Priests and Martyrs: The Second Engraved Title Page of Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror*

Jeff Bach

The Ephrata Community in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, printed the largest book produced in the American colonies in 1748. The volume was a large martyrology titled *Der blutige Schauplatz oder Martyrer Spiegel der wehrlosen Taufsgesinnten* (English: *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Anabaptists*). (Fig. 1) It was the first complete German translation of the Dutch version, *Het Bloedig Tooneel der Doops-gesinden en Wereloose Christenen* (English: *The Bloody Theater of the Anabaptists and Defenseless Christians*), written by Thieleman Jansz. van Braght and published in 1660.[1] The book recounted the martyrdom of many Anabaptists since the Reformation and linked them to Christian martyrs going back to Jesus and the disciples. A second edition was printed in 1685, twenty-one years after van Braght's death. The second edition included 104 etchings by Jan Luyken. The title of the second Dutch edition was *Het Bloedig Tooneel of Martelaers Spiegel der Doops-Gesinde of Weereloose Christenen* (English: *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs Mirror of the Anabaptists or Defenseless Christians*). Peter Miller, the prior of the celibate brothers at Ephrata, translated the book from Dutch to German and oversaw a printing crew of fourteen other men who divided their labor between type-setting, printing, and work in Ephrata's paper mill.[2]

"Pilgrims and Martyrs: The Engraved Title Page of Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror,*" my article in *American Communal Societies Quarterly* in 2011,[3] offers an interpretation of an engraved title page preceding Part 1 in some copies of Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror*. (Fig. 4) That article mentions briefly the existence of a second engraved title page for Part 2. The current article will provide a description of the second engraved title page and offer some interpretive suggestions for its image.

The second engraved title page is extremely rare. (Fig. 2) Only two examples are known to exist. One copy is an unbound leaf at the Library Company in Philadelphia.[4] The other example is bound into a copy of Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror* in the possession of the Muddy Creek Farm Library in Ephrata, Pennsylvania. Amos Hoover, the head of the library, graciously offered generous amounts of time to examine the book. He also permitted Gretchen Simmons to photograph the engraved second


Des
Blutigen Schau-Platzes
der
Martyrer-Spiegels
der
Taufs
Gesinnten
oder
Wehrlosen Christen.
zweyte Theil.
Vormals in Holländischer Sprache heraus gegeben,
und mit vielen glaubwürdigen Urkunden vermehrt,
nun aber aus dem Holländischen in das Hochteutsche getreulich über-
setzet, und mit einigen neuen Nachrichten vermehret.
EPHRATA in Pensylvanien
Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft. Anno MDCCXLIX.

Fig. 1. *The title page of the* Martyr's Mirror, *printed at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1748.* Courtesy of the Muddy Creek Farm Library.

Fig. 2. *The second engraved title page of the* Martyr's Mirror. Courtesy of the Muddy Creek Farm Library.

title page and close-ups of its details. Christian Goodwillie facilitated the photography session. The digital photographs have allowed for intensive examination under enlargement, revealing many details not visible to the unaided eye. I owed a great debt of gratitude to Hoover, Simmons, and Goodwillie.

Fig. 3. *Ephrata Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft"*
(Ephrata, Printed and Published by the Brotherhood)
Courtesy of the Muddy Creek Farm Library.

The Engraved Page

The second engraved title page is technically not fully a title page. The title of the book is missing, but a shield appears at the top of the illustration with the publication information: "Ephrata Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft" (Ephrata, Printed and Published by the Brotherhood). (Fig. 3) The date of the publication is also missing. Because some of the publication information is present, however, the etching cannot be considered a frontispiece.

The second title page is an emblematic illustration, in contrast to the engraved title page for Part 1, which is an allegorical illustration. That etching uses mostly recognizable, concrete images to depict allegorically the journey of faith from the renunciation of sin, to baptism by immersion, through suffering, ending in heaven with the Lamb of God.[5] In contrast, the etching for Part 2 is an emblematic illustration. Emblems combine images that may be recognizable, but do not explicitly portray people

Fig. 4. *The engraved title page of the* Martyr's Mirror. Communal Societies Collection, Hamilton College.

or events. The details of the emblem suggest associations with concepts without stating them specifically. Emblems in Christian books suggest beliefs, practices, devotional attitudes, or other concepts. Peter Erb has described this function and noted that many emblematic illustrations may have served to increase devotional life and attitudes as Christians viewed and contemplated the pictures.[6] Emblematic illustrations were extremely popular in Christian devotional literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The second printed edition of Jacob Boehme's works, printed in 1682, contained numerous emblems by Jan Luyken, with partial interpretations by Johann Georg Gichtel, the editor and publisher. Some elements of the emblems in Boehme's works were incorporated into Ephrata art.[7] Boehme and Gichtel were highly influential on Conrad Beissel, the founder of the Ephrata community, and many of the members.

Following a brief, general description of the illustration, the major design components will be addressed in detail along with some possible interpretations. The emblematic image consists of a central cross with a winged heart at the center and a chalice beneath the heart. (Fig. 5) The heart is pierced by a spear and drops of blood drip into the chalice. The chalice stands on a large book that is sealed with seven seals. To the left of the cross and chalice stands a male figure; to the right of the figure stands a female figure. A short scroll with text unfurls beside each person.

The book with seals rests upon the center of a large device with two arms, one extending to the left and one to the right. The device is anchored onto the cross near its bottom. German art historian Dr. Esther Meier pointed out that this mechanism is a balance or scale. At the end of each arm of the device a kind of hat rests upon the end of the scale. While the hats may resemble bishops' mitres, a closer examination reveals that they are not mitres. Dr. Meier has suggested that the headdresses are related to the priesthood, not the bishopric. Further analysis of this interpretation follows below.

The central cross stands on a large base at the bottom of the illustration. A scroll on the base contains the inscription, *Matth: XI. 30* (for Matthew 11:30). Encircling the entire emblem is an oval frame resembling a wide ribbon with text written upon it. The text is Matthew 11:30: "Mein Joch is sanft und meine Last ist leicht" (My yoke is easy and my burden is light). On the bottom of the base is another inscription, of which the first half is nearly illegible. Upon examination under enlargement, the text clearly reads: "Im Jahr des erworbenen Heils" (in the year of the

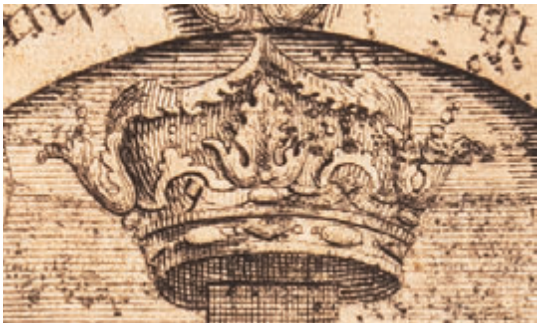
Fig. 5. *The second engraved title page of the* Martyr's Mirror, *center detail.* Courtesy of the Muddy Creek Farm Library.

attained salvation). Typically this phrase would precede the date of the year of publication, however no year is given. Underneath and outside of the illustrated base is the engraver's name, M. Eben, for Johann Michael Eben (1716-1761), who also created the engraved title page for Part 1 of Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror*.

Because emblematic illustrations are not created to present objects with only one exact meaning, multiple interpretations are possible for the engraved second title page for Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror*. However, some elements of the picture evoke associations between the image and some of Ephrata's beliefs. How much Eben knew about Ephrata's beliefs, or whether Ephrata

members sent him guidelines for the illustrations is unclear. Admitting that many understandings are possible for this emblem, some of the connections to Ephrata's religious world will be suggested below.

Fig. 6



The Cross

A large cross dominates the center of the emblematic scene. A large crown is immediately above the cross. (Fig. 6) At Ephrata a crown sometimes served metaphorically as the reward for living a celibate, virginal life espoused to Christ. Beissel wrote to a spiritual sister that "we are now betrothed and married to a Husband, and we must remain faithful entirely to Him."[8] In the eternal spiritual marriage "our crown first blooms," according to Beissel. The crown may also represent the victory of a martyr in suffering and death. Beissel and many of his followers viewed the self-renunciation necessary for celibacy as a kind of spiritual martyrdom.[9] Beissel signed one of his theosophical epistles as a "fighter to attain the crown of the conqueror."[10] Crowns appear on a badly deteriorated large wall placard created at Ephrata to depict Christ, the Lamb of God and the Good Shepherd. Sometimes erroneously called "The Three Heavens," the placard portrays several small scenes of celibate sisters placing crowns or floral wreaths on each other's heads.[11] Although the placard is dated 1755, Beissel referred to the concept of the crown of virginity and martyrdom in his earlier letters.

The cross is central to Conrad Beissel's theology of redemption from a two-fold fall into sin through the death of Jesus Christ, spiritual rebirth, and taking up the cross of personal suffering in a life of renunciation and discipleship. Beissel wrote of the "mystery of the cross of Christ," meaning a believer must suffer inwardly the condemnation of all of one's efforts to do good, and thus pass through "the mystic death" in order to be reborn.[12]

Fig. 7

At the center of the cross is a heart with wings on either side. (Fig. 7) Flames emerge from the top of the heart. The heart and flames are very difficult to recognize with the unaided eye. The bibliography of early German printing in America by Karl Arndt and Reimer Eck incorrectly interprets this image to be a winged dove. Upon magnification, this feature is clearly a heart, not a dove.

The heart alludes to Beissel's concept, taken from Jacob Boehme, that Jesus Christ is "the heart of the Father," who bring God's loving and merciful qualities to sinful humanity. Christ's death on the cross is the supreme outpouring of God's love for sinners. At the top of the heart, flames emerge. The flames may indicate the warmth and gentle light that comes as the fire of masculinity in Jesus is transformed into "a soft little flame" by the divine female qualities, resulting in a redemptive love.[13] The significance of wings on the heart is unclear. Perhaps they suggest that Christ's love overshadows or protects believers. A passing comment in the same passage about the soft little flame from Jesus alluded to the heavenly Virgin Sophia (see below) as a hen gathering her chicks under her wings. Ultimately it is unclear what meanings the image of the winged heart might imply for Ephrata.

The heart in the image is wounded by what appears to be a spear. Drops of blood drip out of the heart into a chalice beneath it. The redemptive

nature of Christ's death on the cross is a frequent theme at Ephrata. One common association is the blood of Christ with the new covenant. The one who wants to attain true salvation must find it "in the shed blood of the little Lamb [Jesus] and thereby be brought into the New Covenant."[14]

Blood from the heart dripping into the chalice certainly alludes to the cup of wine in Christian communion. Few explicit references to the cup appear in the community's writings. At Ephrata the communion service was a Love Feast, as they called it, including feetwashing and a simple meal with communion. In the few comments about the bread and wine in Ephrata writings, they emphasize not partaking unworthily.[15] Beissel and his members held a symbolic view of the bread and wine at communion. Two plain wooden chalices survive that were reportedly used for the wine at communion at Ephrata. Their simplicity contrasts starkly with the ornate chalice in the etching.[16]

Next to the cross on both sides, stems with lilies branch outward. Ephrata artists adorned their music books and wall placards abundantly with lilies. Beissel drew on Jacob Boehme's frequent references to the lily as symbol of spiritual rebirth, which brings an eternal Sabbath of rest. Boehme noted that when rebirth occurs, "the lily time will become a rose time, which will bloom in May when winter passes."[17]

Figures at the Cross

Two human figures stand on either side of the cross. A male stands at the left and a female at the right. (Figs. 8 and 9) In medieval Christian art, these figures could easily represent the apostle John and Mary the mother of Jesus, standing at the cross. Due to other design elements, a different set of meanings are possible. The male figure holds a long staff with a cross on the top of it. Behind the head of the man a round circle radiates light like the sun. His left arm rests on an open book that sits atop a squared pedestal. The sun could reinforce the Boehmist concept at Ephrata that Jesus, as the Son of the Father, is like the sun, radiating light and warmth like redeeming love. The female figure on the right wears a veil, and above her head is a crescent moon. While this symbol sometimes is associated with the Virgin Mary in medieval art, perhaps a different virgin is intended in this vignette. The female figure could well represent the heavenly Virgin Sophia, the female aspect of God in the spiritual views of Boehme and Beissel. For Beissel she is the counterpart of Christ in spiritual rebirth and the espousal of the soul to God in celibate living.[18] Beside the female

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

figure is a rounded pillar on which rests an open book. Atop the book is a heart. Figures that resemble stars seem to descend from her hand onto the heart. If this female figure represents the Virgin Sophia, the stars might represent her giving her "seed" for spiritual rebirth and gender balance[19] or her "arrow of Sophianic love" to wound the male heart. Beissel wrote graphically of how Sophia woos male believers like a lover,[20] what Beissel, and before him Gottfried Arnold, referred to his "light rays of love" coming from her into the hearts of believers who are being converted.

While many interpretations are possible, if the two figures represent Jesus and Sophia, they would illustrate the combined influences of the male Jesus, whom Beissel called a virginal man, and the female Sophia, the heavenly Virgin, in order to effect spiritual rebirth in repentant sinners. At Ephrata, both Jesus and Sophia, the divine female aspect, made spiritual rebirth possible so that the gender balance in humans could be restored, as Beissel wrote in his "Dissertation on Man's Fall."[21] According to Beissel, the "mystery of the cross" occurred when Jesus in union with the Virgin Sophia, atoned for sinful male will through death. Sophia can then give spiritual birth to believers.[22] Rebirth through Jesus and Sophia restores the divine balance of male and female believers.[23]

The open books beside each figure could represent another dichotomy in Beissel's thought. He wrote often of the Old Covenant and the New Covenant and of two kinds of salvation: one based on the Law and good works, the other based on grace and the Gospel. If the books represent the Law and the Gospel of salvation by grace, they do not strictly represent the Old and New Testaments, but Beissel's understanding of two kinds of salvation that correspond to his view of two steps of conversion to reverse the effects of the two-fold fall into sin, as Beissel understood it. As Beissel wrote in a letter, one kind of salvation is based on the Law. From the commandments of the Bible one can easily see what one is doing wrong and can do good works to counteract them.[24] However, such efforts never bring a person to full, true salvation. Only through the Gospel (the belief in Christ's gracious forgiveness to a completely remorseful, repentant sinner) can the inward damage of Adam's sin be forgiven. The book beside the Jesus figure may represent the Law or commandments, by which one works for moral improvement. The book beside the female figure might imply the Gospel (not necessarily only the four gospels), the New Testament story of saving grace.

At first glance, identifying the book beside the Jesus figure seems to be completely contrary to typical Christian notions of Jesus bringing the gospel and salvation by grace. However, in Beissel's system, "true salvation" is not attained until after the first conversion, when one passes through a mystic death and with it spiritual rebirth. The heavenly Virgin Sophia is essential for full rebirth, because she and Jesus Christ collaborate in balancing gender imbalance and effecting spiritual espousal between a male or female divine counterpart in a heavenly marriage. The book of the Law beside Jesus may signify entry into the process of conversion and salvation, while the book of the Gospel beside Sophia may portray the completion of conversion, salvation, and spiritual rebirth, with gender balance for celibate living.

Two short scrolls with Latin texts unfurl beside the heads of the human figures. The scroll beside the male figure is difficult to read, but it appears to have the words "discors aris cordis." This text could be translated roughly to mean "a heart arising discordantly" or perhaps "a heart arising or originating from discord." The Latin text on the scroll beside the female figure is even harder to read. The quality of the etching and of the imprint are of very poor quality. The scroll appears to contain two words, "factibus opta," meaning approximately "well made." If one were to consider the two texts together, they could imply that a heart arising from discord becomes well made through spiritual rebirth empowered by Jesus and Sophia in spiritual rebirth and the resulting gender balance.

The Balance, the Book, and the Priesthoods

Affixed to the cross near its bottom is a balance or scale, with arms extending to the left and right, in front of the human figures. The scale is in perfect balance. Resting upon the balance at its center is a large, closed book with seven seals on it. (Fig. 10) The chalice (see above) rests on the book. At first sight, the sealed book seems to suggest the "book" (*Buch* in German) sealed with seven seals in Revelation 5:1-2. Luther translated the Greek word *biblion* as "book" (*Buch*) which was accurate. However, Ephrata's religious views again diverge from expectations. In describing the "secret of the cross," namely the need for condemnation of all good works and sheer trust in the grace of Christ, Beissel wrote in a letter, "The cross of Jesus Christ is a secret and sealed book with seven seals which will first be opened after Christ is resurrected from the dead."[25] The book in the emblematic drawing does not represent the book of the final apocalypse.

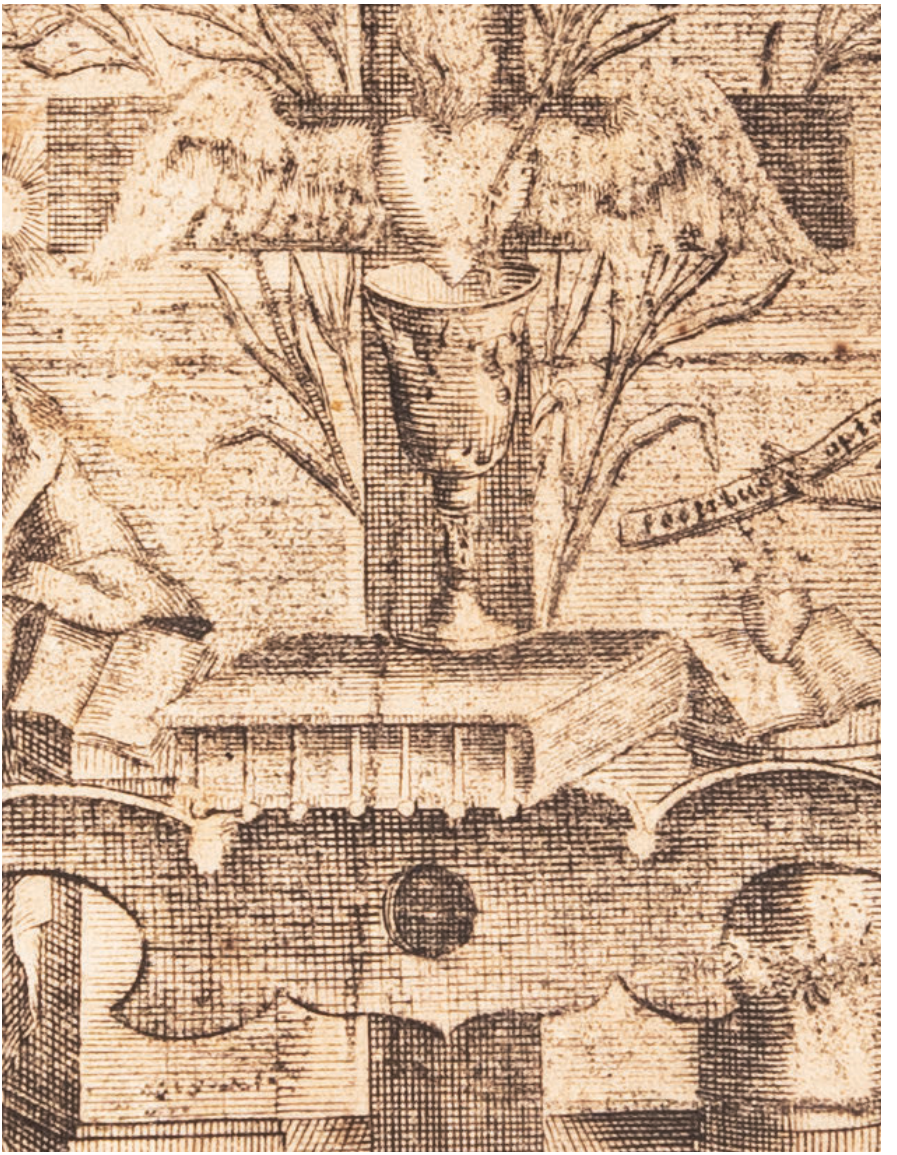


Fig. 10

Rather it represents the experiential present of one who desires and seeks the forgiveness of sins through the grace of Christ. Only when the seeker passes through identifying with the death of Christ and resurrection into new living can the book be unsealed. The location of the book in front of the cross and underneath a chalice receiving the blood of a wounded heart (likely Christ's heart) reinforces Beissel's teachings about how spiritual rebirth happens.

On each end of the arms of the balance rests a hat or headdress. As mentioned above, the hats are not bishops' mitres, but a different kind of headdress. Dr. Esther Meier has suggested that these hats represent garments of the priesthood in the Old Testament. My expansion to her theory is that the two hats represent the priesthood of Aaron in the Old Testament, and the priesthood of Melchizedek.

The priesthood of Melchizedek was of major importance at Ephrata and in German Radical Pietism.[26] Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau, a self-proclaimed Radical Pietist preacher, predicted that Christ would return at Easter in 1700 in Berleburg in Wittgenstein where Hochmann was staying.[27] During ecstatic worship services, Hochmann instituted a spiritual priesthood of Melchizedek, "ordaining" the participants as priests and giving them new names. The spiritual priesthood of Melchizedek is found in Boehme, and was popularized by Johann Georg Gichtel, the Radical Pietist who published Boehme's works, as well as by Jane Leade, the founder of the Philadelphian Society in England.[28]

At Ephrata, Beissel clearly delineated the priesthoods of Aaron and Melchizedek, and they figure prominently in the community's confession of faith, *Mistisches und Kirchliches Zeüchnuß der Brüderschaft in Zion* (English: *Mystic and Churchly Testimony of the Brotherhood in Zion*). Johannes Hildebrand probably wrote most of the confession of faith, which was printed for Ephrata by Christopher Sauer in 1743. Although the title suggests that the document was for the Brotherhood of Zion, it reflects the main points of Ephrata's religious thought.

Hildebrand explains that God instituted the priesthood of Aaron because Adam's fall into sin ignited the fiery wrath of God.[29] The priesthood of Aaron claimed power to forgive sins through animal sacrifice. Jesus Christ instituted the priesthood of Melchizedek by offering Himself as the all-sufficient sacrifice, embodying divine love to appease God's wrath and bring about reconciliation.[30] Thus the priesthood of Aaron was necessary to atone for human sin under the Old Covenant. The priesthood of

Melchizedek was necessary to fulfill the older priesthood and end animal sacrifices that could not completely atone for sin.[31] Thus the balance with the two hats is perfectly level, not because the priesthoods are equal, but because both are necessary.

Beissel gave new spiritual names to the celibates upon their baptism. The priesthood of Melchizedek was not a priesthood of all believers, but a spiritually elite troop. Women were priests in this order. However, the main ministry of the priesthood of Melchizedek at Ephrata was to pray in intercession for sinners. Beissel taught that members of Ephrata's priesthood could effect the forgiveness of sins.[32]

The oval, ribbon-like frame encircles virtually all of the emblematic scene, except for the shield with the printing information and two tree branches emerging from the left and right of the shield. As noted above, the scroll contains the words of Matthew 11:30: "My yoke is easy and my burden is light." In light of the dominating image of the cross, the bleeding heart and chalice, the two human figures and the sealed book, this verse is uniquely fitting as an emblem for Ephrata. The yoke and the burden of Jesus Christ are total self-renunciation, spiritual identification with Christ's death, and spiritual rebirth through the combined agency of Christ and Sophia. The rebirth results in gender balance that conquers sexual desire and leads to ordination into the celibate priesthood of Melchizedek. Part 2 of the *Martyrs Mirror* holds up the stories of hundreds of Anabaptist martyrs who serve as a mirror in which Ephrata celibates reflect lives not of persecution but of the martyrdom of self-renunciation. As members of the priesthood of Melchizedek, they live prayerfully as saints on earth, interceding for the forgiveness of sinners while journeying toward the heavenly communion of saints.

The two tree branches emerging from the shield above the main image of emblem pose a question about interpretation. Perhaps the branches reflect Boehme's belief that the cross became a new "Tree of Life" to replace the one in Genesis 2. However, Ephrata's writings add another layer of possibility. In the *Mystic and Churchly Testimony*, Hildebrand writes of two "lines" or "branches" of the "human tree." One branch is the "line of the natural self-centered person." Next to this "natural branch the line of the covenant has grown out of the trunk."[33] In parallel to the "natural" line or "branch" of self-centered life and the spiritual "line" or "branch" of the covenant, Hildebrand describes two kinds of birth: the heavenly and the natural.[34] The natural birth is the conception of a child born from

the womb. The heavenly birth is a spiritual conception, gestation, and delivery through the work of Sophia and Jesus.

If the branches could be seen as the two lines of human existence, the components of the emblematic illustration portray a thoroughgoing dualism of physical and spiritual existence in the views of Ephrata. A natural branch of human life contrasts with a spiritual branch. Natural birth is separate from spiritual birth. A burning heart on the cross suggests that Jesus Christ brings love and mercy in contrast to the judgment and wrath of God the Father. Although there is only one cross, Beissel had two kinds of salvation in mind. One kind of salvation is based on human efforts to be good, but will always fall short of full forgiveness. The second kind of salvation depends solely on grace. Any appeal to one's own best efforts to live morally must be renounced, as if condemned to a kind of death, which Beissel called a spiritual death, or the mystic death. In this spiritual death one surrenders completely to grace and experiences spiritual rebirth, according to Beissel. The two books besides the human figures may represent the Law of the Old Testament and the Gospel message of gracious forgiveness in the New Testament. The male figure represents Jesus and the female figure represents the heavenly Virgin Sophia, male and female aspects within the Godhead who together overcome gender division and create a perfectly balanced reborn spiritual believer. The biblical elements of forgiveness are portrayed through the priesthood of Aaron that offered repeated animal sacrifices, and through the priesthood of Melchizedek, instituted by Jesus Christ the great high priest.

The second engraved title page for Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror* (Part 2) was of such poor quality that only one example bound into the book is known to exist. Perhaps Miller and the printers decided that it was so poor that they could not use it. Regardless, this one example bound in the *Martyrs Mirror* demonstrates that the brothers considered adding this emblematic etching to introduce the stories of Anabaptist martyrs. For watchful people, this illustration invited contemplation of the path of spiritual life through the hazards and evils of the natural life to find a spiritual unity and balance through grace. Many other interpretations of the emblem are possible. Emblems are intended to be multivalent in meaning. Awareness of Ephrata's religious worldview brings some unique possibilities into focus.

Notes

1. David Luthy, *A History of the Printings of the Martyrs' Mirror: Dutch-German-English 1660-2012* (Aylmer, Ont.: Pathway Publishers, 2013), 9-10.
2. Luthy, *History of the Printings of the Martyrs' Mirror*, 12, 15.
3. Jeff Bach, "Pilgrims and Martyrs: The Engraved Title Page of Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror*," *American Communal Societies Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 2011): 82-89.
4. Karl John Richard Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America. A Bibliography Based on the Studies of Oswald Seidensticker and Wilbur H. Oda* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 54.
5. Bach, "Pilgrims and Martyrs," 84-88.
6. Peter C. Erb, "Emblems in Some German Protestant Books of Meditation: Implications for an Index Emblematicus," in Peter M. Dayl, ed., *The European Emblem. Towards an Index Emblematicus* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980), 121-34. See especially pp. 121-23, 126-28.
7. Jeff Bach, "Voices of the Turtledoves: The Mystical Language of Ephrata," Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1997, pp. 355-57, 362.
8. Irenici Theodicäi [Conrad Beissel], *Des Zionitischen Stifts I. Theil* (Ephrata, 1745), 177. This volume contains Besissel's theosophical epistles, written between 1725 and 1745. Irenici Theodicäi is the Hellenized form of Beissel's spiritual name, Friedsam Gottrecht, meaning peaceable, right with God.
9. Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2003), 149.
10. Irenici Theodicäi, *Des Zionitischen Stifts I. Theil*, 180.
11. Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves*, 160. See also Guy Tilghman Hollyday, "The Ephrata Wall-Charts and Their Inscriptions," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 20 (Autumn 1970): 34-46, especially pp. 39-40 for the Good Shehperd placard.
12. Irenici Theodicäi, *Des Zionitischen Stifts I. Theil*, 73, 95.
13. Friedsam Gottrecht [Conrad Beissel], *Deliciae Ephratenses, Pars 1* (Ephrata: Typis Societatis, 1773), 13. The so-called "Dissertation" appeared as the first item in the collection of Beissel's sermons published in 1773. A separate German printing from Ephrata appeared in 1789 under the title "Göttliche Wunderschrift." Comments in Ephrata's internal history, *Chronicon Ephratense*, suggest that Beissel wrote a version of this document during an illness in the early 1740s. Although the edition cited in this article was printed in 1773, the thought expressed therein is consistent throughout Beissel's writing career, including the years prior to the printing of *Martyrs Mirror* at Ephrata.
14. Irenici Theodicäi, *Des Zionitischen Stifts I. Theil*, 107.
15. [Johannes Hildebrandt], *Mistisches und Kirchliches Zeuch*nüß, 18.
16. One chalice is at the Historic Ephrata Cloister. The other one is in the

Spohn Collection at Hess Archives and Special Collections at Elizabethtown College.

17. Jacob Boehme, *De signature rerum*, vol. 6 in Jacob Boehme, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Will-Erich Peuckert and August Faust (Stuttgart: Frommanns Verlag 1955-1961), 65. See also Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves*, 147.
18. Irenici Theodicäi, *Des Zionitischen Stiffts I. Theil*, 105-7. See also Friedsam Gottrecht [Conrad Beissel], *Deliciae Ephratenses, Pars 1*, 28-30. The explanations of the Virgin Sophia appear frequently at Ephrata.
19. Ibid., 105, 173-5. See also Friedsam Gottrecht, *Deliciae Ephratenses, Pars 1*, 6-9.
20. [Conrad Beissel] Letter to Peter Becker, 20th of the 3rd Month, 1756, in [Conrad Beissel], "Conrad Beissel Letterbook," paginated manuscript, Borneman Collection, B. Ms. 22, Free Library of Philadelphia, 156. Beissel wrote that Sophia "gives us kiss, wounds our heart with an arrow of Sophianic love, and very quickly we are brought to paradisiacal rapture, so that we think that we were already resting in the lap of Wisdom or sleeping in her arms." Beissel was trying to talk Becker into abandoning marriage for celibacy. Beissel was a weaving apprentice to Becker for one year in 1720.
21. Friedsam Gottrecht, *Deliciae Ephratenses, Pars 1*, 16-17.
22. Ibid., 34-35. For a fuller discussion, see Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves*, 99-103.
23. Friedsam Gottrecht, *Deliciae Ephratenses Pars I*, 27-28.
24. Irenici Theodicäi, *Des Zionitischen Stiffts I. Theil*, 105-6.
25. Ibid., 102.
26. Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves*, 42-43, 84.
27. Ibid., 84. See also Marcus Meier, *The Origins of the Schwarzenau Brethren* (Philadelphia: Brethren Encylopeda, Ind, 2008) 78; Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," in Martin Brecht, ed. *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen actzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 420. Vol. 1 in Martin Brecht and others, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993-2004).
28. Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves*, 42.
29. [Johannes Hildebrandt], *Mistisches und Kirchliches Zeuchnüß der Brüderschaft in Zion* (Germantown: C Saur, 1743), 7.
30. Ibid., 17.
31. Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves*, 52-53.
32. Ibid., 42.
33. [Johannes Hildebrandt], *Mistisches und Kirchliches Zeuchnüß*, 5-6.
34. Ibid., 12.