual design was somewhat arbitrary. For instance, decisions of such importance as selection of a town planning principle were sometimes made by the drawing of lots, which the Moravian Church believed could reveal God's will. The drawing of lots was used in cases where, even after considerable discussion, a number of alternatives were regarded as being of equal worth. This makes it impossible to claim that only one type of plan is correct although one could say that one type of plan may be slightly more correct than another. The analysis has taken this into account.

The criteria for the portion of the analysis concerning authenticity and integrity have been chosen on the basis of the historical criteria. There are, however, a number of reasons why we have not demanded that the Widows' House and School still exist. It

is believed that these elements were originally of rather less importance to the town plan as a whole and its organisation than were the most important buildings, and many of the most important settlements lacked either one or both of these buildings in the original period. Initial inclusion of these elements had some negative results under Point 3, with some settlements being saddled with minus points that they did not deserve. Both the Widows' House and the School are included under Point 1 since they nevertheless testify to the completeness of the settlement during the period in question. Ebersdorf nevertheless suffers from a corresponding problem under 3E, but since this represents the only case of this kind, we have solved the problem by granting the settlement 10 extra points.

The concept of authenticity is primarily interpreted in terms of how much original material is still present in the settlement while integrity is more closely related to how similar today's settlement is to the original in terms of its appearance and contents. Since authenticity is a relative concept, however, it has sometimes been difficult to differentiate between these two concepts in relation to the settlement as a whole. We have thus deemed it authentic when an original building continues to exist with its main construction elements intact. In other words, we have not sought to go into detail as to whether, for example, the windows and the doors are constructed from authentic materials. Copies of original buildings are not regarded as authentic, but we have allowed these to influence the settlement's score for integrity. Integrity is thus understood as the correlation between the set-tlement's present-day form and the settlement's original contents. In other words, the demand for use of original materials is not strong.

The final criteria concern future protection of the settlement. Here, we have demanded that the most important attributes either have or plan to have a kind of protection and that the settlement should not be directly threatened with destruction.

Evaluation diagram 1: Criteria (iii) and (iv) – Special criteria 1A – 1N Design of plans and buildings of the original Moravian settlements

MORAVIAN SETTLEMENTS

Founded	Specific		1A	1B	1C	1D	1E	1F	1G
1742	Bethlehem	PA, USA	0	0	15	10	0	5	0
1753	Betharbara	NC,USA	0	5	5	0	5	0	0
1759	Bethania	NC, USA	10	5	0	0	5	5	0
1773	Christiansfeld	Denmark	10	10	15	10	10	5	5
1746	Ebersdorf	Germany	5	10	15	10	5	0	5
1785	Fairfield	England	5	0	10	10	0	5	0
1744	Fulneck	England	5	5	15	10	0	5	0
1767	Gnadau	Germany	10	10	10	10	10	10	5
1743	Gnadenberg	Poland	10	10	15	10	10	5	5
1780	Gnadenfeld	Poland	10	10	15	10	10	10	5
1743	Gnadenfrei	Poland	10	10	15	10	10	5	5
1765	Gracehill	N. Ireland	10	10	15	10	10	10	5
1738	Herrnhaag	Germany	10	10	15	10	5	5	5
1722	Herrnhut	Germany	0	5	15	0	5	0	0
1769	Hope	NJ, USA	5	10	5	0	5	5	0
1751	Kleinwelka	Germany	0	10	10	10	10	0	5
1807	Königsfeld	Germany	10	10	15	10	10	0	5
1757	Lititz	PA, USA	10	10	10	10	10	10	5
1744/71	Nazareth	PA, USA	10	5	10	0	5	5	0
1742/53	Neudietendorf	Germany	5	5	10	10	10	0	5
1745	Neusalz	Poland	10	0	15	10	0	10	0
1750/58	Neuwied	Germany	0	5	15	10	0	0	0
1742	Niesky	Germany	10	5	10	10	10	5	5
1750	Ockbrook	England	0	0	10	5	0	5	0
1755/65	Sarepta	Russia	10	5	15	10	10	10	5
1771	Salem	NC, USA	10	10	10	10	5	5	5
1746	Zeist	Holland	10	0	15	10	0	5	0

MORAVIAN SETTLEMENTS

Founded	Specific		1I	1J	1K	1L	1M	1N	total (iii)(iv)
1742	Bethlehem	PA, USA	0	5	10	10	5	10	80
1753	Betharbara	NC,USA	0	5	5	10	0	5	40
1759	Bethania	NC, USA	0	0	5	10	10	10	70
1773	Christiansfeld	Denmark	5	5	15	10	10	10	130
1746	Ebersdorf	Germany	5	0	10	10	10	10	105
1785	Fairfield	England	0	5	15	10	10	10	90
1744	Fulneck	England	0	5	10	10	10	10	90
1767	Gnadau	Germany	5	5	5	10	5	10	115
1743	Gnadenberg	Poland	5	5	10	10	5	10	110
1780	Gnadenfeld	Poland	5	5	10	10	10	10	120
1743	Gnadenfrei	Poland	5	5	15	10	0	10	110
1765	Gracehill	N. Ireland	5	5	10	10	0	10	120
1738	Herrnhaag	Germany	5	5	5	10	0	10	95
1722	Herrnhut	Germany	0	5	15	10	10	10	85
1769	Hope	NJ, USA	0	0	10	10	5	10	75
1751	Kleinwelka	Germany	0	5	10	5	10	5	85
1807	Königsfeld	Germany	5	5	10	10	5	10	115
1757	Lititz	PA, USA	0	5	15	10	0	5	110
1744/71	Nazareth	PA, USA	5	5	10	10	0	10	85
1742/53	Neudietendorf	Germany	5	5	10	10	0	10	95
1745	Neusalz	Poland	0	5	5	10	0	5	70
1750/58	Neuwied	Germany	0	5	5	5	5	5	65
1742	Niesky	Germany	5	5	15	10	5	10	115
1750	Ockbrook	England	0	5	5	5	5	5	50
1755/65	Sarepta	Russia	5	5	15	10	5	10	115
1771	Salem	NC, USA	0	5	15	10	10	10	115
1746	Zeist	Holland	0	0	5	5	0	5	60

Evaluation diagram 2: Criteria (iii) and (iv) – Special criteria 2A – 2D.
Design of plans and buildings of the original Moravian settlements

MORAVIAN SETTLEMENTS

Founded	Specific		2A	2B	2C	2D	Subtotal (iii)(iv)	Subtotal Historic
1742	Bethlehem	PA, USA	10	10	5	10	35	115
1753	Betharbara	NC,USA	5	5	5	10	25	65
1759	Bethania	NC, USA	10	10	5	10	35	105
1773	Christiansfeld	Denmark	10	10	5	10	35	165
1746	Ebersdorf	Germany	10	10	5	10	35	140
1785	Fairfield	England	10	10	5	10	35	125
1744	Fulneck	England	10	10	5	5	30	120
1767	Gnadau	Germany	10	10	5	10	35	150
1743	Gnadenberg	Poland	10	10	5	10	35	145
1780	Gnadenfeld	Poland	10	10	5	10	35	155
1743	Gnadenfrei	Poland	10	10	5	10	35	145
1765	Gracehill	N. Ireland	10	10	5	5	30	150
1738	Herrnhaag	Germany	10	10	5	10	35	130
1722	Herrnhut	Germany	10	10	5	10	35	120
1769	Hope	NJ, USA	10	5	5	10	30	105
1751	Kleinwelka	Germany	10	10	5	10	35	120
1807	Königsfeld	Germany	10	10	5	10	35	150
1757	Lititz	PA, USA	10	10	5	10	35	145
1744/71	Nazareth	PA, USA	10	5	5	10	30	115
1742/53	Neudietendorf	Germany	10	10	5	10	35	130
1745	Neusalz	Poland	10	10	5	10	35	105
1750/58	Neuwied	Germany	10	10	5	10	35	100
1742	Niesky	Germany	10	10	5	10	35	150
1750	Ockbrook	England	5	10	5	5	25	75
1755/65	Sarepta	Russia	10	10	5	10	35	150
1771	Salem	NC, USA	10	10	5	5	30	145
1746	Zeist	Holland	10	5	5	10	30	90

MORAVIAN SETTLEMENTS

Founded	Specific		3A	3B	3C	3D	3E	3F	3G
1742	Bethlehem	PA, USA							
1753	Betharbara	NC,USA							
1759	Bethania	NC, USA							
1773	Christiansfeld	Denmark	10	15	15	15	10	10	5
1746	Ebersdorf	Germany	5	5	15	15	10	10	5
1785	Fairfield	England							
1744	Fulneck	England							
1767	Gnadau	Germany	10	15	15	15	0	10	5
1743	Gnadenberg	Poland 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1780	Gnadenfeld	Poland 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1743	Gnadenfrei	Poland 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1765	Gracehill	N. Ireland	10	15	15	15	0	10	5
1738	Herrnhaag	Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1722	Herrnhut	Germany							
1769	Hope	NJ, USA							
1751	Kleinwelka	Germany							
1807	Königsfeld	Germany	10	15	15	10	0	10	5
1757	Lititz	PA, USA	10	10	15	10	10	10	5
1744/71	Nazareth	PA, USA							
1742/53	Neudietendorf	Germany	5	0	5	10	0	5	5
1745	Neusalz	Poland							
1750/58	Neuwied	Germany							
1742	Niesky	Germany	5	10	15	15	0	5	5
1750	Ockbrook	England							
1755/65	Sarepta	Russia 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1771	Salem	NC, USA	10	10	15	15	0	10	5
1746	Zeist	Holland							

Evaluation diagram 4: Special criteria 3H – 3N
Authenticity and integrity

MORAVIAN SETTLEMENTS

Specific		3H	3I	3J	3K	3L	3M	3N	total int/aut. Today	total Int/aut. Historic
Bethlehem	PA, USA									
Betharbara	NC,USA									
Bethania	NC, USA									
Christiansfeld	Denmark	15	15	5	15	15	10	5	160	325
Ebersdorf	Germany	15	15	5	5	10	10	5	130	270
Fairfield	England									
Fulneck	England									
Gnadau	Germany	15	15	5	5	10	10	5	135	285
Gnadenberg	Poland 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	145
Gnadenfeld	Poland 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	155
Gnadenfrei	Poland 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	145
Gracehill	N. Ireland	10	5	5	0	15	10	5	120	270
Herrnhaag	Germany	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	135
Herrnhut	Germany									
Hope	NJ, USA									
Kleinwelka	Germany									
Königsfeld	Germany	15	15	0	10	10	5	5	125	275
Lititz	PA, USA	10	10	5	10	10	10	5	130	275
Nazareth	PA, USA									
Neudietendorf	Germany	15	15	5	5	5	10	5	90	220
Neusalz	Poland									
Neuwied	Germany									
Niesky	Germany	0	0	5	10	5	5	5	85	235
Ockbrook	England									
Sarepta	Russia 0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	5	155
Salem	NC, USA	10	5	5	10	15	10	5	125	270
Zeist	Holland									

Evaluation diagram 5: Special criteria 4A – 4E
Future protection and administration
Totals and ranking

MORAVIAN SETTLEMENTS

Specific		4A	4b	4c	4D	4E	Subtotal Protect. Future	SUM Total	RATING
Bethlehem	PA, USA								
Betharbara	NC,USA								
Bethania	NC, USA								
Christiansfeld	Denmark	5	10	5	10	10	40	365	ONE
Ebersdorf	Germany	5	10	10	10	10	45	315	FOUR
Fairfield	England								
Fulneck	England								
Gnadau	Germany	5	10	10	10	10	45	330	TWO
Gnadenberg	Poland								
Gnadenfeld	Poland								
Gnadenfrei	Poland								
Gracehill	N. Ireland	5	10	10	10	10	45	315	FOUR
Herrnhaag	Germany								
Herrnhut	Germany								
Hope	NJ, USA								
Kleinwelka	Germany								
Königsfeld	Germany	5	10	5	10	10	40	315	FOUR
Lititz	PA, USA	5	10	10	10	10	45	320	THREE
Nazareth	PA, USA								
Neudietendorf	Germany								
Neusalz	Poland								
Neuwied	Germany								
Niesky	Germany								
Ockbrook	England								
Sarepta	Russia								
Salem	NC, USA	5	10	10	10	10	45	315	FOUR
Zeist	Holland								

Explanation of evaluation diagram and weighting
The evaluation diagram is divided into a historical part and a present-day part, both of which are closely associated with one another. The division of the primary criteria is constructed in accordance with UNESCOs criteria (iii) and (iv), as shown in the headings.

The first part of the evaluation diagram concerns the historic aspects. It sets out the settlements' original qualities, how typical and how close to the Moravian ideal the settlements were during their periods as autonomous units between 1740 and 1850. This allows us to add up points from the relevant period and to eliminate settlements with uncertain or missing attributes. It turned out that around half of the settlements possessed relatively great potential to tell the story of the ideally designed Moravian settlement, and it is these settlements that proceed to the next stage following the historical evaluation.

The second part of the evaluation diagram concerns the situation today and the concepts of authenticity and integrity. Here, the question was one of how much remains of the original settlements, how similar to the original settlements they appear, how many original buildings are still present, and how much original material still exists. The demand for material authenticity had consequences for those settlements that had produced copies of buildings that no longer existed. The third part of the evaluation diagram concerns future prospects and protection. It turned out that the settlements that made it into this portion of the analysis all possessed some form of protection and that none of them were directly threatened with destruction. As a result, the final part of the analysis produced little change, and all of the settlements in question scored highly.

Problems involved in this kind of comparison
It is, of course, impossible to absolutely rank settlements in terms of which is 'best'. The awarding of points is dependent on human judgment, making precise results impossible, and the results are furthermore dependent on the way in which the analysis has been constructed.

For instance, it is problematic to add up points and then eliminate settlements following the historical part of the analysis alone. This risks eliminating settlements with a high degree of authenticity and integrity as well as excellent plans for future protection. We nevertheless chose to do this since the primary aim of the analysis was to identify that settlement which best represents the ideal Moravian settlement from the period in question. Because of this, we ensured that all of the remaining settlements possessed a sufficient number of the typical original attributes.

The next question was whether any of these would score highly on the demands for authenticity and integrity. We were, of course, presented with the risk of none of the remaining settlements doing so while some of those settlements that we had eliminated could have fulfilled these requirements. This, however, was a risk we had to take. We felt that only settlements that scored highly on both the historical demands and the demands for authenticity and integrity would be sufficiently exceptional and unique to be added to the WHL.

The elimination of settlements following evaluation of their authenticity and integrity follows the same logic. Here, the eliminations were designed to ensure that the remaining settlements were what they claimed to be or, in some cases, that they existed at all. This could, obviously, have resulted in an important settlement being eliminated on very marginal grounds and not having the opportunity of staying in until the very end. It nevertheless turned out to be relatively easy to differentiate between the final settlement that was included for further analysis and the first settlement that was eliminated. It would have been impossible for this settlement to have received the highest points total in the final analysis, and it would even have been highly unlikely for this settlement to have overtaken any of the remaining settlements in terms of points. This would have required these other settlements to score fewer than 10 points on the criteria for protection, which none of the remaining settlements ended up doing.

It is impossible to be entirely equitable when it comes to awarding points in this manner. Not everything is directly measurable, and it is sometimes necessary to use one's judgment. We have thus striven to make the criteria as replicable as possible. We initially tried to carry out the analysis using just two point levels (0p and 5p), corresponding to 'No' and 'Yes', but this proved insufficient and problematic for many of the criteria. As a result, most of the special criteria have three point levels (0p, 5p, and 10p). Only a few have two point levels, and a few more have four point levels. The results of the analysis are dependent on how many points are awarded under each criterion. Some criteria are presumably more important than others and could justifiably have resulted in the awarding of a greater number of points. We nevertheless found it best in principle not to do this inasmuch as it would have led us into a less transparent and less replicable situation.

We have thus generally sought to keep 10 points as the highest score for each of the special criteria. We have, however, awarded 15 points for a few of the most important question variants, though we have retained a distance of just 5 points to the next-highest level so that the possible points awarded for these criteria consist of 0p, 5p, 10p, and 15p.

We have sought to be consistent in our awarding of points. Where we have disagreed with one another or been uncertain, we have erred on the side of awarding more points rather than less, and where we have lacked significant information, we have consistently awarded the maximum number of points. These latter fields are marked with brown writing on a light blue background in the diagram. This is obviously not ideal and could easily be criticised. It could, for example, mean that less relevant settlements remained in the analysis until the very end. We nevertheless regarded this as better than allowing the potential elimination of a settlement that ought to have gone further in the analysis.

Summary and conclusion
We have now completed a comparative analysis of the Moravian settlements. The analysis has aimed to identify which settlement is best suited to represent the Moravian settlements in the future on account of its town plan and architecture as well as its potential as a World Heritage Site (WHS). Hundreds of settlements of various sizes have been assessed, but only 27 of these fulfilled the primary criteria.

The Moravian Church worked over the course of a number of generations on planning and developing its settlements so that they would be best adapted to the movement's faith, philosophy, and physical needs. These ideas were most thoroughly applied in those places in which the Moravian Church exercised control over both religious and secular life. It was thus among these settlements that we needed to look when seeking the 'ideal Moravian settlement'. The comparative analysis therefore excludes mission stations and smaller settlements, and all of the analysed settlements are either 'settlement congregations' or large 'place congregations'. This means that, during the period in question, these settlements acted as self-sustaining towns or neighbourhoods in which both religious and secular life were controlled by the Moravian Church. The settlements in the analysis are identical to the selection published in 'Deutscher Historischer Städteatlas. no.3'.

The special criteria designed to show which of the 27 settlements could best represent the Moravian settlements in the future were determined on the basis of research in the area. Various researchers have written about the Moravian settlements and highlighted a range of typical physical characteristics, making it possible for us to speak of the 'ideal Moravian settlement'. Our special historical criteria (1A-2D) took their point of departure in the number of shared characteristics the settlement possessed in the period in question between 1750 and 1850. The next criteria (3A-3N) concerned authenticity and integrity as well as how many of the physical characteristics still exist. The final criteria (4A-4E) concerned the administration of the valuable buildings and town plans.

The historical part aimed primarily to show us how typical or ideal the settlement was in the period in question from the mid-18th Century to the mid-19th Century. The comparison was mainly carried out by studying plans and descriptions in 'Deutscher Historischer Städteatlas, no.3'.

The analysis shows that *Christiansfeld* scores highest on the historical criteria, receiving 165 points. Next best is Gnadenfeld with 155p; then Gnadau, Gracehill, Königsfeld, Niesky, and Sarepta with 150p; Gnadenberg, Gnadenfrei, Litiz, and Salem with 145p; Ebersdorf with 140p; and Herrnhaag and Neudietendorf with 130p. It was possible to achieve a maximum of 170 points in the historical part, and all of the 14 settlements above possessed at least three-quarters of the typical physical characteristics that we today associate with Moravian settlements. As a result, these settlements were brought forward to the next stage of the analysis.

The Moravian towns are relatively new as far as towns are concerned, and most of them still exist as more or less recognisable physical structures. In other words, we are not discussing ruins or archaeological objects. As a result, we placed relatively stringent requirements as to how many of the original structures still needed to exist in each settlement.

Christiansfeld scores highest here too, receiving all 160 points. It is followed by Gnadau with 135p; Ebersdorf and Lititz with 130p; Königsfeld and Salem with 125p; and Grace Hill with 120p. All seven of these settlements are thus still relatively intact, but for various reasons, they do not all receive the same number of points.

One reason why *Christiansfeld* scores so highly here is that the settlement has not been subjected to destructive acts of war. In addition, it is located in the countryside and has witnessed minimal expansion. As such, it has maintained its integrity and its original buildings to an exceptional degree.

Gnadau loses points primarily because the original Common House/Gemeinlogis no longer exists and because the original Sisters' House has not maintained its integrity. Ebersdorf loses points because its grid system has been only partially preserved and because the central square has changed while the original Sisters' house has not maintained its integrity. Niesky was partially destroyed during World War II and has been partially reconstructed. Königsfeld loses points primarily because its original Common House/Gemeinlogis and original Brothers' House no longer exist. In Salem's case, one-third of the original buildings have disappeared, including the original Common House/Gemeinlogis. In addition, the interior design of the Hall is atypical. Salem nevertheless received points for integrity since many buildings were reconstructed following 1945. Gracehill has been exceptionally well protected, yet the settlement lacks its original Common House/Gemeinlogis and original Sisters' House. In addition, the interior design of the Hall is atypical.

From here, there is a relatively large drop to the next best settlements, which are Neudietendorf and Niesky, with 90p and 85p respectively. As a result, these were not included in the next stage of the evaluation.

For various reasons, Gnadenberg, Gnadenfeld, Gnadenfrei, Herrnhaag, and Sarepta receive very few points under Point 3. Herrnhaag was abandoned already in 1843 and fell into ruin. Gnadenberg and Gnadenfrei were destroyed during World War II, and Gnadenfrei was weakened after the Hall burned down in 1946. Sarepta was substantially damaged by urban development in the 1980s.

Information on the settlements can be found in the descriptions of the settlements and elsewhere.

Interest in preserving the unique material settlements created by the Moravian Church from the mid-18th Century to the mid-19th Century has existed and grown steadily over the course of the past 50 years. The vast majority of the Moravian Church's most important settlements thus benefit today from some form of protection. Some are under the care of enthusiasts and activists, usually with public funding, while others possess formal legal protection by either local authorities or national heritage protection bodies. This is largely the case for all seven of the settlements that made it all the way to the final stage of the comparative analysis. As a result, this part of the analysis did little to differentiate the settlements, and this part of the evaluation does not require extensive comment.

The final result of the comparative analysis takes the form of the sum of all of the sub-totals discussed above. Here, *Christiansfeld* scores highest with 365 points. It is followed by Gnadau with 330p; Lititz with 320p; and Ebersdorf, Gracehill, Königsfeld, and Salem with 315p.

The comparative analysis thus demonstrates that, on account of its design and state of preservation, *Christiansfeld* is the settlement best suited to represent the Moravian settlements in the future. The settlement differs from the other settlements in the exceptionally ideal manner in which it was planned and built, in the exceptional extent to which its typical characteristics have been preserved, and in its possession of all of the original buildings from the period in question. In addition, *Christiansfeld* possess a relatively large number of buildings, something that, when combined with the settlement's location on a hill in a relatively flat and open landscape, allows the town to still be experienced as the enclave for which it was originally designed.

The town plan's astronomical orientation and the extremely systematic division in the Hamborgalen are very interesting. These phenomena prompt wonder and awe, causing many visitors to *Christiansfeld* to think back to Zinzendorf's mysticism.

Christiansfeld today is thus a unique material urban environment in which the force of the Moravian Church's thoughts, ideas, and actions continues to be sensed through the town's layout, streets, squares, and individual buildings. We thus feel that the settlement satisfies UNESCO's criteria (iii) and (iv).

Why Not a Transnational Serial Nomination?

This nomination has a long history. Following *Christiansfeld's* inclusion on Denmark's tentative list in 1993, work began to explore the possibility of a transnational nomination to UNESCO's World Heritage List covering multiple of the 27 Moravian settlements.

The Christiansfeld Initiative (Christiansfeld Partnership) was established in 2000 as a result of the efforts by the local municipality in partnership with the community and other interested parties, including academics, historians, and architects. Funding was obtained for conserving the important historic buildings in the Moravian towns worldwide. As a result, a number of Moravian towns joined together as the Moravian Heritage Network. This came to consist of six towns following a conference in 2002 at which participants decided that the Moravian towns in the network possessed a shared character inasmuch as the network was for towns "that resemble one another in expression despite local differences and traditions, that appear as though they were built today." The network consisted of Gracehill, Northern Ireland; Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, USA; Elim, Cape Province, South Africa; Herrnhut, Germany; Zeist, Netherlands; and *Christiansfeld*, Denmark. The network's overarching purpose was to get the member towns in-scribed onto UNESCO's World Heritage List. A total of four conferences were held between 2002 and 2007.

A document from the World Heritage Committee meeting in Quebec City, Canada on 2-10 July 2008[46] describes how the Moravian Heritage Network, which crosses national and continental borders, is considering positioning the network's towns for a collective nomination for inscription onto UNESCO's World Heritage List.

Actual work within the network had, however, ceased already in 2007. At the fourth Moravian Heritage Network conference, held on 6-10 October 2007, the feeling among the towns was that:

- "Christiansfeld is ready to apply for UNESCO
- Gracehill has a long way to go, being one of many interesting cities in UK
- Bethlehem has applied for the USA tentative list and they are waiting for an answer
- Elim did not find a place on the South African List in 2005 and they have to wait for some years to get a new chance
- Zeist has to wait at least until 2009 because the Dutch tentative list is closed
- Herrnhut has not started the process."

Kolding Municipality is aware that numerous towns have worked for inclusion on the World Heritage List. The mission station of Elim and the town of Gracehill have since worked in the Moravian Heritage Network to be included on the tentative lists. The Moravian Church reverend in *Christiansfeld*, Jørgen Bøytler, has received letters from

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46 Word Heritage 32 COM, WHC -08/32.COM/10B, Paris, 22 May 2008.

the reverend in Gnadau stating that they lack both national and political support for working toward a nomination for the World Heritage List. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania is on the USA's list for potential future inclusion on the country's tentative list.

Even now (December 2013), *Christiansfeld* is the only Moravian town included on UNESCO's tentative list, and none of the 26 other Moravian towns are included on their respective states' tentative lists. The collaboration between the towns in the Moravian Heritage Network ceased in 2007-08, and the situation is thus much as it was at the conference in Gracehill in 2007. As a result, the foundations for a transcontinental nomination are currently lacking.

Following advice from the Danish Agency of Culture, the Christiansfeld Centre has, with the assistance of the research group, prepared a document setting forth *Christiansfeld's* outstanding universal values and a comparative analysis.

The result of the comparative analysis is that *Christiansfeld*, relative to the other Moravian towns within the comparative analysis' categories and specific sub-categories, proves to be the most representative example of an ideal city. *Christiansfeld's* architecture, town plan, and culture prove to be quite unique during a significant period of the Moravian Church's history. It is our assessment that *Christiansfeld* possesses outstanding universal values as well as a status and conservational quality that make it worthy of inclusion on UNESCO's World Heritage List.

City of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
Historical Architectural Review Board

BETHLEHEM HISTORIC DISTRICT DESIGN GUIDELINES

The Central Bethlehem Historic District features a unique rich variety of historic buildings that includes commercial, residential and institutional properties.

CENTRAL BETHLEHEM HISTORIC DISTRICT

The Central Bethlehem Historic District is located on the north side of the city, roughly bound by New Street, First Avenue, the Lehigh River, Broad Street and Walnut Street. It encompasses many of the City's oldest remaining buildings associated with the Moravian settlement, the shops and businesses along Main Street, as well as the surrounding residential neighborhood. The District has a unique historic character making it a highly desirable area to live, work and visit.

These *Guidelines* were developed in conjunction with the Historical Architectural Review Board (HARB). The HARB reviews Certificate of Appropriateness (COA) applications for proposed exterior alterations to properties within the Central Bethlehem Historic District that are visible from a public way. The applicant is responsible for complying with the provisions of the Zoning and Building Codes at the time of application. The applicant must obtain a COA as well as all necessary permits prior to proceeding with any work. For more information, to clarify whether a proposed project requires HARB review, or to obtain applications, please call the **Bureau of Code Enforcement at City Hall at (610) 865-7091.**

Additional *Guidelines* addressing other historic building topics are available at City Hall and on the City's website at www.bethlehem-pa.gov. Please review this information during the early stages of planning your project. Familiarity with this material can assist in moving a project quickly through the approval process, saving applicants both time and money.

IMPORTANCE OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

The City of Bethlehem recognizes that the character and quality of life enjoyed by its citizens depend in great measure upon the City's rich architectural heritage and the important landscapes in our community. The City and the Historical Architectural Review Board (HARB) work together to ensure our historical, cultural, archeological, social and economic heritage, entrusted to each generation, is enriched and passed on to future generations.

To assist that property owners within the Central Bethlehem Historic District who are considering repair, alteration, rehabilitation or demolition of an existing building or structure in the understanding of the HARB review process, the City has developed these *Design Guidelines*. These *Guidelines* are not intended to replace consultation with qualified architects, contractors, the HARB or City Staff.

BENEFITS OF LOCAL HISTORIC DESIGNATION

The local designation of historic districts and individual properties has been found to:

- Increase neighborhood stability and property values
- Preserve the physical history of the area
- Promote an appreciation of the physical environment
- Foster community pride and self-image by creating a unique sense of place an local identity
- Increase the awareness and appreciation of local history
- Increase tourism
- Attract potential customers to businesses

HISTORIC DISTRICTS

A historic district is an area, delineated by a boundary, which includes resources such as buildings, structures, objects or sites, whose distinctive character conveys a unique architectural and cultural heritage. Since the enactment of the State of Pennsylvania's Historic District Act 167 in 1961, many municipalities have passed local historic district ordinances. In 1961, the City of Bethlehem enacted Ordinance No. 1728 creating the Bethlehem Historic District and establishing the Historical Architectural Review Board (HARB) to preserve for future generations significant buildings and structures reflective of Bethlehem's historic development and architectural styles. The unique quality of the architectural heritage of the Central Bethlehem Historic District was further recognized in 1972 with its inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, with the District boundaries being expanded in 1988.

HISTORICAL ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW BOARD

The Bethlehem Historical Architectural Review Board (HARB) has the responsibility to implement the City's historic preservation regulations and activities as related to the Central Bethlehem Historic District.

The HARB includes nine volunteer members, appointed by the City Council, who are City residents and serve in five-year overlapping terms. HARB's members include a registered architect, a licensed real estate broker, the City Building Inspector, and six additional members with a knowledge of historical or architectural development and a deep concern regarding the preservation, development and enhancement of historic resources within the district. In addition, at least three HARB members reside within the Historic District.

HARB'S RESPONSIBILITIES

The principal role of the HARB is to review and provide a recommendation to City Council regarding any erection, alteration, demolition, relocation, adaptive use or new construction project within the bounds of the Central Bethlehem Historic District that is visible from a public street or public right-of-way based on the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation.*

The HARB also promotes and provides advice regarding historic preservation activities in the City by recommending the documentation of historic buildings and sites and providing recommendations regarding local and National Register nominations. In addition, the HARB assists groups and individuals interested in historic preservation, undertakes preservation education programs and provides recommendations for the preservation and rehabilitation of individual historic buildings.

HARB's responsibility includes the review of historic marker locations on buildings that indicate the date of construction. Details about the program can be found on the city website, www.bethlehem-pa.gov.

HARB REVIEW REQUIREMENTS

HARB review includes the general design, arrangement, texture, permanent color and materials of proposed work in relation to similar features at the exterior of properties within the Central Bethlehem Historic District's period of significance. The HARB considers the effect of the proposed change upon the general historic and architectural nature of the Historic District. Some items that are reviewed by the HARB include:

- **Exterior Building Envelope:** Including roofs, walls, foundations, windows, doors, cornices, trim, porches, decks, painting, sandblasting
- **Site Features:** Including walls, fences, arbors, paving
- **Secondary Buildings:** Including garages, sheds
- **Business Storefronts:** Including signs, awnings

HARB review is required for some work that does not otherwise require a building permit. Please contact the Bureau of Code Enforcement at (610) 865-7091 to determine if proposed work is subject to HARB review.

CRITERIA FOR HARB DECISIONS

When reviewing a proposed project, the HARB's review is guided by principles contained in *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, and more specifically, *The Standards for Rehabilitation*. *The Standards for Rehabilitation* provide property owners and tenants common-sense guidelines to allow sensitive contemporary uses for their sites while retaining their architectural and cultural heritage. In reviewing projects, the HARB encourages sensitive rehabilitation involving the least amount of intervention or change, as identified in the following guidelines:

- **Identify, retain and preserve** the overall form, materials and details that are important in defining the architectural and historical character of the building and site.
- **Protect and maintain** historic materials and features. This involves protection from other work that may occur in proximity to the historic materials, and also protection through regular maintenance. A regular program of protection and maintenance usually involves the least degree of intervention, and can prevent or postpone extensive and costly work.
- **Repair** rather than replace deteriorated historic materials and features. Repairs maintain the building in its current condition while making it weather-resistant and structurally sound. Repairs should involve the least intervention possible, concentrating specifically on areas of deterioration. When repair is not possible, replacement in-kind is encouraged, reproducing by new construction the original feature exactly, including the original material, finish, detailing and texture.

- **Replace** missing or deteriorated historic materials and features when the extent of deterioration precludes repair. Similar to repair, the preferred approach is to replace the entire feature in-kind to match the original material, finish, detailing, and texture. Since this is not always technically or financially feasible, substitute materials may be acceptable when they convey the original appearance and finish of the original feature.

- **Reconstruct** missing historical features if adequate historical, pictorial and physical documentation exists so that the feature may be accurately reproduced. The addition of features from other historic buildings or addition of historical elements for which there is no documentation is not appropriate.

- **Alterations and additions** are sometimes needed to ensure the continued use of a building. An alteration involves returning a building to a useful condition while saving those parts that represent its historical, architectural or cultural significance. It is important that alterations do not radically alter, obscure or destroy character-defining spaces, materials, features or finishes. An addition, however, is new construction at the exterior of an existing building and should be avoided. If considered, new additions should be clearly differentiated but compatible in size, mass, form, fenestration, detailing and style with the historic building, and constructed at a less visible side or rear elevation, so the character-defining features are not radically obscured, damaged or destroyed.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S STANDARDS FOR REHABILITATION

The following *Standards for Rehabilitation* were developed in 1995 by the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior. They are the national standard to guide rehabilitation work on historic resources and are used by the City of Bethlehem's Historical Architectural Review Board when rendering their recommendations.

Rehabilitation is defined as the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural or architectural values.

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.

2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.

3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties will not be undertaken.

4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.

5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.

6. Deteriorated historic features will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.

7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.

8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.

9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction will not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work shall be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the historic property and its environment.

10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

Rehabilitation as a Treatment: When repair and replacement of deteriorated features are necessary; when alterations or additions to the property are planned for a new or continued use; and when its depiction at a particular period of time is not appropriate, Rehabilitation may be considered as a treatment. Prior to undertaking work, a documentation plan for Rehabilitation should be developed.

COA REVIEW PROCESS

To have a Certificate of Appropriateness (COA) application reviewed by the HARB, it must be submitted with the appropriate attachments to the Bureau of Code Enforcement at City Hall at 10 East Church Street by 12:00 noon on the last Wednesday of the month. HARB meetings typically occur at 4:00 p.m. on the first Wednesday of each month in Town Hall. A property owner or representative is required to attend the HARB meeting. Please contact the Bureau of Code Enforcement at City Hall at (610) 865-7091 to confirm the next application submission deadline and meeting date.

Prior to the HARB meeting, the Bureau of Code Enforcement will review the application for completeness. Incomplete applications will be returned to the applicant and not forwarded for HARB review. At their meeting, the HARB can recommend:

- Approval as submitted or with conditions;
- Tabling for further consideration or pending additional information; or
- Denial, with recommended changes that will result in an approved application.

The HARB renders its recommendation within 60 days of the filing of the complete COA application. The HARB's recommendation becomes an agenda item for the next scheduled City Council Meeting, generally held on the first and third Tuesday of the month, at 7:00 p.m. at Town Hall. Attendance at this meeting is optional. Applicants do not typically attend the meetings if they find the HARB recommendation acceptable. Similar to the HARB, City Council can recommend approval as submitted; approval with conditions; tabling for further consideration or pending additional information; or denial, with recommended changes to result in an approved application.

If the COA is approved by City Council, or approved with conditions, the applicant can then obtain a building permit for the approved work from the Bureau of Code Enforcement, provided the application complies with all other City codes. The denial of a COA application will result in disapproval of the building permit application. The applicant can appeal City Council's decision to the County Court of Common Pleas within the time specified by law.

WHEN A COA IS NOT REQUIRED

The HARB's jurisdiction is limited to areas of a property that are visible from a public-way including roadways and alleys. However, property owners are encouraged to seek HARB's guidance even when formal review is not required.

- The HARB does not review ordinary maintenance and repairs provided the exterior appearance and materials are not altered - The determination of whether proposed work is maintenance must be made the Bureau of Code Enforcement
- The HARB does not have jurisdiction over interior work, although building and other permits might be required for interior work

HARB review is required for all proposed exterior alterations that are visible from a public. This includes the installation of storm windows and doors; changes to materials and paint colors; landscape elements such as retaining walls, stairs and railings; as well as signage.

APPROVALS REQUIRED FOR WORK

HARB review and approval is triggered by the application for a building permit. This includes the replacement of windows, doors and roofs, repainting as well as ground disturbance at potential archaeological sites. A COA is necessary but not sufficient for the granting of a building permit. Each property is subject to review for compliance with applicable zoning, building and safety codes. The property owner is responsible obtaining all necessary approvals prior to commencing with work.

WORKING WITHOUT A COA

A HARB representative will review all completed work for compliance with the approved COA. If any changes are proposed after approval for a COA, please contact the Bureau of Code Enforcement at (610) 865-7091 to determine whether any additional reviews may be required. Completed work that is not in compliance with the approved COA is subject to fines and possible removal. If a property owner has demolished a building or structure or a portion thereof without obtaining the necessary COA, the Building Official can delay a permit for new construction on the site for two years.

Work completed that does not conform with approved COA is subject to removal, fines, imprisonment and all punishments and remedies identified in the City Ordinances.

STOP WORK ORDER

The Bureau of Code Enforcement will issue a Stop Work Order for any project that is not in compliance with the approved COA or any project that did not receive the required COA. Stop Work Orders have the force of law and the violation of a Stop Work Order constitutes a separate offence. A Stop Work Order can be costly in terms of time and money since property owners will be required to go through the COA application process prior to restarting work.

APPLICATION SUBMISSION MATERIALS

To have a Certificate of Appropriateness (COA) application reviewed by the HARB, it must be submitted with all of the appropriate materials required to clearly describe the proposed work. Please contact the Bureau of Code Enforcement at City Hall at (610) 865-7091 to confirm the required submission materials for your project. The information generally needed for HARB review includes:

- **Application:** A completed, signed and dated Application for Certificate of Appropriateness (COA) available at www.bethlehem-pa.gov or the Bureau of Code Enforcement at City Hall
- **Photographs:** Clear overall photographs or the existing buildings on the property, flanking buildings and buildings on the opposite side of the street as well as detailed views of the area of proposed work
- **Project Description:** A description of the proposed work including any deviations from the *Design Guidelines*
- **Drawings:** Scaled and dimensioned drawings with notes to describe the proposed work and materials
- **Samples:** Color and materials samples
- **Product Information:** Manufacturer's descriptions and specifications of proposed products to be used in the proposed work

TIMING FOR REVIEW

The City of Bethlehem makes every effort to quickly conduct required reviews. If an application is incomplete, if the HARB requests a change, or if any City deadlines are not met, the issuance of permits and approvals could take several months.

Typically, a minimum of six to eight weeks is required from the submission date of the COA application to the issuing of a building permit. Incomplete submissions will extend the application review time period. Including all required materials with a complete application expedites the review process. Contact the Bureau of Code Enforcement at City Hall at (610) 865-7091 for assistance.

BALANCING CHANGE

In balancing the desire for a change to a historic property with its historic integrity, the HARB encourages property owners to retain as much historic building fabric as possible. When considering alterations, the HARB recommends the following approach, listed in preferential order:

1. Maintenance
2. Repair and Replacement
3. Alterations
4. Adaptive Reuse
5. Additions and New Construction

HISTORIC BUILDING FEATURES

To better understand which alterations are or are not appropriate, it is helpful to identify those features that are character-defining elements. In many cases, these architectural features include the exterior historic materials and forms as well as the windows, shutters, porches, entrances, storefronts, trim and details, which cumulatively can define a building's style.

The development and architectural heritage of the City of Bethlehem includes both high-style and vernacular buildings. The term "vernacular" suggests that they were based upon traditional or regional forms without being designed by an architect or similarly trained individual, and are often relatively simple with embellishments that are reflective of the period or popular styles of the day.

Labels (left side, top to bottom): Terra-cotta chimney pot; Chimney; Metal ridge roll or cap; Mansard roof with fishscale slates; Bracketed wood cornice; Wood bracket; Half-hipped porch roof; Bracketed wood cornice; Turned wood post; Turned wood railing; Stair tread; Stair riser

Labels (right side, top to bottom): Gable-roof dormers with bracketed projecting eaves; Window muntin; Two-over-one wood window; Window lintel; Wood louvered shutter; Two-over-one wood window; Window sill; Door lintel; Single-light wood paneled door; Two-panel wood shutters; Two-over-one wood window; Porch foundation

MAINTENANCE IS PRESERVATION

Regular maintenance helps to preserve buildings and property, and protect real estate values and investments. Lack of regular upkeep can result in accelerated deterioration of building elements and features. In the case of historic buildings, these features often represent character defining elements that are difficult to replace. Long-term lack of maintenance can impact a building's structure, resulting in expensive repairs.

It is prudent to regularly inspect properties to identify potential problems. If problems are detected early, minor maintenance may not only improve a property's overall appearance and value, but also can prevent or postpone extensive and costly future repairs. Regular maintenance items typically include cleaning gutters and downspouts, and painting of exterior woodwork.

Scrape & repaint weather vane

Chimney cracked & leaning - rebuild from roof line & install new flashing

GENERAL:

Scrape all loose paint following lead-safe practices; prime bare wood and metal; re-paint with historically appropriate colors.

Replace missing brackets; re-nail loose trim; re-caulk joints

Replace missing finial

Caulk seams between wood & stucco

Replace cracked slate

Patch damaged stucco

Re-nail loose shingle

Replace missing slate

Repair gutter, replace downspout & rotted shingles

Repair/replace rotted sill; caulk around window & door frames

Replace missing shingles

Repair/replace rusted metal

Re-nail loose trim

Re-nail loose board

Peeling paint - possible condensation problem

Replace missing balusters

Replace rotted post base

Check foundation for structural problems

Install splash block

Replace with lattice for ventilation

Rebuild rotted steps

Replace rotted board

Remove shrubs; change drainage; install splash block

Roofs and roof-related features often frame the silhouette of a building against the sky and can help to define a building's style. This Italianate house includes a distinctive central cupola with three half-round headed windows at each face and a projecting, bracketed cornice. The flanking brick chimneys include recessed "paneled" bases. The brackets at the projecting main cornice frame third floor window openings.

HISTORIC BUILDING MATERIALS

Although the HARB encourages regular maintenance and the retention of historic materials as long as possible, they do recognize that all materials, new or old, do wear and eventually will pass their useful life span and require replacement. The following information is presented as a guide to applicants regarding the general care of building systems and potential replacement materials. The HARB will be happy to speak with each applicant individually if there are specific questions regarding proposed materials at their property.

Roofing

A building's roof provides the first line of defense against the elements and its design greatly affects the overall appearance of a building. Therefore, regular inspection, review and maintenance of roofs and drainage systems, such as cleaning of gutters and downspouts, are critically important to its longevity.
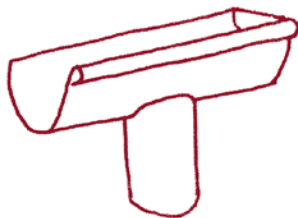
Half-Round Gutter, Round Downspout
Preferred

K-Style Gutter, Corrugated Downspout
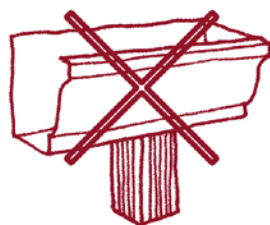
The HARB encourages:

- Regular roof inspections, maintenance and repair to add useful years of life to an existing roof
- Replacement of roofing materials when beyond repair, matching original color, pattern, material and texture
- Replacement roof materials or new materials for additions and new construction that are sympathetic in appearance to historic materials
- Retention of decorative roof elements such as chimneys, cupolas, cresting, finials, eaves and cornices
- Maintaining existing roof forms and heights for existing buildings or additions and using sympathetic roof forms and heights for new construction
- Retaining built-in gutters and open valley flashing
- Installing shingle caps along ridge or extending vents continuously to end of ridge
- Painting drip edges to match adjacent trim
- Installing half-round gutters and plain round downspouts
- Locating rain barrels to be visually unobtrusive from the public right-of-way
- Installing flashing on top of cornices to prolong their longevity, painted to match cornice color

The HARB discourages:

- Adding or altering rooftop features at areas visible from a public way that change a roof configuration such as skylights, television antennae or dishes, solar collectors, mechanical equipment, roof decks, chimney stacks and dormer windows
- Adding new features that are out of character, scale, materials or detailing to the historic building
- Altering, enclosing or removing historic eaves and cornices
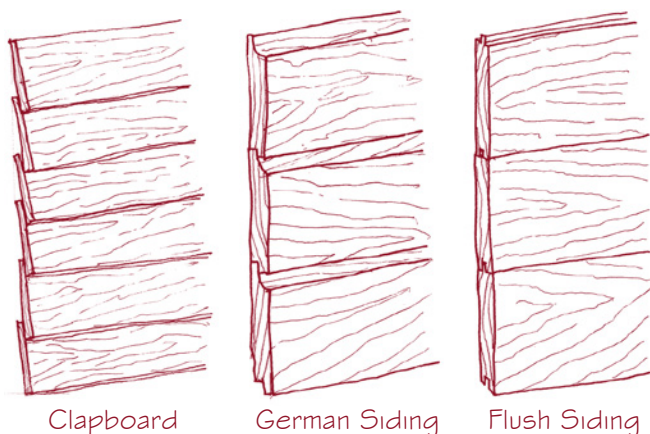
Clapboard   German Siding   Flush Siding

Exterior Woodwork & Siding

Exterior siding and trim acts as the skin of a building, shedding water and deflecting sunlight and wind. Aesthetically, the siding can be an important design feature helping to define a building's architectural style. With proper maintenance exterior woodwork can last for centuries; however, improper maintenance can result in problems and deterioration for water, fungus, mold and insects.

The HARB encourages:

- Regularly maintaining and repainting exterior woodwork including repainting, and addressing potential areas of moisture including clogged gutters and downspouts, groundwater, leaky pipes and interior condensation

- Retaining decorative woodwork should since it is a character defining element that can be difficult to replace

- Repairing smaller areas of deterioration by reinforcing or patching - Small cracks and checks can be repaired with an exterior wood filler, glue or epoxy - Loose elements can be refastened with nailing or drilling and screwing

- Selectively replacing deteriorated wood elements that are beyond repair with wood pieces that match the size, profile and character of the historic wood element - Wood filler in the joints between the new and old wood will help provide a smooth finish

- Large scale or significant replacement of exterior wood siding with paintable material that match the size, profile, exposure and pattern and character of the historic wood

The HARB discourages:

- Removing or encapsulating with vinyl or aluminum siding, trim, decorative features and trim elements such as brackets, spindles, cornices, columns, posts, etc.

- Vinyl or aluminum siding over wood, brick, stone or stucco – it alters the historic appearance and can promote trapped moisture and deterioration of underlying woodwork and structural framing

- Wood grained, wavy edged, vertical and textured plywood simulated siding

- Installing non-wood trim

Paint: Paint can protect exterior materials from the elements, particularly wood and metals that would otherwise rust. When the painted surface has been compromised, moisture and the elements can infiltrate the underlying material and potentially accelerate deterioration. Exterior surfaces should generally be repainted every 5 to 8 years, with intermediate touch-ups of high traffic, worn or deteriorated areas.

The HARB encourages:

- Hand washing with mild detergent and bristle brush, hand scraping and hand sanding

The HARB discourages:

- Rotary tools - disks can leave circular marks and wires can tear into surface

- Heat guns and heat plate - can ignite paint or underlying surface if left in one location too long

- Chemical paint removers - can raise grains, be expensive and potentially volatile; runoff can be hazardous

- Flame tools, blowtorches to soften paint - smoldering sparks can potentially start a fire; lead components in paint can vaporize and create highly toxic fumes

- Sandblasting - can be abrasive to surface, wear away protective exterior coating and raise the wood grain

- High-pressure water wash - forces water into open joints affecting interior finishes and structural framing; can be abrasive to exterior surface and raise the grain
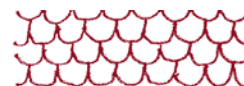
Chisel or Bevel   Fishscale
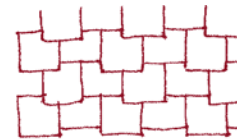
Diamond   Staggered
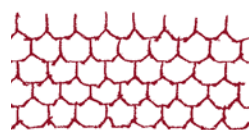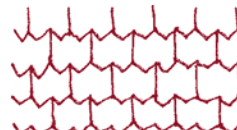
Octagonal   Sawtooth

LEAD PAINT

Caution should be used when removing paint since some paints include lead, requiring proper collection and disposal techniques. Follow all lead-safe procedures, manufacturers' recommendations and code requirements when disturbing or removing paint.

PAINT COLORS

Paint colors and luster should be appropriate to the building style, highlighting its architectural features, and are subject to HARB review. Manufacturer's "historic" paint colors are not always appropriate in Bethlehem.

Joint Profiles

Flush — Raked
Struck — Weathered
Concave — V-Shaped
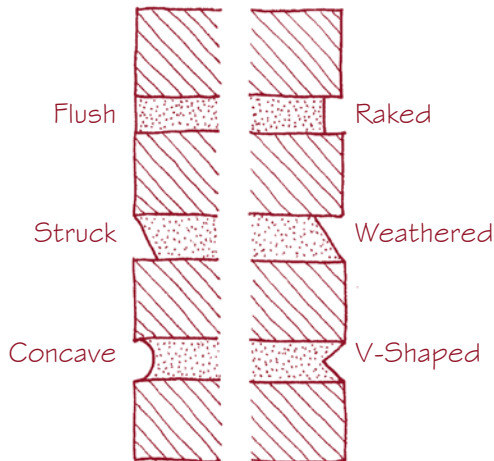
There are numerous joint profile types, with each producing different shadow lines and highlights. When repointing an area of masonry, it is important to tool mortar to match the existing joint profile for a consistent appearance.

Masonry & Stucco

Exterior masonry, including stone, brick, terra cotta and stucco, provides a strong, durable and attractive appearance with relatively low maintenance. Historic masonry walls tend to protect a building's interior from the weather and act as the principal load bearing system. Aesthetically it acts as an important design feature, helping to define a building's style and add visual interest to the streetscape.

Mortar: Mortar, which bonds masonry units, was generally composed of a few ingredients: sand, lime and water, and possibly additives such as animal hair or oyster shells. Starting in the mid 19th century, a small amount of Portland cement was added into the mix to improve the workability and hasten the setting time. In the early 20th century, Portland cement in mortar was increased, corresponding with the manufacture of harder bricks.

The HARB encourages:

• Regular maintenance, repair and selectively repointing deteriorated areas with compatible mortar in material, hardness, composition, color and joint style – Incompatible mortar often too hard and can lead to spalling or chipping of the bricks or stones, it can also be visually mismatched

• Installing fasteners for signs and other devices into mortar joints rather than brick or stone faces

• Installing local stone and pointing with ribbon joints

The HARB discourages:

• Using Portland cement based mortar for repointing – it is typically too hard for most historic masonry and can result in damage including spalling
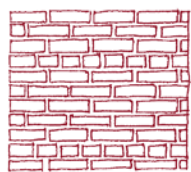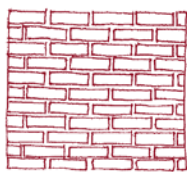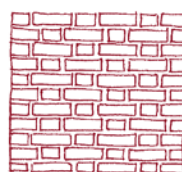
Stucco: Stucco is a relatively inexpensive material that can provide a more finished appearance to brick, stone or wood framed buildings. In some cases, the surface was scored to look like stone. It acts as a weather repellent coating, protecting the building from the elements including rain, sunlight and wind, and can moderately increase its fire resistance. Stucco can also provide an insulating layer to a wall, reducing the passage of air to the interior.

The HARB encourages:

• Matching the color and texture of historic stucco when repairing or applying stucco to new construction

The HARB discourages:

• Installing stucco over brick, stone or terra cotta walls

• Installing artificial stucco (EIFS or Exterior Insulation and Finish Systems) which can trap moisture within the thicknesses of a wall and cause long-term damage

Masonry and Stucco Cleaning: Appropriate masonry and stucco cleaning can enhance the character and overall appearance of a building. However, improper cleaning of historic masonry can cause damage to the historic surfaces and cause more harm than good both physically and aesthetically.

The HARB encourages:

• Cleaning masonry and stucco with the gentlest means possible, typically low pressure water, with the possible use of gentle detergent and brushing

The HARB discourages:

• Masonry cleaning unless a building is heavily soiled

• Masonry and stucco cleaning with harsh chemicals, sand blasting, power washing over 400 psi, grinders or metal brushes

Masonry Coatings and Paint: Water repellent and waterproof coatings, which include paint, are generally applied to prevent water from entering a masonry and stucco wall, but tend to be unnecessary on weather-tight historic buildings. Water tends to enter masonry buildings through open mortar joints, surface cracks and areas of poor or deferred maintenance. In instances where the surface of the masonry has been severely compromised, such as at sandblasted brick, the use of water repellent coatings might be appropriate.
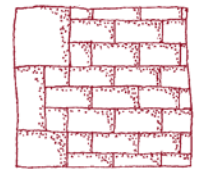
The HARB discourages:

• Applying water repellent or waterproof coatings

• Painting of previously unpainted masonry or stucco

Common Bond — Running Bond — Flemish Bond
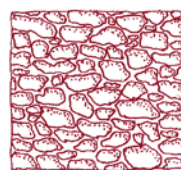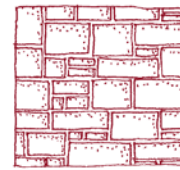
Uncoursed Fieldstone — Coursed Fieldstone — Coursed Cut Stone with Quoins

Windows

Windows simultaneously act as interior and exterior building feature that regulate light and air. Historically windows comprised approximately one quarter of an exterior wall's surface area, and defined the building's architectural style.

The HARB encourages:
- Regular window maintenance, repair and repainting
- Installing interior or exterior storm windows
- If the applicant can demonstrate evidence of window deterioration requiring replacement, installing true divided light replacement windows with an exterior painted finish that match the material, historic size, shape, operation, muntin pattern, profiles and detailing to the greatest extent possible

The HARB discourages:
- Decreasing, increasing or altering window size, shape or operation to allow for installation of stock window sizes or picture windows
- Encasing or capping window surrounds with aluminum or vinyl
- New window openings at publicly visible elevations
- Installing tinted or colored glazing
- Installing vinyl or aluminum clad replacement windows at window openings that are visible from the public right-of-way

The blinds are sized and shaped to fit this half-round headed window. The storm window is also appropriate for the opening with horizontal rails aligning with the window elements beyond.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Refer to the *Guidelines for Stainability* for additional information related to windows and doors; shutters and blinds; and storm windows and doors.

Shutters & Blinds

Historically, exterior shutters and blinds (louvered shutters) were used as shielding devices.

The HARB encourages:
- Maintaining historic shutters
- Installing new shutters where they existed historically
- Operable shutters with a smooth, paintable finish
- Shutters and operable shutter hardware, including hinges, hasps and dogs, of the appropriate style for the building and location
- Appropriately sized and shaped shutters for the window opening, fitted to cover the window when closed

This entrance includes a wood paneled door and a wood storm door with matching finishes. The large glazed ares of the storm door allows a view of the historic paneled door. Also note the bottom rail of the storm door is wider than the side and top rails.

The central door is flanked by sidelights, all of which is topped by a transom window within a decorative wood surround.

Storm Windows & Doors

Storm windows and doors should conceal as little of the historic window or door as possible and should be selected to complement each window or door type. This generally means selecting a screen or storm window that has rails that coincide with the rails and glazing pattern and overall configuration of the associated window or door.

The HARB encourages:
- Maintaining wood storm windows and doors
- Installing new wood or aluminum exterior storm windows or doors that fit the size and shape of the historic opening and are finished or painted to match associated window sash or door
- Aligning rails of storm windows with window rails
- Interior storm windows on primary elevations
- Large glazed openings at storm doors with wider bottom rails that do not conceal glazed or interrupt glazed openings

The HARB discourages:
- Storm doors with applied detailing such as gingerbread, and cross bucks, or jalousie windows

Doors & Entrances

Similar to windows, doors help to regulate the passage of air and light into a building, but they also allow the passage of people, and help define a building's style or use. Entrances include not only the door, but also the surrounding elements such as trim and surrounds, transom windows, sidelights, steps and handrails.
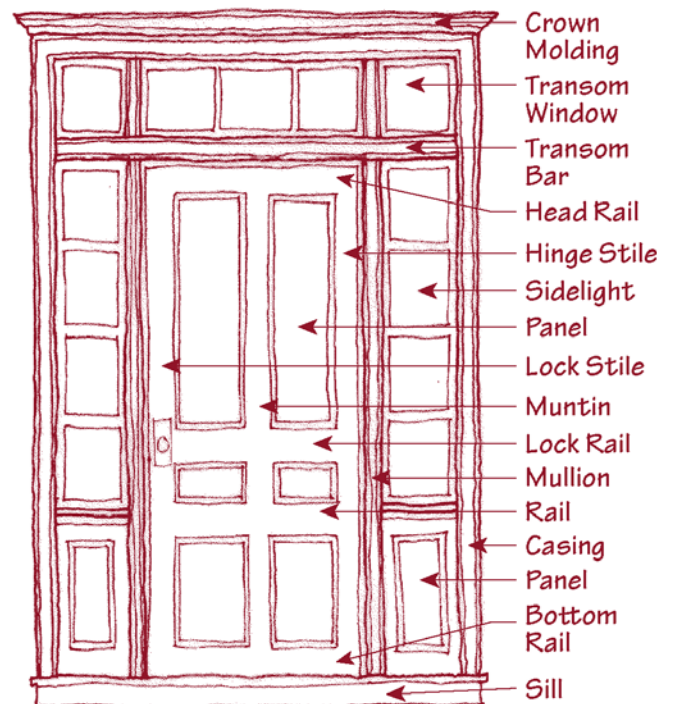
Door styles tend to correspond to the architectural style of the building, with some examples being more "high-style" while others are simpler interpretations. As a result, later Victorian examples often included doors that were glazed, sometimes in a paired configuration, while colonial revival doors were often paneled. Similarly, a principal entrance door varies from a "back door" and a residential door varies from a commercial door.

The HARB encourages:

• Regular historic door and entrance maintenance, repair and repainting with historically appropriate paint colors (Refer to *Page 8*)

• Installing screen and storm doors, if needed, that are stylistically appropriate for the existing door (Refer to *Page 10*)

• When historic elements are beyond repair, installing replacement doors or entrance components, that match the historic size, shape, operation, glazing, muntins, paneling, profiles and detailing of the historic door to the greatest extent possible

• Using wood replacement doors for historic wood doors

The HARB discourages:

• Replacing original doors unless seriously deteriorated

• Plain modern flush doors or modern flush doors with historically inappropriate window configurations

• Enclosure or removal of entrance features including transom windows and sidelights

• New entrances at primary elevations

• Altering the historic appearance or style of an entrance

• Replacing wood steps with brick, stone or concrete steps

• Removing or encapsulating historic wood trim

Labels: Crown Molding, Transom Window, Transom Bar, Head Rail, Hinge Stile, Sidelight, Panel, Lock Stile, Muntin, Lock Rail, Mullion, Rail, Casing, Panel, Bottom Rail, Sill

Garage Doors

Occasionally, modern functions require openings not found in historic architecture such as garage doors. HARB endeavors to integrate these types of openings into buildings while maintaining the historic character of the building and the neighborhood, which generally means minimizing their visibility from the public way.

The HARB encourages:

• Retaining and maintaining historic wood garage doors

• Installing new garage doors that are visually unobtrusive, stylistically compatible with and appropriately scaled to the garage and/or principal building, with a smooth finish

• Garage door openings that do not require removal of decorative features

The HARB discourages:

• Garage doors that are visually prominent
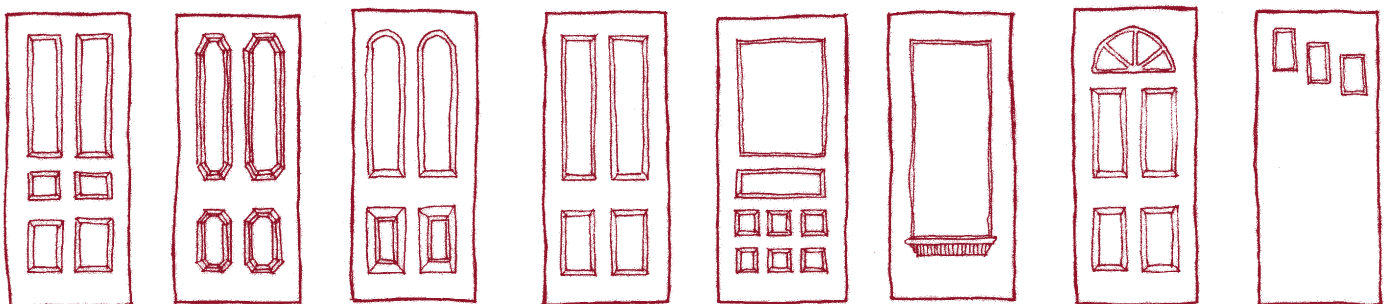
Early Victorian 1860-1885　　　High Victorian 1885-1920　　　Inappropriate Replacement Doors

Porches

Porches remain one of the most visible house elements and play a significant role in the appearance of the house and the streetscape. They can act as an extension of a home providing a welcoming feeling for visitors. Because of the importance porches play in the perception of historic buildings and streetscapes, original materials and details should be preserved. Typically, areas covered by a porch roof tend to require less maintenance; however, steps, railings and roofs are usually exposed to the weather and might require additional maintenance. One of the best ways to preserve wood porch features is regular re-painting.

The HARB encourages:

- Identifying deteriorated elements, finding and correcting sources of deteriorated elements, such as deteriorated, cracked, blocked, inappropriately hung, broken or missing gutters or downspouts

- Replacing only those parts which cannot be repaired - in some instances, such as columns and posts, the base can be replaced at a fraction of the cost without replacing the entire column or post

- Repairing or replacing deteriorated or missing materials with similar new materials - avoid replacement of a wood railing with a metal or vinyl railing system

- Replacing only the original elements that cannot be repaired using elements of the same material, size, profile and other visual characteristics

- Rebuilding a porch with appropriate documentation

- If a substantial portion of the porch is deteriorated and cannot be repaired or replicated, or if a porch is missing, creating a simplified design using stock lumber and moldings that convey similar visual characteristics as the original porch, duplicating the dimensions and materials but not necessarily the detailing

- Painting porches regularly to preserve the wood with a finish that complements the architectural characteristics of the house - Refer to *Page 8* for addition information regarding painting

- Installing wood tongue and groove flooring at porches

The HARB discourages:

- Replacing wood porch posts and railings with metal

- Replacing wood steps with concrete or brick - wood steps are typically appropriate for wood porches

- Enclosing porches that are visually prominent from the streetscape

- Encasing historic porch elements in aluminum or vinyl

- Using "natural" or stained wood at a porch; this is generally not appropriate for a porch on a painted historic building

- Installing a deck that is visually prominent from the streetscape - railings are not always required for decks below a certain height

Roof: Verify roofing material is secure, flashing is intact & there is no standing water

Gutters & Downspouts: Verify they are secure, regularly clear debris

Rafter Tails: Verify paint film is intact, check ends for rot

Lintel: Review for sagging or cracking & verify paint film is intact, especially near gutters & downspouts

Porch Ceiling: Review for dampness or peeling paint indicating possible roofing or flashing problem

Post (Column if round): Verify base for rot & paint film is intact

Balustrade: Verify elements are secure & paint film is intact

Apron: Check for water or insect damage

Porch Floor: Verify water is draining off surface

Porch Steps: Check base for rot & verify paint film is intact

Piers: Check masonry for open joints or cracks

Site Elements

The following items are encouraged or discouraged, as described, below even though some do not require formal review by HARB. Check with the Bureau of Code Enforcement (610) 865-7091 with any questions about your specific project. Items that do not require HARB review could go before HARB for guidance rather than formal review and approval.

Site elements frame the architecture along a streetscape. In some areas, established features such as sidewalks, street trees, walls, fences, walkways and driveways provide a consistent setting that is unique to a neighborhood. When considering alterations to a site, it is encouraged that property owners develop an understanding of the environmental characteristics of their immediate surroundings and allow that understanding to direct their design. This will allow a more compatible relationship between a property and its neighborhood.

Fences: Wood and cast or wrought iron are traditional materials for fences in the City of Bethlehem. Traditional fencing types not only marked the boundaries of a specific space, but also allowed visual access to and from the historic structures located on a property from the roadway. To retain visibilities of historic properties, fences in front yards should be limited to 36" in height, and should use picket-style that is at least 50% open.

Walls: Landscape walls are typically constructed of local stone or brick, and can include a stucco finish. Historically, the materials and style of walls were often related to a building's design. The construction of walls that visually block primary building façades from the public right of way, particularly at historically important buildings, is discouraged. It is recommended that new walls in front yards be limited to 36" in height. While new walls that are stylistically compatible with the property might be appropriate.

Gates: Pedestrian gates, traditionally along a walkway, are generally 3 to 3½ feet wide. Gates for residential vehicular access are generally 10 to 12 feet wide. When installed with a fence, gates tend to be of the same material and similar design as the fence, although often more elaborate. When installed with a wall, they are generally flanked by piers or gate posts that can be either wood or metal.

The HARB encourages:

- Maintaining historic fences, walls and gates, including regular repainting of wood and metal elements
- Installing fences and gates with a painted finish that complements the property, with posts facing towards the interior of a property
- Installing natural stone walls or piers with either a stone or cast stone cap that complements the property

The HARB discourages:

- Blocking views to principal elevations of historic buildings and settings with tall, solid fences; solid walls; or dense plantings and foliage
- Installing non-traditional fencing materials such as vinyl
- Installing stockade fencing
- Installing chain link fencing
- Cast stone walls in lieu of natural stone

Modern Landscape Features, Equipment & Small Structures: Modern site amenities can greatly increase the enjoyment of a property as well as serve functional needs. However, many of these amenities can be visually obtrusive and are not appropriate within a historic context or setting.

- **Landscape Features:** Including pergolas, arbors, gazebos, fountains, sculptures, pools and play equipment
- **Equipment:** Including air conditioner condensers, generator, ground-mounted solar collectors, electric and gas meters, cable hook-up, satellite dishes and trash collection bins
- **Small Structures:** Including garages, tool or garden sheds, play houses, dog houses and wall-mounted awnings

Paving: Paving, which includes sidewalks, walkways, patios and driveways, has changed significantly with the development of new materials. Historically, paving could be as simple as gravel or pavers such as brick or stone, laid in simple or ornamental patterns. Materials popularized in the 20th century include concrete and asphalt. In an effort to retain the quality of the City's historic properties and District, the retention and maintenance of existing historic paving materials is encouraged. Property owners are also encouraged to minimize new paving, and to use porous paving whenever possible to minimize runoff onto neighboring properties and into storm drains.

The HARB encourages:

- Keeping views of historic buildings open to street, rather than obscuring views with new structures
- Front yard development with traditional, simple arrangements, similar to neighboring properties
- Screening landscape features, play equipment, small structures and ground mounted equipment that might be visible from the public way with either dense planting, a wall or solid fencing
- Retaining, repairing and maintaining historic paving materials such as brick and slate sidewalks and walkways
- Minimizing the amount of paving on a site, including installing narrow parking strips instead of full-width driveways
- Installing brick or stone patios instead of raised decks
- Designing small structures, including garages and sheds, that are visible from the public right-of-way to be compatible with the design and historic materials (walls and roof) as the existing main building

The HARB discourages:

- Pre-manufactured sheds, particularly those with metal or vinyl wall cladding
- Placing parking areas in the front yards of residences
- Installing asphalt at walkways
- Installing colored or stamped concrete
- Installing cast stone pavers or walls

Commercial

Storefronts are often the most character-defining feature of a commercial building and the business within. As a result, new businesses will often seek to make alterations to historic storefronts to reflect their own identity.

The HARB encourages:

- Preservation of historic storefronts and minimizing alterations or removal of historic materials
- Maintaining transparency of street-level windows, rather than covering them with displays or advertisements
- Maintaining the planes of the historic storefront relative to the building façade including flush, projecting or recessed areas such as alcoves
- Selecting paint colors that complement the style and features of a storefront and building

The HARB discourages:

- Enclosing or removal of historic architectural elements, such as building cornices, storefronts and angled storefront glazing
- Altering the size or shape of major building forms such as window, door and transom openings
- Installing stylistic elements from periods that are different from the storefront or building
- Altering the appearance of a residential building as part of a conversion to commercial use
- Installing tinted or colored window glazing
- Reducing or modifying original storefront window opening sizes and shapes

Accessibility: As existing buildings are renovated, they are often required to make accommodations for people with disabilities. One of the most visible exterior alterations required by the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is the installation of a wheelchair ramp or lift to provide building access.

The HARB encourages:

- Retaining the historic entrance stairs and doors
- If access to the front door is not possible, providing a respectful accessible entrance that is located close to the principal entrance, preferably at a secondary elevation, and designed in a manner that is visually unobtrusive and complements the building's style
- Complying with all aspects of the accessibility requirements, while minimizing alterations of the primary building façade and architectural features
- Modifying sidewalk or walkway elevation a few inches, where possible to provide an accessible entry and meet all code requirements
- Installing ramps and/or lifts within the building envelope where it is possible to modify an existing door sill to allow entry at grade
- Ramp or lift styles that are compatible with the building
- Railings that are as simple and visually unobtrusive

Signs & Awnings

There are generally two types of signs, those that are attached to the building and those that are freestanding and placed near buildings. New signs can use similar features of traditional signs to both enhance the character of the building and convey the necessary information to the public. The choice between attached or freestanding signs may be based upon the property's specific location, needs of the occupant, and limitations of the City Ordinances.

Projecting signs are typically beneficial in attracting pedestrians. This example includes a decorative metal bracket and incised lettering with contrasting gold lettering.

Size & Shape: The City of Bethlehem Ordinances regulates the maximum number, size and type of signage; however, the HARB determines the appropriateness of the placement relative to the building's design. In general, the HARB utilizes the following guidelines when reviewing the appropriateness of proposed sign's size:

- Signage should be compatible to scale of the building, adjacent buildings, the streetscape and adjacent signage
- Small scale signs are appropriate to smaller scale buildings, pedestrian traffic and professional offices, while larger scaled signs are appropriate to vehicular traffic
- Multiple small scale signs at one building can be grouped in a single directory sign for a unified appearance
- A well-designed smaller sign can have more of an impact than a larger sign, particularly along historic commercial corridors, where the means of travel is by foot or slow moving vehicles

SIGN & AWNING REVIEW

All signs and awnings that are visible from the public right-of-way, including interior window signs, are subject to HARB review. Please contact the Bureau of Code Enforcement at City Hall at (610) 865-7091 with questions or for an application.

Sign Material: Early signs were typically made of wood, either attached directly to the building or suspended from metal brackets. As technology advanced and building styles changed, a wider range of materials were used. These included bronze, cast iron, stainless steel, etched or painted glass, leaded glass, gold leaf, tile, terrazzo, concrete, stone and enamel and metal panels. Each material was popular during particular time periods, and might not be appropriate at all building locations.

Window signage can be a creative means of attracting customers. All signs, including those located at the interior face of windows, are subject to HARB review.

Illumination: In many instances, available ambient street or storefront lighting can illuminate signs, which is preferred to the installation of additional lighting. The use and placement of sign illumination is subject to approval. Gooseneck lighting or other unobtrusive light fixtures are often the most appropriate choice to illuminate wall signage.

This small-scale, professional services sign includes a clear message, serif-style lettering and a pin stripe boarder, providing a finished appearance. The screws are fastened into mortar joints.

Lettering: Similar to selecting a color, when considering letter style for signs and awnings, applicants must balance the need to make them legible, convey the business identity or logo, and complement the historic character of the building and environment. Excessive amounts of text or highly stylized type styles can overwhelm a viewer and make the message effectively illegible.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z
Serif Alphabet

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z
Sans-Serif Alphabet

Awnings: Historically, awnings project at a continuous angle away from the face of the building on a metal frame, terminating at a skirt or valance. Awnings can be fixed or retractable in configuration. Retractable awnings tend to be open sided, while fixed awnings can be either open- or close-sided.

These closed-sided awnings are sized to fit between the masonry piers and provides shelter for pedestrians, advertisement for the businesses, and reduces the effect of the sun's rays at the interior.

The HARB encourages:

- Signage that does not obscure or damage architectural features, identifies the business, complements the style of the building and is appropriately scaled for its location
- Sign design and color that reflects the architectural characteristics with materials that are consistent with the historic character of the building - Colonial scrollwork is not appropriate at Victorian storefronts
- Serif-style lettering, subtle logos and boarders at the perimeter of signs located at Victorian storefronts
- Incised lettering in lieu of raised lettering at signage
- Existing ambient street light or storefront lighting in lieu of lighting whenever possible
- Signage lighting styles that are consistent with the character of the historic building including location, orientation and brightness
- Canvas awnings, with straight valance, in shapes that correspond with the openings they protect
- Installing signage or awning designs that are sympathetic to the style of a building and in a manner that minimizes damage to historic features including installing fasteners at mortar joints and not stone faces

The HARB discourages:

- Signage that obstructs views into the store through storefront windows and glazing or architectural features
- Exposed conduit, boxes or raceways for signage or lighting
- New billboards, internally illuminated box signs, LED reader boards, flashing or changeable message signs, neon signs
- Contemporary or glossy awning materials such as vinyl, plastics or leatherette; internally illuminated awnings; and waterfall awnings

COMPATIBLE DESIGN PRINCIPLES FOR ADDITIONS & NEW BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

The historic development of each of Bethlehem's neighborhoods followed its own pattern and rhythm. The culture of the City's early inhabitants is expressed through its architectural and built environment. To continue the evolution of the built environment, the implementation of creative solutions that reflect current design and are sensitive to the character of their historic surroundings is encouraged.

To carefully weigh and balance the needs of property owners for additions to existing buildings or new buildings within the context of the Central Bethlehem Historic District, HARB is guided by *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation* (Refer to *Page 3*) and the Design Principals below. Together they establish a framework of encouraging that additions to existing buildings and new construction that is sensitive to neighboring spacial relationships, forms and materials, while differentiating new construction from historic building fabric.

STAFF ASSISTANCE

The City encourages anyone considering an addition, new construction, relocation or demolition to meet with the appropriate City Staff member early in the design process. They can identify potential issues, offer guidance and clarify specific submission requirements and other required reviews, potentially streamlining the process.

MULTIPLE HARB REVIEWS

Review of new construction often requires multiple HARB reviews. Early conceptual review is encouraged, as well as reviews as the design progresses. Contact the Bureau of Code Enforcement at (610) 865-7091 for recommended review schedule.

DESIGN PRINCIPLES	REVIEW CRITERIA FOR ADDITIONS & NEW CONSTRUCTION
Scale: Height and Width	Proportions and size of the addition/new building compared with existing building/neighboring buildings
Building Form and Massing	Three-dimensional relationship and configuration of the addition/new building footprint, its walls and roof compared with existing building/neighboring buildings
Setback: Yards (Front, Side and Rear)	Distance of the addition/new building to the street and property lines when compared with the existing building or other buildings on block
Site Coverage	Percentage of the site that is covered by addition/new building, compared to comparable nearby sites
Orientation	The location of the front of the addition/new building and its principal entrance relative to other buildings on the block
Architectural Elements and Projections	The size, shape, proportions and location of doors, porches, balconies, chimneys, dormers, parapets and elements that contribute to an overall building's shape and silhouette relative to neighboring buildings
Alignment, Rhythm and Spacing	The effect the addition/new building will have on the existing street patterns
Façade Proportions: Window and Door Patterns	The relationship of the size, shape and location of the addition/new building façade and building elements to each other, as well as to other buildings on the existing building/block
Trim and Detail	The moldings, decorative elements and features of a building that are secondary to major surfaces such as walls and roofs and how they related to the existing and neighboring buildings
Materials	The products with which something is composed or constructed and how they related to the existing and neighboring buildings

Gracehill
Conservation Area

The Planning Team

Acknowledgements

Gracehill Conservation Area

Contents

Preamble

Gracehill Conservation Area was designated in 1975, the first such designation in Northern Ireland. A boundary variation was carried out in November 1997. The designation encompasses most of the village; its boundary encloses a readily identifiable and compact area (see Map 1). This booklet does not change the status or the extent of the Conservation Area; rather it replaces previous publications which are out of print.

This document is intended for all those with an interest in Gracehill Conservation Area, or those intending to undertake work on its buildings, landscape, streets or spaces.

As with other conservation area booklets published by the Department, this booklet sets out design guidance for development and the treatment of spaces.

The booklet seeks to reflect current best practice, particularly by including a full and detailed appraisal of the attributes of the Conservation Area.

The publication of this booklet is intended to promote the importance and value of conservation generally, and the undoubted merits and attractions of Gracehill Conservation Area.

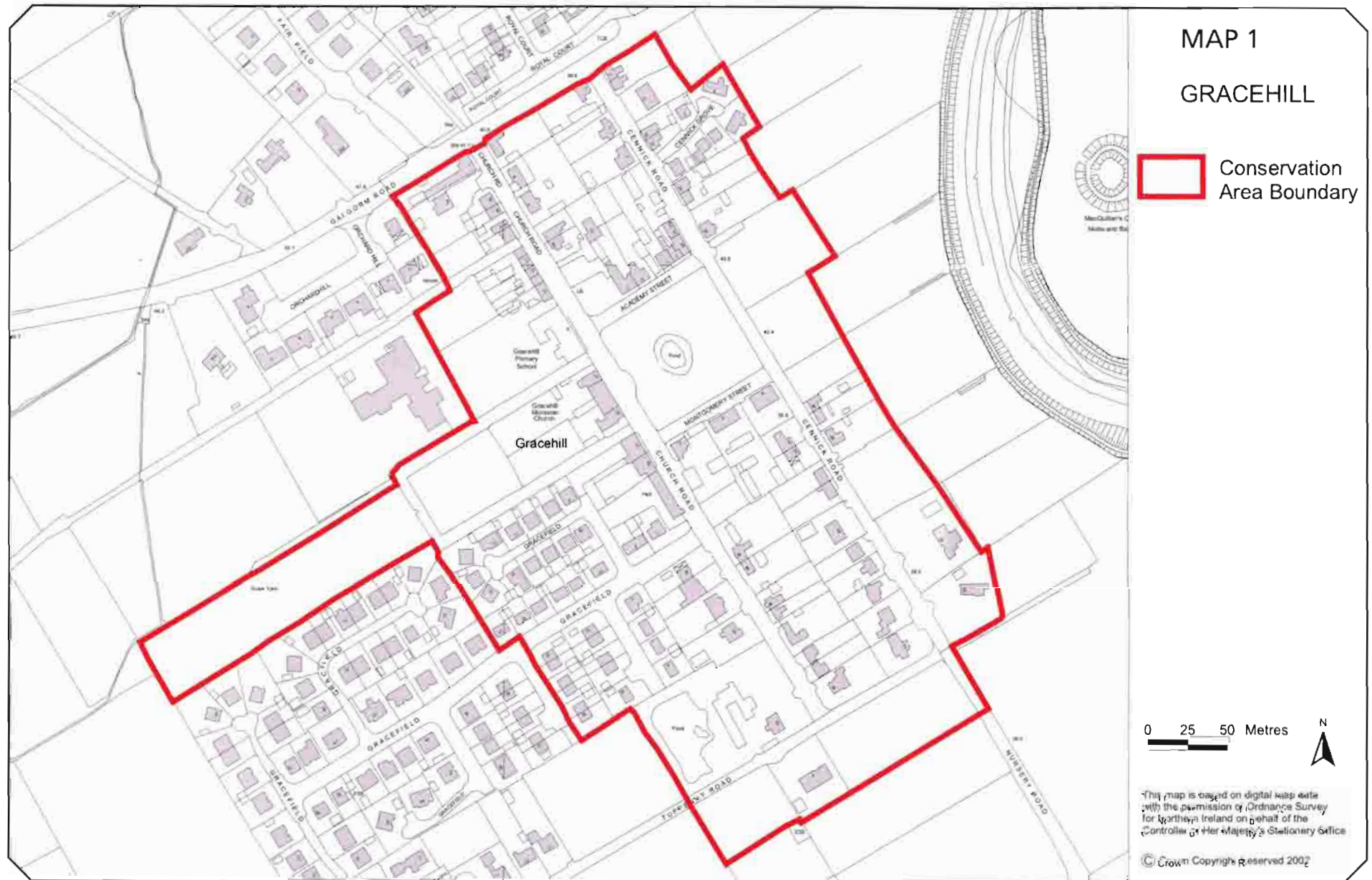This booklet, before being produced in its final form, has been the subject of consultation with The Historic Buildings Council, Ballymena Borough Council, The Environment & Heritage Service and the general public. It supersedes previous guidance contained within earlier Gracehill Village Conservation Area booklets.

This document constitutes supplementary planning guidance. It is a material consideration for Planning Service in discharging its planning functions in Gracehill and the surrounding area.

Applicants seeking planning permission, conservation area consent, advertisement consent, listed building consent and grant aid for work in the Conservation Area should be able to demonstrate how they have taken into account the guidance contained in this booklet including the appraisal of the Conservation Area and how their proposals will contribute to its preservation or enhancement. The Department will endeavour to ensure that the activities of statutory undertakers and public agencies will maintain or improve the environmental quality of the Gracehill Conservation Area.

While this booklet aims to provide a detailed appraisal of the Conservation Area it does not claim to be fully comprehensive; the omission of any particular building, feature or space from the appraisal should not be taken to imply that it is of no interest.

Conservation Area Boundary

MAP 1

GRACEHILL

Conservation Area Boundary

Gracehill

0   25   50 Metres

N

This map is based on digital map data with the permission of Ordnance Survey for Northern Ireland on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office

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Introduction

Location

The village of Gracehill is a residential settlement with a population of some 500, situated at the western edge of Ballymena. Located on an elevated ridge which overlooks the River Maine and the Galgorm Castle estate to the east, and gently undulating countryside to the south and west. Immediately north and across the main Ballymena to Ahoghill Road is a post-war housing estate and an industrial complex.

Gracehill Conservation Area is considered special by virtue of both its architectural and its historic interest. It is a place where the buildings and the spaces around them interact to form a cohesive and distinctly recognisable area of townscape quality and interest.

Character Appraisal

A conservation area appraisal defines and analyses the special architectural and historic interest which warranted conservation area designation.

An appraisal of the Conservation Area is necessary, in order to:

- understand what it is that should be protected or enhanced;

- promote an understanding of why the area is designated;

- draw up effective policies and proposals;

- help potential developers to formulate their planning applications;

- assist in making development control decisions.

This Conservation Area Appraisal sets out to assess the elements which give Gracehill Conservation Area its own distinct character. It highlights the distinctive quality of the conservation area as a whole, rather than focusing on its constituent parts.

Character includes the visual appearance of a place and can include:

- what the area looks like;

- how buildings are grouped;

- how building groups are linked or divided;

- materials and colours;

- form, scale, mass and proportion;

- open spaces and vegetation;

- views into, within and out of the area;

- setting.

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Character may also draw on the other senses, experiences and other factors such as:

- smells and sounds - both natural and man-made;

- atmosphere - the layout of buildings and streets can combine to form an area's character, perhaps providing a sense of enclosure and feeling of well being;

- uses – the use to which buildings and spaces are put can be as important to an area's character as the appearance of buildings and spaces. For instance, compare the bustling vitality of a commercial city centre to the quiet repose of a residential square;

- its role and function within the wider urban context;

- its historical associations.

Gracehill

Historical Map 1921 (Revised)
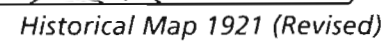
Origin and Development

Origin and Development

Gracehill was established in 1765 to accommodate a local congregation of the Moravian Church, which was founded in Bohemia and Moravia in the mid 15th Century. The church was established in Ireland in the mid 18th Century through the evangelical work of John Cennick, an English teacher and preacher.

Cennick first preached in Ballymena in August 1746, returning to live there in 1748. He leased a house and a large barn for worship in Crebilly townland, Ballymena in October 1748. In November 1749, he moved to a house in Gloonan townland, between Ahoghill and the present day Gracehill.

By 1755, the year of Cennick's death, the search had begun for more permanent and suitable surroundings. In 1758 the land on which Gracehill was to be built was leased by the church from Hon. Charles O'Neill of Shane's Castle, Antrim. Between 1759 and 1765 the congregation was gathered and the land cleared.

Gracehill was to be a closed community, self supporting and functioning to serve the church within the village and beyond (it was not until the early 20th Century that houses in the village began to be sold to people who were not church members). The village therefore was to be primarily residential in nature with its functions revolving around the church and its practices. The congregation would be assisted financially through various commercial ventures undertaken by its members, including in later years a farm shop, linen weaving manufactory, bakery and Ladies' Boarding School.

In January 1764, the Church Elders were permitted to borrow between £1000-£2000 to be used for the building of three principal community buildings; the church and the flanking premises for the Single Brethren and Single Sisters. The settlement was a planned development based on a simple grid-like street layout already established in other Moravian settlements in Europe, Africa and the Americas. This layout was symmetrical and focused on the church. The balanced nature of the built forms and spaces in Gracehill makes a significant contribution to the character of the Conservation Area.

Other formation buildings in Gracehill also date to the mid-Georgian period and include the former Widows' Asylum (3 Church Road) and the site of the Widowers' and Boys' house (39 Church Road). In 1791 the village consisted of 26 buildings on one street (Church Road), the centre of which opened onto the square. This fronted the church which was flanked by the Single Brothers' and Single Sisters' houses.

Of the houses built in this formative period, most had plots of land sufficient to allow the subsistence farming of fruit trees and bushes and the commercial growing of camomile. Water for general purposes was channelled through conduits fed from brooks to each property and in 1776 it fed the village pond within the square. The curtilage of the square was originally planted with a double row of trees. These were replaced by the present lime trees in 1909. The centre of the square contains the Montgomery Oak, planted in memory of Brother John Montgomery who died in 1791 while on missionary work in the West Indies.

By 1800, the village form had become well established with its principal buildings flanking three sides of the central landscaped square, and secondary buildings spreading out along Church Road and Cennick Road. Individual plots were bounded by either a hedge, fence or wall, of a uniform height, and street frontage building lines were established which are still in evidence today.

In 1833 the village was described in Ordnance Survey Memoirs as "a pretty village of 300 in 30 one storey and 17 two storey houses, and all bespeak industry, comfort and neatness".

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The formation and early development of Gracehill occurred during a transitional period between two very different social structures and ideologies in Great Britain. Georgian Britain had an agricultural economy, controlled by a privileged aristocracy; Victorian Britain saw the growth of industrialisation.

The survival of the village's formal street pattern, plot layouts, principal buildings and public and private spaces was foremost in determining the form of today's Conservation Area.

Gracehill Conservation Area is today primarily residential in nature; it includes a small number of community uses including a church, hall, primary school and beauty parlour. This small but complementary component of community uses reflects the nature of the village from its foundation to the present.
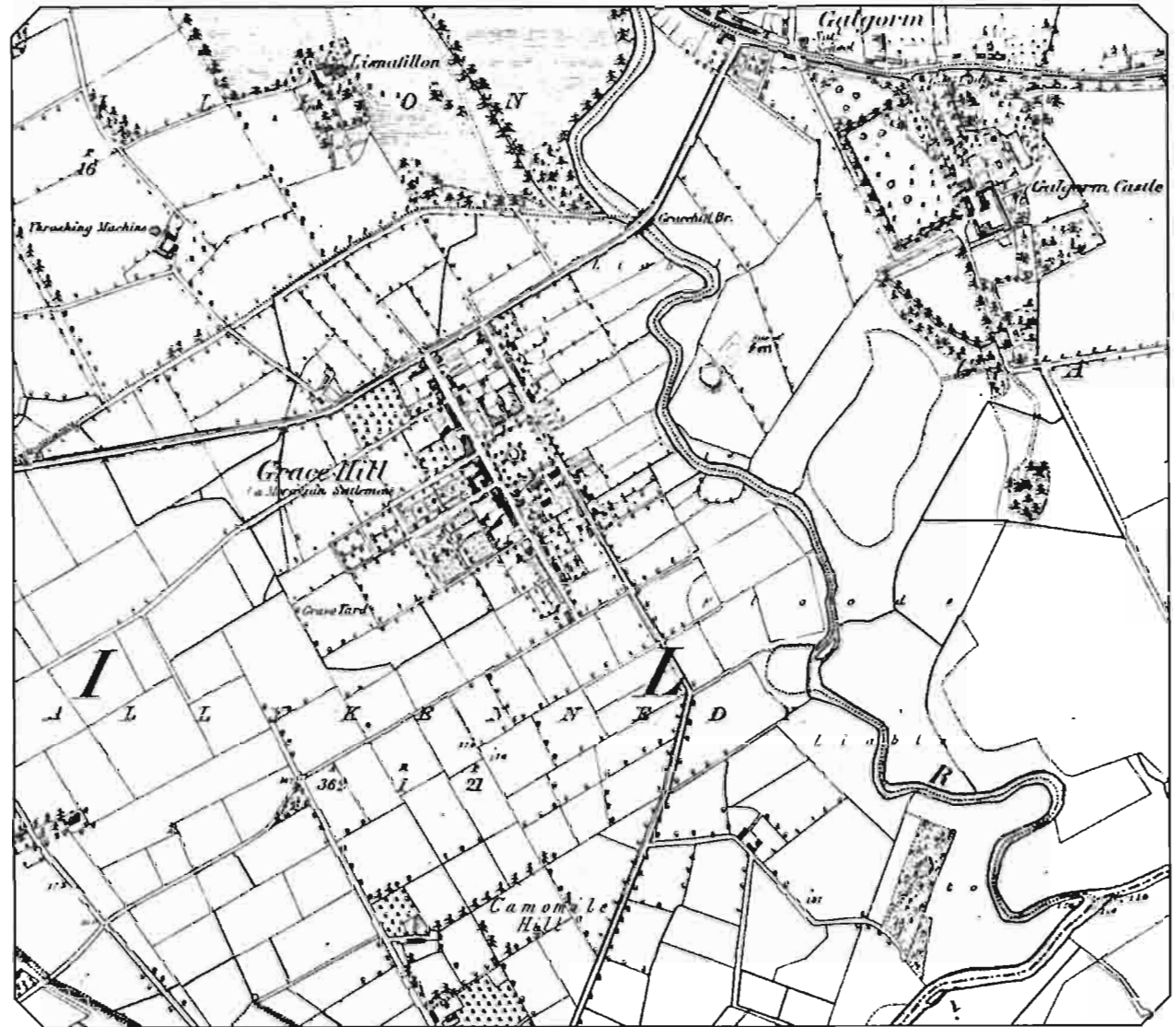
Historical Map 1857 (Revised)

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Built Form

Built Form

Built Form

The village plan is based on a simple grid-like pattern with the long axis consisting of two parallel streets (Church Road and Cennick Road) some 400 metres long and 12 metres wide. These are joined at right angles by two 80 metre-long links (Academy Street and Montgomery Street) either side of a small and pleasant landscaped square. The axial streets are terminated at right-angles to the north by the Ballymena to Ahoghill Road, and to the south by Tuppenny Road. One side of Cennick Road is undeveloped for parts of its length, affording views from the road into the countryside beyond. The two fields directly opposite the Square at Cennick Road allow views from the Square into the countryside. These pleasant views of the River Maine's water meadows and the distant Galgorm Castle plantation enhance the character and appearance of the Conservation Area. It is therfore important to retain this open character and these two fields should remain undeveloped. Church Road has a more intimate atmosphere, flanked by an interesting variety of period buildings and their mature settings. Academy Street, Montgomery Street and the Square have a particularly quiet and tranquil atmosphere.

Despite evidence of several different styles, which in part reflects the historical development of the area, buildings tend to have a strong group identity. Gracehill was built as a planned settlement and is in essence a 'one-period' (late 18th century) village, somewhat deficient in historical layers and architectural periods usual in other 'typical Ulster' settlements. Buildings incorporate a limited palette of materials and design elements. It is important that this point is taken into account so that the unique feel and character of the settlement is maintained.

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The characteristic built form within the area is of simple, rectangular, gable-ended and well-proportioned two-storey buildings, with regular bays of sash-windows, lined and stacked in a formal and symmetrical manner. There are also a number of single, one-and-a-half, and three-storey buildings. The differing heights of buildings along the street frontages form a roofscape which contributes positively to the visual interest of the area. Buildings are detached, semi-detached or in short terraces, either opening onto the back edge of the pavement or with short front gardens. This fairly regular building line contributes to the visual unity of the area.

In many instances, the gable-end of buildings is a prominent and important view. Traditionally, gable proportions tend to the vertical. The solid (walls) to void (door and window openings) ratio is considerable with the gable ends generally blank with only one or two intrusions, if any.

The quality and interest of the design and detailing of the buildings contributes greatly to the character and appearance of the area. Design influence reflects style with an air of restraint reflecting the ethos of the original Moravian inhabitants.

There are 27 buildings within the Conservation Area which are currently listed as being of special architectural or historic interest (see Appendix 1). The Moravian Church and the associated 21 & 25 Church Road are Grade A listed, reflecting their particular importance.

The majority of the listed buildings are grouped so as to form the enclosure of the Square, contributing positively to the excellence of the historic built environment there. The Square is particularly enhanced by the survival of original features to buildings in Academy Street and Montgomery Street, and Church Road around the church.

There is also a fine group of listed buildings at 1 to 15 Church Road. These two storey street-frontage buildings display architectural styles embracing the Georgian and Regency periods, and significantly contribute to the appearance of the immediate locality.

There are also a number of unlisted buildings of local architectural or historic merit which make a positive contribution to the streetscape within the Conservation Area. Many of these unlisted buildings are in the architectural styles of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Spaces

Space within the area is characterised by the two axial streets, often affording long views along their length. These streets rise gently to a ridge at the Square, limiting the view beyond. This visual constraint adds to a sense of anticipation when approaching from the street ends. Houses are generally lined closely along the street edges, with gardens to the rear forming a green space to the rear of the street blocks.

In general, the streets are narrow in relation to the height of flanking buildings and consequently have a fairly pronounced sense of enclosure, heightened in some parts by the presence of mature street trees. This sense of enclosure, however, is lost towards Nursery Road, where more recent modern development is set back from the road edge, and along parts of Cennick Road; where it is bounded by open fields adjacent to the Square. Nonetheless, these fields allow pleasant views into the countryside, adding to the character and setting of the Conservation Area.

Except for the roads themselves and their pavements there is a lack of publicly accessible open space within the Conservation Area. Amenity space is provided by private front and back gardens, some parcels of agricultural land, the graveyard and the Square. The Moravian church controls access to the latter.

The traditional short front gardens have low boundaries and thus are visible from the street. The variety of boundary features, sometimes including substantial entrance pillars, gates and walls, contributes positively to the visual interest of the street scene.

Although they are more concealed, glimpsed views of the rear gardens and of the trees within them are an important contribution to the tranquil, residential atmosphere of the Area.

The outer edges of the Conservation Area are not generally visible from within. They are hidden from public view by buildings, trees and high hedges. The boundary beyond Tuppenny Road, however, is visible from Tuppenny, Church and Cennick Roads. It follows no defined feature but incorporates two agricultural plots with a low road fronting hedge and a modern house. The design of this house is unsympathetic to the character and appearance of the Conservation Area.

Design Guidelines

Design Guidelines

The design of new buildings or the extension or alteration of existing ones in the Conservation Area should be carried out with sensitivity. This requires particular architectural and historic knowledge, judgement, skill and care. The design of any new building should be appropriate to and influenced by its site and the best of the surrounding built environment, while extensions or alterations should not damage or devalue the old.

Regional Policy Context

The Department's regional policies for conservation areas and other features of Northern Ireland's built heritage are currently set out in a Planning Policy Statement, PPS6, "Planning, Archaeology and the Built Heritage" published in March 1999. The following advice has been prepared to supplement these policies, to help ensure that the characteristics of Gracehill Conservation Area is not detrimentally affected by development and that any development complements the best of the existing townscape

The design guidelines will therefore be applied to all new development and to the renovation and refurbishment of all existing buildings within the Conservation Area. They emphasise the importance of having a consistently high standard of design and the use of appropriate materials.

Approaches to Design

Design solutions within Gracehill Conservation Area can be approached from a number of directions:

- The REPRODUCTION approach;

  This particularly applies to works affecting listed buildings and is the most obvious way of maintaining the character of an original building. Attention to detail is vital, including correct materials, colours, finishes and external joinery detailing. New work should be matched and blended with the old in order to achieve an architectural whole, but it should not be the intention to deceive or to falsify the historical record as to the age or authenticity of the work. Substantial new work should be made distinguishable only to the expert eye or through appropriate records.

- The TRADITIONAL approach;

  This is the approach most frequently followed, especially in works to unlisted buildings and new-build, in that it allows more flexibility in parameters of design than the reproduction approach. Detailing is still important, as is a knowledge and respect of the characteristics of existing adjoining buildings and sites. The end product should be a building which respects local character, preserving a measure of the uniqueness which the area has evolved.

- The CONTRAST approach;

  This is to design an uncompromisingly modern building or extension which can be satisfactorily integrated into the existing historic urban fabric. This approach is most difficult to successfully achieve. It is unlikely to be acceptable within this 'one-period' Conservation Area because of the strong correlation between traditional building form, character and appearance.

Listed Buildings are buildings of special architectural or historic interest, and are afforded particular statutory protection. Protection includes fixtures and curtilage structures. Proposals to alter listed buildings should be generally in the style of their period and are subject to requirements which exceed the contents and scope of this document. The Department's Environment and Heritage Service should be consulted on such matters before any work is commissioned.

Design Elements

Building Line

The majority of buildings within the Conservation Area were built at the back edge of the pavement, with a small number having very short front gardens.

The strong building line is an important component of the area's built heritage, contributing positively to its character and appearance, and it should be respected in any new development.

Scale

New development should replicate the domestic scale of adjacent buildings with particular attention being paid to elevational mass and height, reflecting the architectural rhythm of the street frontage.

Proportion

The majority of buildings in the Conservation Area are two storey and classically influenced with a sense of harmony, symmetry and proportion. There is a strong vertical emphasis to the fenestration, with a bias in favour of the solid to void ratio. Window heights are often diminished on the upper floor. Traditionally, gable-end form/proportions tend to the vertical.

The traditional building form is an important component of the Area's built heritage, contributing positively to its character and appearance, It should be respected in any new development.

Alterations and Additions

Alterations and additions to buildings should respect the form and character of the parent building and should be such that they do not dominate, mask or challenge the authority of that building, or detract architecturally or visually from it.

For alterations or additions the reproduction or traditional approach to design is considered to be the most suitable within Gracehill Conservation Area.

Roofs

New roofs, including those on building extensions, should be pitched and ridged. The angle of pitch should reflect that which is traditional within the area. Main roofs should pitch away and upwards from the street frontage.

Roof covering should be in either the traditional 'Bangor Blue' slate or a natural slate which matches these in colour, texture and form. In certain situations such as new-build, a realistic manufactured 'slate' – riven with feathered edges, may be acceptable. Ridge tiles should be simple inverted V section, in clay.

Roofs within the Conservation Area are usually terminated by corbelled eaves and plain flush gables (without bargeboards). There are examples, however, of plain and intricate boxed and open bargeboards and eaves. Roofs to new buildings should reflect traditional period designs. Roofs to extensions should reflect the roof design of the parent building.

Design Elements

Chimneys

Traditionally, chimney stacks on buildings within the Conservation Area are several flues deep - front to back, and are placed on the centre of the ridge. They are of imperial brick work or rendered finish with simple corbelling. While most terminate with simple clay flue pots, a number of the grander buildings incorporate more substantial and decorated pots.

In existing buildings, chimneys which are no longer in use should be retained to maintain the existing roofscape silhouette, to respect traditional building form and where appropriate, to maintain building symmetry. Similarly, in new development traditional chimney stacks should be provided, even when they are non-functional.

Dormer Windows

There are a small number of buildings within the Conservation Area with dormer windows. These dormers are of the gable type which spring from the front wall, have double pitched roofs and are vertical in proportion.

Dormer windows in any new development, including extensions to existing buildings, should reflect the established form.

Rooflights

Rooflights are not a common feature within the Conservation Area. Any new rooflights should be located on rear elevations, be of traditional form i.e. low profile and fine lined, and not be over-large or dominant on the roof face.

Rainwater Goods

Rainwater gutters, downpipes and hopper heads should be either cast iron or cast aluminium, and painted. In an extension or if replacing rainwater goods, the gutter profile should match that elsewhere on the parent building.

uPVC rainwater goods on unlisted buildings will only be acceptable where they are not visible from the public domain. In listed buildings all replacement rainwater goods should match the original in form and material.

Design Elements
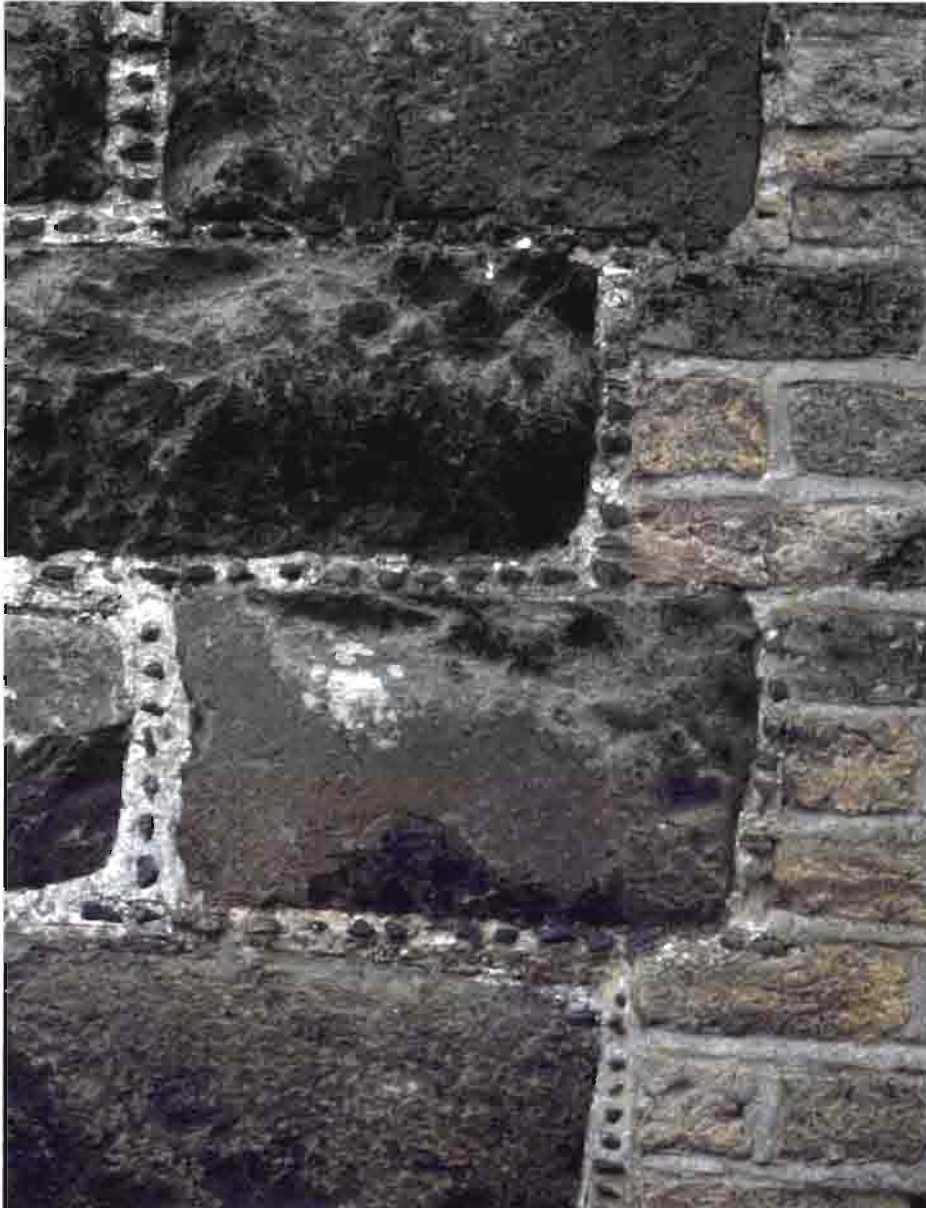
External Wall Finishes

The traditional wall finishes are wet dash (harl) and smooth render. Both are lime based. Traditional wet dash incorporates a rounded aggregate (not crushed stone) with a graded particle size from 6-8mm down to dust. Plinths are projecting and smooth. Some of the earliest buildings are in coursed basalt (black stone) with pebble infill (cherry caulking) in the pointing.

In new buildings, external wall finishes should reflect the limited range of those traditional finishes within the Conservation Area. Finishes to extensions should normally match the parent building. Existing black-stone facades should be retained to preserve the building's and the area's character.

Decorative stone and plaster detail such as cornices, string courses, quoins and keystones should be retained, or if missing on existing buildings, reinstated. This traditional architectural detailing may, where appropriate, be included in new building designs.

When repairing lime based external renders and pointing, lime based mortar should be used. This is skilled work which should be carried out by suitably experienced personnel.

Windows

Fenestration within Gracehill Conservation Area is influenced by both classical and traditional architectural influences, giving a mixture of symmetrical and asymmetrical window patterns, sometimes on adjoining facades. While the majority of window openings have a strong vertical emphasis, a small number of dwellings display square window openings both on the ground and upper floors.

The traditional domestic window type is the timber vertical sliding sash unit with either exposed (Georgian) or concealed (Victorian) box frames. The operational design is of two vertically sliding frames. The individual frames are generally either Georgian style (sub-divided six panes-over-six or eight panes-over-eight); Regency style (sub-divided into two panes with a horizontal glazing bar); or late Victorian style (not sub-divided).

Window frames in dwellings should be of sliding sash construction, in timber and painted with opaque paint not stained or varnished. In new build, window form and proportions should respect that which is traditional within the area. In existing dwellings, replacement windows should replicate the original units.

When existing properties are being altered, the original fenestration should be retained or restored and any window embellishments should be repaired or if missing, reinstated.

Window cills should be substantial in depth and constructed in either precast concrete or stone, and have a traditional profile especially in respect of the leading edge. This edge should be c.80mm.
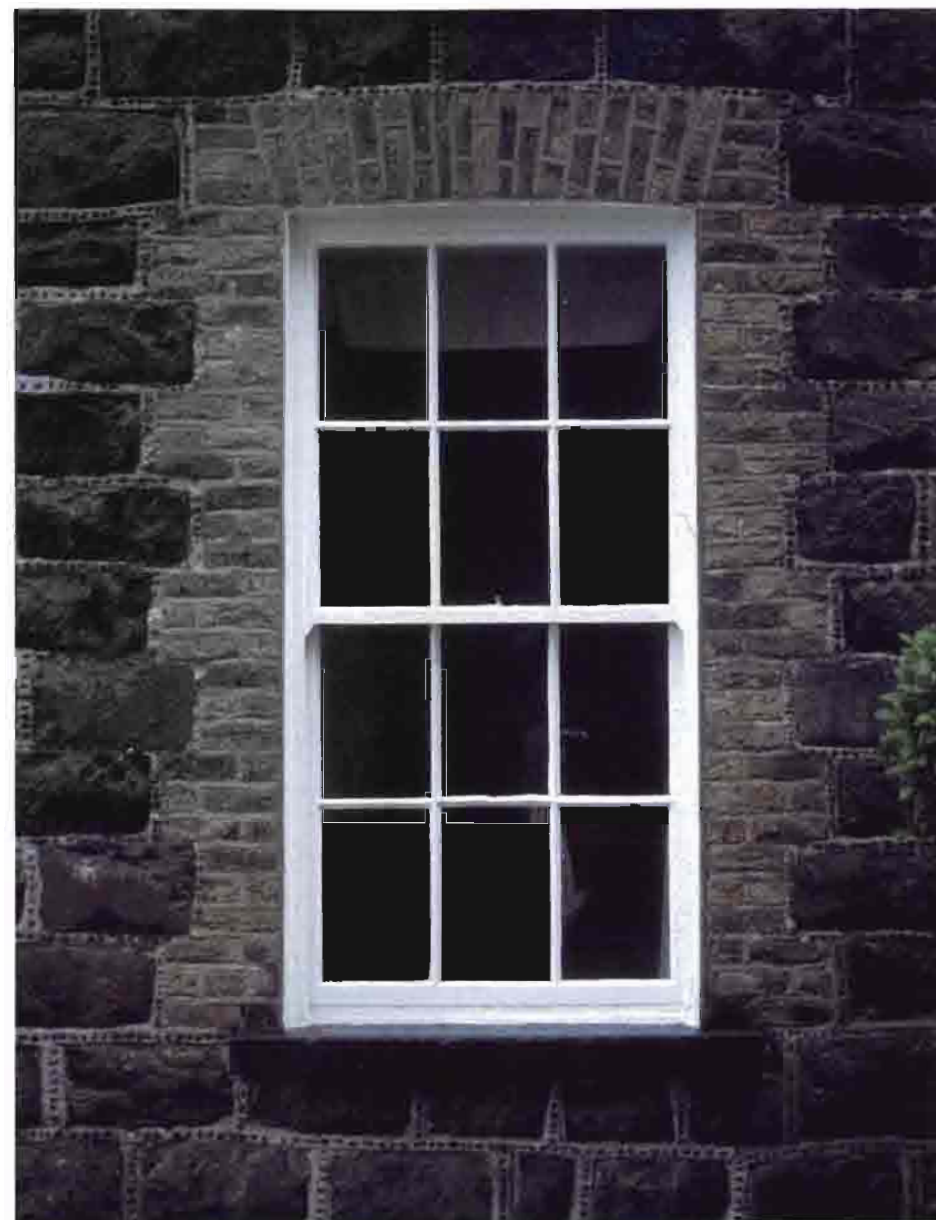
Doors and Accessories

There are a number of traditional door designs within the Conservation Area, but all belong to one of two basic types - the vertically boarded or the panelled timber door. The most common door is the panelled type. All doors are of timber construction and painted with opaque paint, not stained or varnished.

By the end of the 18th Century the 6-panelled door was the most popular of this form with a careful gradation of size, proportion and detail. Separately applied bolection mouldings had been replaced by carefully worked mouldings on the arrises of the frame rails. As the 19th Century proceeded, 4-panelled doors became more popular and bolection mouldings came again into use. In some panelled doors the upper solid panels are replaced with plain glass.

A few buildings within the Conservation Area feature a classically detailed encasement incorporating decorative fanlight and sidelights. Some however incorporate the decorative lights within a plain surround while others incorporate plain lights within the plain surround.

New or replacement doors should respect traditional styles, as appropriate, and be constructed in timber and painted.

If there is no fanlight in the entrance, plain glass panels may be substituted for solid ones in the upper parts of the panelled doors. Large expanses of glass are not appropriate. Doors with integral fanlights must not be used. Door sidelights should be plain glass.

Door accessories such as knockers, knobs, letterboxes, locks and handles should be made of cast iron or brass, and be of period design. Front-door knockers and door knobs were in widespread use by the mid 18th Century. Early examples were usually of cast iron and painted black, as only the grandest homes could afford brass fittings at that time. The Regency period, however, saw a proliferation in the types of door furniture in use, witnessing a significant increase in the number of front-door bells (generally circular and of brass). Letter boxes came into use after the introduction of the penny post in the 1840's. The early examples were of cast brass; later models were often elaborately incised or decorated.

When doors are being replaced, the existing door furniture should, where possible, be reused.
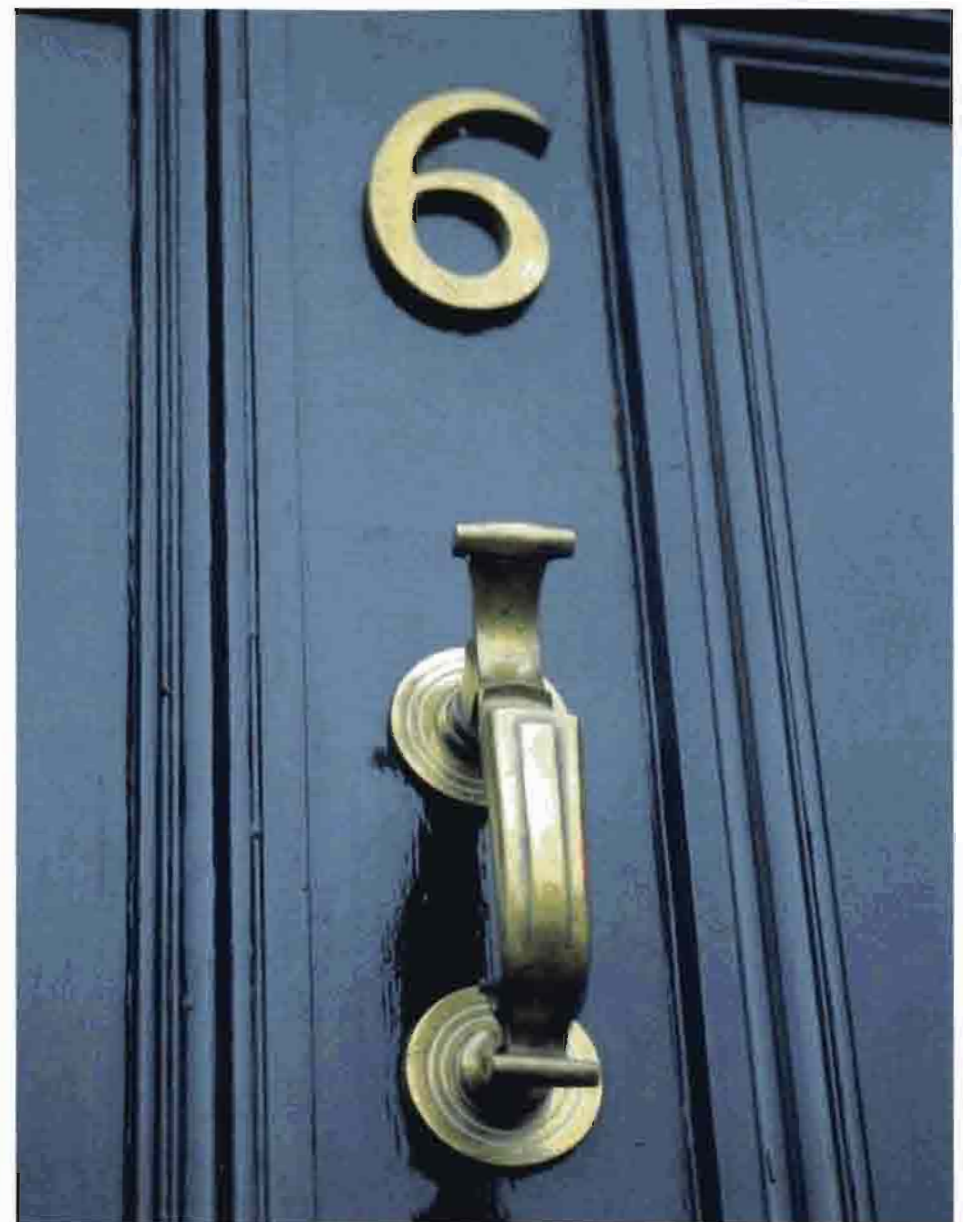
Design Elements

Ancillary Development

New domestic garages and outbuildings should relate to existing buildings in a way which achieves an architecturally unified grouping. They should also be subservient to the parent building. Their form including finishes and detail should respect that of the parent building.

Fire escapes can be contained either; within the existing building envelope, within a new extension, or be provided externally. Any external stairway should be located and designed in a manner that is sympathetic to the character and appearance of the building.

Satellite dishes should be sited on rear elevations and below ridgelines. They should not be visible from the public domain.

Plot boundaries are traditionally defined by walls, railings and hedges of varying heights to the front, and high hedges to the rear. Hedges are often interspersed with trees. These traditional forms of enclosure should be used in any new works. Where new walls are to be built the design, material and finish should complement the building to which they relate. Where new railings are to be erected, they should be of substantial-section mild steel, galvanised, with cast heads and painted. They should have a vertical emphasis. New hedges should be of the traditional indigenous types including Box and Privet. Leyland Cypress should not be used for the provision of hedges in the Conservation Area. These trees are visually unacceptable and are generally unsuited to domestic situations.

Colour

Colour is an important component of a building elevation, and to the streetscape. It should be applied in order to maintain visual harmony within the street, thus adding to the quality of the overall environment.

Façades should be painted in a pastel colour. External architraves, quoins and other external plaster architectural detailing should be painted a tone darker than the façade to provide contrast. Rainwater goods can be painted either to 'disappear' (the same colour as the façade) or to stand out (painted a strong colour, e.g. black). In general, window and doorframes should be painted white or off-white. Doors should be painted using primary colours. Stains or varnishes are not traditional and should not be used.

Shopfronts

At the date of publication, there is only one retail outlet in the settlement (no.23 Cennick Road). While the Department does not anticipate demand to be high for the further provision of retail outlets, it is considered important that any potential retail development should not detract from the established character and appearance of the Conservation Area.

Any new shopfront should be designed having consideration for the context, character and style of the building into which it is to be fitted. It is considered that a simple design solution based on a traditional shopfront is the most suitable.

Signage

Signage should be applied having consideration for the context, character and style of the building on which it is to be placed. It must not detract from the architectural or historic character of the parent building, or of the immediate locality or setting.

Design Elements

Trees and Hedges

Trees and hedges, particularly of indigenous species, make an important contribution to the appearance and character of Gracehill Conservation Area. They help to soften the impact of buildings and enhance the setting of the built forms. Therefore in assessing development proposals any potential impact on existing trees and hedges will be taken into account.

Any vegetation that makes a visual or historic contribution to the area should be retained, and protected during the period of any development works. Development may in some instances be subject to planning conditions requiring new tree planting of indigenous species in accordance with an approved landscape plan.

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Opportunity Sites

An undeveloped or disused site within the Conservation Area, where it is within the Limit of Development as defined in the current Area Plan, may offer a development opportunity. The layout, form and appearance of any new development should respect that which is traditional within the area. Particular emphasis will be placed on new development conforming to the traditional building line, and to plot form and layout.

It is important to preserve the former paddock-like curtilages of the original holdings; to sub-divide them would break down the original holding pattern of the village.

Landscape

Green spaces and other natural elements are historical features within Gracehill and make an important contribution to the fabric and character of the Conservation Area.

From the adjacent Galgorm to Ahoghill Road, the long edges of the Conservation Area are concealed and defined by mature stands of indigenous broadleaf deciduous trees including Elder, Alder, Beech and Ash.

Within the Area, the visual impact of natural elements is most apparent from long distance views along the streets.

Trees, hedges and other plants on the streets and in gardens have a softening effect within the street scene and at times their associated scents and sounds contribute to the ambience of the area.

Back gardens make up a significant proportion of the area but can be seen only from certain points. Nonetheless, the contribution of their glimpsed views is important to the area's character, as are the limited number of short front gardens which are usually well kept and stocked with small trees, shrubs and flowering plants.
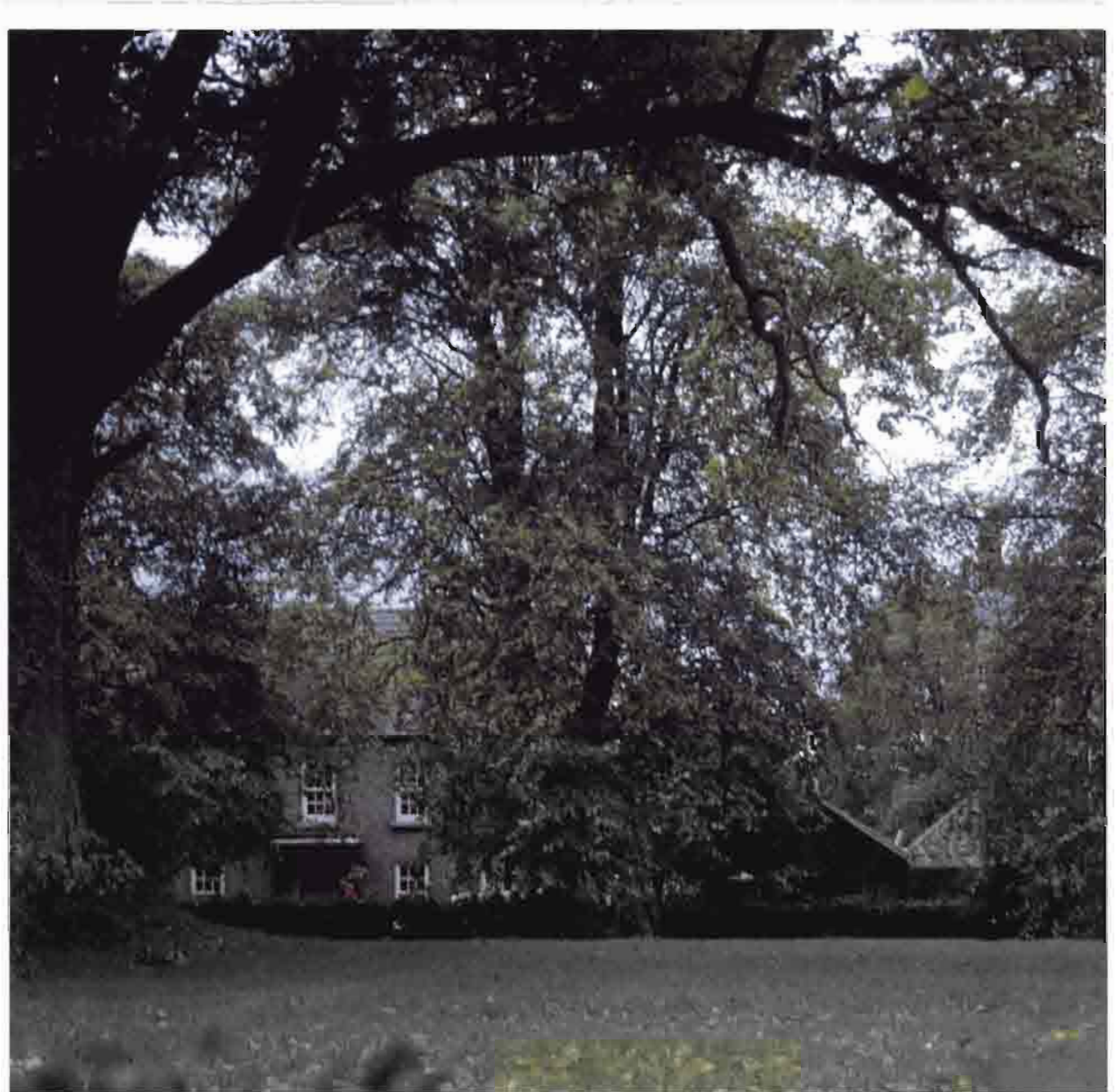
The grassed Square is bounded by a low trimmed hedge formed of Beech, Hawthorn, Privet and Snowberry. Within this is a border of mature Limes interspersed with Holly, Rhododendron, Ash and Beech. At its centre is the historic Montgomery Oak. The Square is the green hub of the Conservation Area and has a particularly tranquil atmosphere, reflecting its original purpose as a place for meditation and relaxation. Its presence quietly dominates Montgomery and Academy Streets, and the Church frontage area.

The Square is complemented by the adjacent mature garden of No.7 Academy Street. This plot-size garden is at the junction of Academy Street and Church Road and is bounded partially by a low, well controlled privet hedge and by low walls. These walls are softened by overhanging vegetation. Within the garden are pine, leyland cypress, copper beech and ornamental cherry.

The gap between the former Boy's Academy and the church offers an interesting view towards, but not into, the secluded graveyard. The building gables funnel the view to a narrow pathway which is lined on either side by mature Yew trees; traditionally associated with graveyards.

A large single mature lime stands sentinel in Church Road opposite the entrance to 'Gracefield'. This tree is a dominant focal point for traffic coming from this estate, and also helps to frame the view towards Tuppenny Road from the Church frontage area.

The most interesting view out of the Conservation Area is from Cennick Road; the River Maine's water meadows and the distant Galgorm Castle plantation with its varying canopy height. This broadleafed plantation includes many examples of indigenous trees including Beech, Ash and Poplar.

Street furniture

Street furniture can make a strong positive contribution to the character and appearance of a conservation area. Within Gracehill, the street lamps and columns are attractive and respectful of the historic environment, as are the street signs.

The pavements are surfaced in small unit paviors and edged in either granite or 'Tardree Stone' kerbs, and the road surface incorporates redstone chippings within a tar macadam base; these elements contribute to the sense of a built environment of quality.

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Threats

Areas of Weakness

In the period since Conservation Area designation change has generally been carried out sensitively. However, within the area certain buildings and their spaces have a negative impact on its character and appearance, e.g:

- The introduction of a shared surface cul-de-sac development at Cennick Grove is discordant with the traditional built environment of the Conservation Area, weakening the building line and sub-dividing an original plot.

- Similarly, at the Tuppeny Road end of Church Road and Cennick Road there are a number of modern dwellings whose form and site layout jar with the traditional built environment.

Loss of original features

The inappropriate replacement of original external elements of buildings, e.g. uPVC windows and doors, man-made roof slates from sheet material, uPVC rainwater goods, and modern wall finishes has not been a major problem within Gracehill Conservation Area. However, a few inappropriate replacements have occurred, and there is the potential for further occurrences. The Department will where appropriate take action to ensure the retention or reinstatement of original features.

It is the original features of historic buildings which contribute so much to the character and appearance of the Conservation Area. As such, these should either be retained and repaired or, if this is impractical, replaced like-for-like.

Summary

Summary

Conservation is not a cosmetic exercise. Securing the preservation or enhancement of the historic built environment stems from strong cultural, economic and environmental objectives, the recognition of which is long established in various International Charters.

It is important, therefore, that those individuals or groups intending to carry out any work which affects the buildings in the Conservation Area, their settings, open spaces or the street scene consider the implications and see all prospective changes, however small, within the larger picture. The character and appearance of a conservation area is inseparable from the physical fabric of which it is made.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Listed Buildings in Gracehill Conservation Area

Buildings are added to the statutory lists normally as a result of systematic resurvey or review of particular areas or building types. A resurvey is currently underway in Northern Ireland, and as well as selecting new buildings for listing, is including a review of those buildings already listed. The following list is correct as at Oct. 2001.

Historic Building ref. Number	Building	Date of Erection	Comment
07/15/002	Moravian Church and 21 and 25 Church Road	1765	The church with clock turret (added later) has house wings at either end
07/15/003	Early memorials in Moravian Church Graveyard		Gravestones of males on one side and females on the other
07/15/004A· 07/15/004B	27 Church Road 29 Church Road		The two properties form a 9 bay building, part of which has been modernised
07/15/005	4-6 Montgomery Street	1787	A two storey 8 bay building with Ionic-columned doorway
07/15/006	8 Montgomery Street	c. 1819	A two storey house of regular coursed blackstone construction with covered semi-circular arched entrance and cone-topped railings
07/15/007	24 Cennick Road	pre 1832	A two storey Georgian cottage with Victorian trelliswork porch
07/15/009A 07/15/009B 07/15/009C	1 Academy Street 3 Academy Street 21-23 Cennick Road	mid 18th Centuary	Formerly the Village Inn. Now with rendered finish and modern entrances.
07/15/010A 07/15/010B 07/15/101C	5 Academy Street 7 Academy Street 14 Church Road	c.1790	Formerly the Girls Academy

Historic Building ref. Number	Building	Date of Erection	Comment
07/15/011	19 Church Road		Former Primary School. A two storey 10 bay building finished with stucco with classical detail.
07/15/012	15 Church Road	Pre 1832	A two storey building with triple triangular headed display windows and paired sash openings above.
07/15/013	13 Church Road	Pre 1832	A two storey 3 bay house with unrecessed sash windows and modern entrance.
07/15/014	11 Church Road	Pre 1832	A two storey 3 bay house with roughcast finish.
07/15/015	9 Church Road	Pre 1832	A two storey 2 bay house with modern windows and entrance.
07/15/016A 07/15/016B	5 Church Road 7 Church Road	Pre 1832	A pair of wet-dashed houses with quoins. Windows are plain sashed and entrances are modern.
07/15/017 07/15/032	3A-D Church Road 1 Church Road	Pre 1832 Pre 1832	Former Widows House. A two storey 3 bay wet dashed house with panelled entrance.
07/15/033	10-12 Cennick Road	Pre 1832	A pair of wet dashed cottages with dormer windows.
07/15/034A 07/15/034B	22 Cennick Road 20 Cennick Road	Pre 1832	A pair of wet dashed houses with 4 pane Georgian glazing.

Listed Buildings in Gracehill Conservation Area

Historic Building ref. Number	Building	Date of Erection	Comment
07/15/035	2 Montgomery Street	Pre 1832	An early house now with modern fenestration
07/15/036	50 Church Road	Pre 1832	A blackstone house with two half dormers
07/15/037	12 Church Road	Pre 1832	Former dispensary

Arris: The line or edge on which two surfaces, forming an exterior angle, meet each other (e.g. corner of masonry).

Bargeboard: A sloping board covering the ends of roof timbers.

Bolection Moulding: Convex moulding covering the joint between two different planes and overlapping the higher as well as the lower one.

Classical Architecture: In its strictest sense, this is based on the classical Greco-Roman orders or proportions. A more general interpretation can be applied to simpler buildings lacking much or nearly all of the detail of the classical orders, but still with a sense of harmony, symmetry and proportion.

Conservation: Action to secure the survival or preservation of buildings, cultural artefacts, natural resources, energy or any other thing of acknowledged value for the future.

Conservation Area: This is an area, declared by the DOE, which is considered to be of special architectural or historic interest and thus worthy of retention.

Cornice: A projecting moulding along the top of a building or above doors and windows.

Corbel: A stone which is built into and projects from a wall.

Cupola: A diminutive domed form, also called a 'lantern'.

Development Control: A term given to the process whereby the planning authority assesses and determines planning applications.

Glossary of Technical Terms

Eaves: The overhanging lower part of a roof.

Façade: The face of a building, towards the street.

Fanlight: Generic term for a window over a door, (more specifically, a rectangular window may be termed a transom light).

Fenestration: The arrangement of windows in a building.

Georgian: The association of architectural style and ideas with the reigns of Kings George I-IV c.1714-1810.

Jamb: The vertical side of a door or window opening

Keystone: The central element of an arch.

Mullion: Upright bar that divides a window.

Proportion: Refers to the relationship in terms of size and arrangement of the various elements in a façade.

Quoinstone: Raised stonework, or plasterwork imitating stonework, to be found at the corners and angles of a building.

Regency: Used in architecture to describe the years from about 1810 to 1830, that is, the intermediate time between the end of Georgian Britain and the beginning of Victorian Britain.

Sash Window: A type of window in which the frames slide up and down vertically, supported on sash cords and a pulley.

Scale: The size of a particular building or its components when considered in relation to its surroundings, or in reference to the human form.

String Course: A projecting horizontal course or line of mouldings running along the façade of a building.

Street Furniture: Refers to the various elements to be found in the typical street, such as street lamps, post boxes, litter bins, street signs and public seating.

Transom: A horizontal structural division in a window.

Vernacular: A style of building or architecture peculiar to a particular locality.

Victorian: The association of architectural style and ideas with the reign of Queen Victoria c.1830-1900.

Wet Dash: A traditional Irish method of 'throwing on' a lime and sand mix to a wall in one or more coats (termed 'harling' in Scotland).

Financial assistance for works to our built heritage is available from a number of sources. However, the ongoing situation can be fluid with sources and levels of funding changing.

Information on sources of funding for works to the built heritage of Northern Ireland was brought together for the first time in 1999 in the publication "Directory of Funds for Historic Buildings Northern Ireland", by the Ulster Architectural Heritage Society in association with the Department's Environment and Heritage Service.

Copies of this Directory are available from:

> Ulster Architectural Heritage Society
> 66 Donegal Pass
> Belfast
> BT7 1BU
>
> Telephone: 02890 550 213
> E-mail: info@uahs.co.uk

and

> Environment and Heritage Service
> Protecting Historic Buildings
> 5-33 Hill Street
> Belfast
> BT1 2LA
>
> Telephone: 02890 235 000
> E-mail: hbgrants@doeni.gov.uk

Planning Service Conservation Officers and Environment and Heritage Service Architects (listed buildings only) are willing to informally discuss individual proposals with developers. It is considered desirable that informal consultation takes place prior to the preparation of detailed proposals.

It is strongly recommended that prospective developers read Planning Policy Statement 6 prior to any consultation with the Department.

Appendix 4

Conservation Area Appraisals – Defining the Special Architectural or Historic Interest of Conservation Areas, English Heritage, 1997

Conservation Area Management – A Practical Guide, English Historic Towns Forum, 1998

Conservation Area Practice – Guidance on the Management of Conservation Areas, English Heritage, 1995

Conservation Guidelines (16 Booklets), Department of the Environment (Ireland)

Guide to the Principles of the Conservation of Historic Buildings (BS 7913), British Standards Institution, 1998

McAfee, P., Stone Buildings, O'Brien Press, 1998

Planning Policy Statement 6 (PPS 6); Planning, Archaeology and the Built Heritage, Department of Environment, 1999

Robinson P., Diamonds in Stone, Greystone Books, 1994

White A. and Robertson B., Architecture & Ornament – A Visual Guide, Studio Vista, 1990

White, R., A History of Gracehill Moravian Settlement, 1997

The enhancement of the character and appearance of a conservation area can be defined as the reinforcement of the qualities providing the special interest which warranted designation. A number of enhancement opportunities have been identified within Gracehill.

The Square

The Square contains a number of trees which appear to be over mature. A tree survey should be carried out to identify the need for pruning, surgery, replanting or supplementary planting. Remedial work should be undertaken to ensure this area retains its historically and visually important tree cover.

The pond at the centre of the Square is silted up, and overgrown with weeds. The stone pipes leading to and from it have fallen into disrepair. Consideration should be given to the refurbishment of this historic feature and its use as an educational resource.

Street Furniture

A number of properties within the Conservation Area were originally bounded by railings. Many of these were removed during the Second World War. Consideration should be given to the reinstatement of these railings, which should conform in design, material and finish to the originals.

The street lighting units require major attention due to weathering and general wear and tear. Consideration should be given to the introduction of a new system, possibly with more powerful lanterns and reduced numbers.

Identification of Key Buildings

Gracehill attracts many visitors who come to gain knowledge of its religious and secular history and architecture. The placing of descriptive plaques on key buildings and places would enhance their identification and interpretation.