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The *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* of the Ephrata Cloister

1. The *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied*¹

The brothers and sisters of the Ephrata Cloister community had been writing and publishing congregational hymns for many years when the so-called *Bruderlied* and *Schwesterlied* were published in 1756. These two "hymns" are unique in the history of hymn writing at the cloister. Their uniqueness lies in their collaborative approach, parallelism, length, musical setting and, more intriguingly, their editing history.

2. Ephrata Cloister

The Ephrata Cloister community had its beginnings in the late 1720s when Conrad Beissel (Vater Friedsam, 1691-1768²) moved into a solitary's cabin located on Rudolf Nägely's farm in the Conestoga, Pennsylvania area.³ Beissel's charismatic personality drew many spiritually hungry Germans, and in the course of the next eight to ten years a nearby site on the Cocalico Creek, a dozen miles north of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was developed for housing and otherwise sustaining the religious enthusiasts. In the late 1730s this site was dubbed Ephrata,⁴ and it is known today as the Ephrata Cloister.

Hymn singing and hymn writing were major activities for Beissel and most, if not all, community members. The early group published its first hymnbook, the *Göttliche Liebes und Lobes gethöne*, on the Franklin press in 1730 and issued some dozen titles until the last hymnbook, the *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel*, was printed by the brotherhood in 1766.⁵

3. Evolution of Ephrata Music

Ephrata Music Prior to Ludwig Blum

Although specific information is lacking, the *Chronicon Ephratense* makes abundantly clear the fact that music performance (and assumedly music

composition) was radically changed in 1739-40 through innovations made by Ludwig Blum (1714?-1751?).⁶ Hymn singing was an important part of life and worship in all sectarian groups in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The *Chronicon Ephratense* mentions events in the 1720s at which hymn singing took place.⁷ Names for several tunes in the 1730 *Liebes und Lobes gethöne* indicate that Vater Friedsam and perhaps others in the group were composing a few new tunes for these new hymns, although most of the new hymns were being sung to traditional European tunes.⁸ No music manuscripts with tunes for hymnbooks published during the decade prior to 1740 have come down to us.⁹ Perhaps none ever existed. Nor are there any good clues about performance of these tunes. Hymn singing in the decade from 1730 to 1740 by members of the Ephrata community was probably unison.

Ludwig Blum

Ludwig Blum is said to have been a trained musician, and as far as we know, possibly the only person at the cloister with any knowledge of music theory.¹⁰ The exact nature of the "artistic pieces" he showed Vater Friedsam is unknown.¹¹ Well-known, on the other hand, is the fact that music composition at the cloister was never the same after that episode. The facts that all surviving Ephrata music manuscripts are dated after 1740;¹² that all are written in four part harmony;¹³ that Vater Friedsam's treatise on music discusses harmony;¹⁴ that Heinrich Sangmeister (Ezechial, 1723-84) talks about the introduction of "note singing"¹⁵ all point to harmony as the innovation Blum brought to Vater Friedsam's attention. Blum's contribution was probably not so much the concept of harmony as the knowledge to implement it and write it down.¹⁶

Turtel = Taube Series

The *Weyrauchs Hügel*, the last hymnbook published by the Ephrata community on an outside press, appeared in 1739. Much controversy revolved around the publication of this hymn collection. While the Sauer-Vater Friedsam public quarrel is well documented,¹⁷ there must have been a significant discussion about the content of this hymnbook since it departed considerably from the previous standard. Many pieces in this publication were not authored by members of the community.¹⁸ All of the Ephrata hymnbooks up to this one contained only pieces written by community members. After the *Weyrauchs Hügel* more time than usual lapsed before the next hymnbook, the *Gesäng der einsamen und verlassenenen Turtel = Taube*, was printed in 1747. This was the first in a long series of Ephrata hymnbooks extending until 1762. All of the hymnbooks in the *Turtel = Taube* series¹⁹ are characterized by containing exclusively texts by community members; sung to compositions in four part harmony written exclusively by Vater Friedsam (perhaps one or two others);

performed only by members of the community in their worship ceremonies at Ephrata and probably at revival meetings they organized.

4. Text

The *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* were conceived as companion pieces and exhibit many outward parallelisms. They are written in four-line stanzas of iambic tetrameter with rhymed couplets. Respectively, each hymn extols the ideology of brotherly love and sisterly love as can be seen in the following stanzas:

From *Bruderlied*, 1756

16. O liben Brüder dencket nach!
was Bruderlib ein hohe Sach:
dann alhier gilt kein andrer Schein
und lebte man auch Engel = rein.

17. Seht! was dis vor ein hoher Staat,
so Bruder = Liebe in sich hat:
Dieweil der Kleine wird erhöht,
dem Gröseren nichts an Ehr entgeht.

18. Hier ist der Zierat Jesus Christ,
wo eins des andern Schönheit ist:
O! wie thut es so schöne stehn,
wo nichts als Bruder = Lieb zu sehn.

From *Schwesterlied*, 1756

11. Die Schwester = Liebe hat den Preiß,
sie führet uns ins Paradeis;
Sie ist der Braut = Schmuck jener Welt,
die Zierde, so Gott selbst gefällt.

12. Sie ist der edle Lilien = Zweig,
so grünnet aus in Gottes Reich:
Ja auch das schöne Rosen = Feld,
das hier erscheint im Jammer = Zelt.

13. Ob gleich der Dornstich noch dabey,
die Lieb, so einmal recht getreu:
Wird nur noch mehr dadurch entzündt.
O süse Lieb! O Gottes = Kind.

Original 1756 Printing

Initially, these poems were conceptualized as independent publications with their own dated, separate title pages, prologues, epilogues and page numbers. With 311 quatrains for the *Bruderlied* and 272 for the *Schwesterlied*, these hymns are exceptionally long by Ephrata norms. Indeed, the next longest hymn in the Ephrata collection is Vater Friedsam's "Die heilige Einheit" with 45 quatrains.²⁰ Sporadically throughout the text stanza numbers are printed double size. This typographic practice tends to break up the hymn into sections, giving the *Bruderlied* 19 and the *Schwesterlied* 18 sections. These sections, however, are not uniform in length, varying from 4 to 30 quatrains. The following stanza numbers are printed double size:

Bruderlied: 1 16 31 46 76 90 103 120 130 134 144 158 172 187 215
233 246 266 278 294

Schwesterlied: 1 11 26 53 64 81 98 109 130 147 155 168 184 199 217
226 243 251 257

Today, all known copies of the original 1756 edition of these hymns are bound with the *Nachklang zum Gesäng der einsamen Turtel=Taube* 1755 (111 pages) and the *Nachgesammelter Anhang* (no date; 18 pages). Despite their separate title pages and page numbering, it is unlikely that the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* were ever bound separately, or even just the two together, but normally with the *Nachklang* and the *Nachgesammelter Anhang*. Binding all four short pieces together in a single volume was surely more practical and more economical than individual bindings.

Reprint in 1762 *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch*

Whenever a major hymnbook was printed by the brotherhood, many previously printed hymns were printed intermixed with the new pieces. The first major hymnbook printed after the original edition of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* was the last in the *Turtel=Taube* series—the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch der einsamen Turtel=Taube* in 1762. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* reprinted in this hymnbook.

Incorporating these independent publications into the body of another publication required some modifications. Ephrata hymns have no distinctive titling, yet these two retained in part the titles found on the 1756 title pages. The prologues were modified, but are still present. The *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* is divided into three sections: 1) Friedsam's hymns 2) Brothers' and sisters' hymns 3) Householders' hymns.²¹ The editor of the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* placed the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* appropriately together at the end of

the second section. By placing the *Schwesterlied* before the *Bruderlied*, however, the order of the pieces is reversed from that of the original printing.

While reprinting a hymn was standard practice at the Cloister, shortening a hymn by deleting stanzas was not the norm.²² In the *Bruderlied* the editor's single, contiguous cut eliminated the last stanza from the eighth section, the entire ninth section and approximately the first half of the tenth section, i.e., stanzas 129 through 140. In the *Schwesterlied* the single cut eliminated stanzas 83 through 90 of the original. This was in a section that ran originally from 81 through 97. Eliminating stanzas naturally caused a shift in the numbering of the remaining stanzas. This editor, however, was careful to use large numbers to retain the original sectioning of the text, regardless of the stanza number.

Reprint in 1766 *Paradisches Wunder= Spiel*

The second and last reprint of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* is found in the 1766 *Paradisches Wunder= Spiel*, the final hymnbook produced by the community. The major purpose of this publication seems to be a complete collection of the community's hymns. While there are some new pieces in this hymnbook, most of the pieces had been published earlier. Instead of the three-part division used in the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch*, the *Paradisches Wunder= Spiel* is divided into four parts. Instead of putting the brothers' and sisters' hymns together in the same section, they appear here in separate sections: 1) Friedsam's hymns 2) Brothers' hymns 3) Sisters' hymns 4) Householders' hymns. Appropriately, the *Bruderlied* comes at the end of the brothers' section and the *Schwesterlied* at the end of the third section.

The shortening of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* was more severe in the *Paradisches Wunder= Spiel* than in the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch*. The *Paradisches Wunder= Spiel* editor probably went back to the original version before making cuts, since, at least in the *Schwesterlied*, stanzas eliminated in *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* were retained in *Paradisches Wunder= Spiel*. Two separate sets of stanzas were eliminated for the *Paradisches Wunder= Spiel* reprint of the *Schwesterlied*: original stanzas 33-51 and 90-96. In the *Bruderlied* four separate cuts were made: original stanzas 93-103, 120-41, 152-74, 264-300. Moreover, the editor of *Paradisches Wunder= Spiel* eliminated the large numbers for marking sections as well as minimizing the titles and prologues.

5. Music

Ephrata Music Manuscripts

Cloister scribes produced manuscripts of music to accompany the community's hymnbooks. Ephrata music manuscripts have generally the same basic layout. Three sets of musical staves are ruled across a double page. The pages are numbered only in the upper corner of the left-hand page. There are

four staves per set, one each for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass voices, utilizing the respective clef. Over each set, the initial words of the hymn are written followed by the page number in the text-only book where the hymn appears. In the case of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied*, the stanza number appears where the page number for the text-only book is expected.

Music Manuscripts for *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch*

Three virtually identical manuscripts of music for the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* hymnbook exist. One is found in the Library of Congress.²³ The second is located in the library of Juniata College.²⁴ The third is found at the Snow Hill Cloister.²⁵ The handwriting in the Library of Congress copy is of a higher quality than the writing in the Juniata copy. The symmetry of presentation of music for the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* is enhanced by the fact that both hymns consist of twelve tunes on four pages (three tunes to a page) plus the finale ("Nachklang Weiß" / "Schluß=Weiß") alone on a separate page in the middle set of staves.

Bruderlied Music

The music for the *Bruderlied* itself appears on the same pages of all three copies, i.e., pages 38-41. The finale, "Nachklang Weiß," appears alone on the middle set of staves on page 42. The Library of Congress and the Juniata College manuscripts ascribe tunes to the following twelve stanzas of the *Bruderlied*: 1, 31, 46, 76, 103, 120, 158, 187, 215, 246, 266, 294 plus the "Nachklang Weiß." The Juniata College copy, however, reveals that someone corrected these stanza numbers to fit the corresponding stanza numbers in the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* version of the *Bruderlied*. That person crossed out the original number and often wrote the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* number in the empty space on the left margin. Identical corrections seem to be present in the Snow Hill copy.

Schwesterlied Music

Music for the *Schwesterlied* is found in the same manuscripts as the music for the *Bruderlied*. The Library of Congress, the Juniata College and Snow Hill manuscripts present the *Schwesterlied* on pages 33-36 with the "Schluß=Weiß" alone on the middle set of staves on page 37. Originally, the music was for stanzas 1, 26, 53, 81, 98, 131, 155, 168, 184, 199, 226 and 251. As in the case of the *Bruderlied*, these numbers were corrected later to correspond with the stanza numbers in *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch*.

In addition to these music books specifically for the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch*, there is a manuscript at Snow Hill containing tunes for *Turtel=Taupe* hymns with a few miscellaneous items at the end. Among these

eclectic pieces are the *Schwesterlied* tunes with original verse numbering. The tunes for the *Bruderlied*, however, are not present.²⁶

6. Authorship

Authorship Attribution of Ephrata Hymn Texts

Following the example of most nonorthodox hymnbooks, the authors of the hymns published by the Ephrata community between 1730 and 1762 are not identified. The editor of the 1762 *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* deviated from this practice, however, by placing the authors' initials at the head of nearly every hymn. Likewise, the 1763 manuscript hymnbook *Libliche Lider* identifies the writer of virtually every hymn, not cryptically by initials, but by the cloister name spelled out in full. The last hymnbook produced on the brotherhood press, the 1766 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel*, however, does not identify the writer of each hymn, and so reverts to the earlier editorial style. The title page of the 1754 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel*²⁷ reveals that Vater Friedsam is the author of the contents, but only cryptically. General authorship of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* is only suggested on the title pages: . . . *alles aus der brüderlichen Gesellschaft in Bethania, . . . alles aus der schwesterlichen Gesellschaft in Saron.*

While Ephrata hymns were published for years without identification of authorship, this practice was gradually changed between 1754 and 1763. Perhaps a concern arose that the knowledge of authorship identity was being lost. Moreover, several copies of the 1747 *Turtel = Taube* and an occasional copy of the 1766 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel* have handwritten marginal notations ascribing authorship to many hymns.²⁸

Authorship of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied*

Authorship notations to the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* are found in the margins of two copies of the original print as well as in a copy of the 1766 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel*.²⁹ These author attributions confirm what is implied in the title by the word "alles," namely, that the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied*³⁰ consist of several sets of quatrains composed by numerous brothers and sisters, respectively.

Bruderlied

Authorship attributions are found in the margins or between the lines of two printings of the *Bruderlied*. The Spohn and Historical Society of Pennsylvania copies of the original 1756 printing contain twenty-three notations. Twenty-one brothers are cited once and Vater Friedsam is cited twice. These notations are crudely made by perhaps a blunt quill pen. The spelling and/or abbreviation of the names makes identification today of several names very

tenuous. Marginalia are also present in the copy of the 1766 *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel* in the Speer Library. These notations are extremely clear (probably made with a very fine steel pen), and help clarify or confirm notations in the Spohn copy. While most of the same names appear throughout both sets of marginalia, their parallelism disappears about one third of the way through the text with quatrain 103.³¹

Schwesterlied

Two copies of the original *Schwesterlied* printing contain authorship identifications in marginalia. In the Spohn copy, the same person who notated the *Bruderlied* used the same pen to jot sisters' names in the margins. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania copy, a person using a broad quill point carefully lettered the sisters' names in the margin, but appears to have been interrupted after quatrain 175 and never finished the project. There is a much greater correlation between the two sets of marginalia for the *Schwesterlied* than for the *Bruderlied*. The only deviation in the *Schwesterlied* has to do with the name Anastasia.³² In the Spohn copy this name appears next to quatrain 164; the name Liduina appears in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania copy. The person annotating the Historical Society of Pennsylvania copy wrote Anastasia next to quatrain 27, although no name appears there in the Spohn copy.³³

Summary

Marginalia in some copies of the *Bruderlied* and *Schwesterlied* confirm what is implied on the title pages by the words "alles aus der . . . ," namely, that multiple authors collaborated in creating these hymns. Due to conflicting or indiscernible marginalia, however, there is no conclusive evidence pointing to which person, especially brothers, wrote many a section. While the hymns are divided into sections by oversize stanza numerals in the print, occasionally several names appear within a section. While the twelve musical compositions correspond to twelve sections marked by oversize numerals, there are more sections than compositions.

7. Considerations

Impetus for the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied*

What was the purpose of creating these companion hymns of extraordinary length? They share the common theme of brotherly love and sisterly love. Most if not all brothers living in Bethania and sisters living in Saron at that time collaborated on these hymns. It is possible that this hymn project was conceived as an attempt to heal internal strife and renew a sense of unity and purpose after a long period of discord among the celibates.

During the ten years prior to the original 1756 printing of the hymns there had been constant tension between Vater Friedsam and some brothers and some sisters.³⁴ Since Vater Friedsam had evicted Israel Eckerlin (Onesimus, 1705-after 1757), the prior, in September 1745 and reasserted his authority, the community had been divided into Eckerlin supporters and detractors. The prior over the brothers living in Bethania changed five times between Israel Eckerlin's departure and Peter Müller's second appointment in 1756.³⁵ All indications are that Vater Friedsam and Anna Eicher (Mutter Maria, 1710-84), the prioress in Saron, were constantly at odds. Israel Eckerlin bribed Mutter Maria to intercede for him with Vater Friedsam, but the ploy did not work, and Vater Friedsam prevailed.³⁶ Although Vater Friedsam had had complete access to Saron at the time, Mutter Maria soon forbade him to enter the sisters' convent.³⁷ The years 1751 and 1752 saw bumper crops at the cloister, but the next three years brought drought and meager harvests, which the brothers claimed was due to the long-running dispute with Vater Friedsam. Only after Vater Friedsam had reconciled himself with the brothers, was there another bounteous harvest—in 1756.³⁸

Musical Aspects

Ostensibly, these two inordinately long hymns were performed, since music specifically for them exists. The performance of an entire hymn must have lasted several hours. Perhaps there were alternating choirs. On what occasions would such lengthy hymns be appropriate? Perhaps these hymns were sung during love feasts.³⁹ Perhaps they were sung during day-long marches to sites for revival meetings.⁴⁰

The preparation of the music book for the 1762 *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* indicates that the shortening of the *Bruderlied* and *Schwesterlied* texts had not been anticipated. The original stanza numbering in the music book was that of the 1756 printing. The change in stanza numbering in the printed text was eventually corrected in some but not all music books by drawing a line through the original stanza number and writing in the number used in the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* edition. There are no music books for the 1766 *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel*, since all of the hymns in this collection had been published previously and music books for these publications already existed.

Shortened Reprints

When these hymns were reprinted in the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* and the *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel* the editor(s) removed certain passages with the result that the reprinted versions are shorter, but not significantly shorter. Why did the editor(s) excise portions from the middle of the hymns, if length was the only consideration? Why were these portions chosen for elimination? What prompted the abridgement of these hymns, when no other hymn had ever been reduced?

Because the editor of the *Neu-vermehrtes Gesängbuch* eliminated a single group of quatrains from both the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* reducing their length may have been the primary concern. In the *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel*, however, the quatrains which had been removed in 1762 were restored and new, multiple cuts were made. Since these new cuts are of a different nature, the editor's rationale must have been different. While the marginalia cannot be trusted completely, both annotated sources do indicate that Mutter Maria was the author of the section beginning with 34 and ending at 50, exactly the section that was cut from the 1766 *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel* reprint of the *Schwesterlied*.

The relationship between Vater Friedsam and Mutter Maria had had its ups and downs over the years, but its nadir was reached in 1764 when Vater Friedsam had her deposed after serving some thirty years as prioress.⁴¹ The office of prioress was transferred to Barbara Mayer (Jael, 1712-87) although not the title "Mutter." Vater Friedsam's action stemmed from his outrage at Mutter Maria's dealings with land titles to cloister property.⁴² Not only had Maria secretly offered Samuel Eckerlin (Jephune, 1705-82) two hundred pounds sterling for the land title, but she had proposed that Saron become totally independent.⁴³ Vater Friedsam's utter contempt for her is surely at the root of the expurgation of her contribution to the *Schwesterlied* in the 1766 *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel* reprint.

The disappearance of all of Mutter Maria's hymns from the 1766 *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel* is, however, an overwhelming indication of her fall from favor. Previously, a total of nineteen hymns by Mutter Maria had appeared in various hymnbooks, but not one single hymn by her was reprinted in the *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel*. And she is the only sister whose hymns are not in the *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel*.

In the case of the brothers involved in the title dispute similar evidence is just as dramatic. Participants in the original sale of cloister property were Israel, Samuel, and Emmanuel Eckerlin (Elimelich, dates unknown); Jacob Gass (Lamech, ??-1764) and Peter Müller (who removed himself from ownership early by scratching out his signature). A feud over property ownership erupted in 1764 after all of the signatories were dead except Samuel Eckerlin, who was no longer living at the cloister. When Samuel Eckerlin tried to assert his ownership claims in 1764, Christian Eckstein (Gideon, 1717-87) joined with Maria Eicher to obtain the property for themselves.⁴⁴ Although Martin Kroll (Haggi, 1714-93) was not directly involved in the original deception, he was one of the brothers who went to Samuel Eckerlin's aid in this litigation, thus opposing Vater Friedsam.

Looking at the *Paradisches Wunder=Spiel* version of the *Bruderlied*, the first set of quatrains to be removed was written by someone whose initials in the margin are indiscernible. The second set overlaps with that removed in the earlier *Neu-vermehrtes Gesängbuch*. While these attributions are difficult to read with certainty, a brother Melchi (dates unknown) seems to have penned at least some of the lines that were cut. The third set of quatrains eliminated were

probably written by Martin Kroll (Groll), and the last set is attributed clearly to brother Gideon.

Brothers whose hymns were not reprinted in the 1766 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel* are Gideon (Eckstein), Haggai (Kroll), Lamech (Gass), Melchi, and Simon König. Eckstein, Kroll and Gass were certainly major figures in the land feud. Were the others involved as well? Their involvement in the land title dispute surely explains why hymns by these brothers printed in earlier hymnbooks were not reproduced in the *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel*.

8. Conclusion

Strife among community members at Ephrata was rampant in the 1740s as the cloister underwent radical changes. Surely the celibates were eager to transcend these mundane irritants and pursue their spiritual longings. The *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* project was one way to reconcile differences and move toward greater harmony. The publication of these hymns in 1756 was a significant event. When these two hymns were reprinted in 1762 they were shortened for no perceivable reason other than economy. While the 1766 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel* appears to be the final repository for all the hymns ever written by the community, a careful cataloging of its content reveals that Maria Eicher's hymns and the hymns by Christian Eckstein, Martin Kroll, Jacob Gass, Melchi and Simon König are missing. The single commonality among these people was their direct participation in the feud about cloister land titles which erupted in 1764, one year after the *Libliche Lieder* (containing six new Eicher hymns) and two years before the *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel*. There can be little doubt that their deceptive acts led to the expurgation of their hymns from that hymnbook.⁴⁵ Not only were their hymns removed from the *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel*, but the segments they wrote for the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* were likewise expunged. Ironically, a lack of genuine love among cloister members is amply demonstrated in the final edition of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied*.

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Notes

¹ Short titles are used throughout as a convenience. Complete information for all Ephrata hymnbooks is listed below in "Works Cited."

² Cloister names or spiritual names and dates when known are given within parentheses. There is some confusion about the given names and the birth date of the founder of the Ephrata community. In the earliest secondary literature he is called Conrad Beissel. The earliest use of "Johann" with Conrad seems to be in Rattermann (1914) who does not tell us why he uses "Johann." Since 1914 Beissel is sometimes called "Conrad" and sometimes "Johann Conrad." Indeed, Walter Klein (1942) entitled his study *Johann Conrad Beissel: Mystic and Martinet*. C. Richard Beam (Schindler

1985, p. 75) reports in the "Afterword," that "The original baptismal record as kindly supplied by Buergermeister Horst Schlesinger of Eberbach lists March 1, 1691 as the date of birth of 'Georg Conrad Beusel.' The date of baptism was March 4, 1691." Beissel's tombstone reads in part "... genannt Conrad Beissel . . . 77 Jahr 4 Monat."

³*Chronicon Ephratense*, 33. A major source for information about the Ephrata community is the *Chronicon Ephratense* 1786. All citations are from Hark's translation. According to the *Chronicon Ephratense*, Rudolf Nägely (Joiada, 1697?-1765) was a Mennonite preacher, baptized by Beissel in May 1725, who joined the Ephrata Community in 1739.

⁴The word "Ephrata" was first used to refer to the community on the Cocalico at the end of the "Vorrede" in the *Weyrauchs Hügel* 1739.

⁵Two later hymnbooks related to the Ephrata community exist (*Ausbund geistlicher Lieder, gestellt in der Gemeinde an Antitum and Ausbund Geistreicher Lieder*), but their contents probably originated with authors at the daughter institution in Antietam and are not traditionally included in discussion of hymns written by the earlier generation at Ephrata. See both Martin and Seachrist.

⁶The major source for information about Ludwig Blum is Dorothy Duck (1988). Blum's death date and age are unknown, but his will was dictated on 20 March 1751. It was signed with "a very shaky 'LB'" (Duck, 24). A birth date of 1714 is pure conjecture (so too Duck's date of 1702 [10]), assuming an age of 25 when his first wife, with whom he had one daughter, died at the Ephrata Cloister in 1739 (Cloister death records). His father, Johannes Blum, (and assuming his mother and he) arrived in Philadelphia on the ship *Albany* on 4 September 1728 (Duck, 3). Ludwig's young age (14 [Viehmeyer], not 26 [Duck]) would then account for his name not appearing on the ship's passenger list.

⁷Hymn singing at a love feast on Whit-Monday 1727 is mentioned, *Chronicon Ephratense*, 36.

⁸Examples of European tunes in early Ephrata hymnbooks are "Auf, auf, mein Hertz, ermuntre dich" and "Entfernet euch ihr matten Kräfte"; Ephrata tunes are e.g.: "O Himmlische Wollust" and "Das freudige Lallen der Kinder allhier."

⁹Some manuscripts contain tunes for some hymns in the *Weyrauchs Hügel*, but there is no manuscript which was produced exclusively for the *Weyrauchs Hügel*. There are no extant manuscripts whatsoever for the 1730 *Göttliche Liebes und Lobes gethöne*, the 1732 *Vorspiel der Neuen Welt* nor the 1736 *Jacobs Kampf- und Ritter-Platz*.

¹⁰Ludwig's father Johannes was evidently an organist. "...when purchasing land or making out his will [Johann] called himself an organist" (Duck, 5). The estate inventory of 1 November 1759 includes "a musical instrument" among his possessions (Duck, 6). This instrument was probably an organ. If Ludwig Blum had training as a musician, it was probably provided by his father. Unlike his father, no reference by himself or by others calls Ludwig a musician (he was at various times a farmer, stocking maker, tavern keeper, etc.). The only exception, of course, is the passage in the *Chronicon Ephratense* (160). If Ludwig was trained by his father, then it is likely that he was trained at a keyboard, which probably gave him some insight into homophony. Hyperbole such as Alderfer (73) "Ludwig Blum . . . evidently had a solid formal musical training" should be approached with caution.

¹¹"kunstreiche Stücke," *Chronicon Ephratense*, 160.

¹²The earliest dated music manuscript is the *Zionitischer Rosen=Garten* 1744, now located at the Ephrata Cloister.

¹³Music manuscripts with five part harmony (STABB) are rare and seem to be special "presentation" books: ECC, ECZRG, LCE, MBV, MMA, PPC, SDA, WMF, ZRG (see Viehmeyer). Uncertain is how many of these manuscripts are copies, how many are unique. The handful of arrangements in six and seven parts are in the 1754 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel*.

¹⁴"Eine / Sehr deutliche / Beschreibung wie sich dieses hohe und wichtige / Werck dieser unserer geistlichen / Sing=Arbeit / Geboren, und was der Nutzen von der / Gantzen Sach sey. / Gegeben / von einem Friedsamem und nach / Der stillen Ewigkeit wallenden Pilger." In *Zionitischer Rosen=Garten* 1744. This is the earliest known copy of the treatise.

¹⁵"Im Anfang vom 3ten Monden [1743], hat der V. Friedsam ihrem Sagen nach, die hohe Singkunst heraus und an den Tag geben; (—oder das närrische Notensingen möchte man sagen—)" Sangmeister, 36. Note that Sangmeister did not arrive at the Cloister until 1748, which accounts for "ihrem Sagen nach." See Blakely.

¹⁶ It is also possible that Blum introduced the concept of antiphonal singing or at least its practice. Blum may also have introduced ideas about training the voice. Duck (3) assumes harmony is meant, but gives no rationale.

¹⁷ *Chronicon Ephratense*, 103-4; Christoph Sauer (1695-1758), *Abgenöthigter Bericht*.

¹⁸ Of the 657 hymns published in the *Weyrauchs Hügel* only 122 (18%) were by Ephrata community members. The majority of the hymns were compositions by German-Europeans.

¹⁹ The "Turtel-Taube series" consists of those hymnbooks and their supplements printed between 1747 and 1762, viz. *Gesäng der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube*, 1747; *Gesäng der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube* [1749?]; *Nachklang zum Gesäng der einsamen Turtel-Taube*, 1755; *Neuer Nachklang des Gesängs der einsamen Turtel-Taube* [1756?], *Nachgesammelter Anhang* [1756]; *Neu-vermehrtes Gesäng der einsamen Turtel-Taube*, 1762.

²⁰ *Paradisches Wunder-Spiel*, 38-41, Hymn 53.

²¹ Most of the people living in the Ephrata community belong to one of three orders: Celibate Brotherhood, Celibate Sisterhood, Householders. Householders were married couples who lived on farms surrounding the cloister. Householders sometimes divorced and resided then in the living quarters appropriate for their gender. Widows and widowers of households often moved into celibate quarters. While most celibates had cloister or spiritual names, householders are generally known by their given names, although they, too, occasionally took spiritual names. All the hymnbooks printed by the brotherhood are designed so that the orders are represented in their own sections. The hymns of the celibate brothers appear in one section, while the hymns of the celibate sisters appear in a different section, and householders have their section. Within each section the hymns occur in alphabetical order of first line.

²² No other examples of shortening are known. There is just a handful of hymns which were lengthened after the original printing, most by one stanza, e.g.: "Ach Gott, wie mancher bitterer Schmerz" and "Der Tag von Freuden voll." The hymn "Mein Hertz ist in Gott verliebt" is exceptional with the addition of four stanzas. All instances of lengthening are appending to the end of the original. There are no examples of insertion.

²³ Library of Congress music manuscript M 2116 .E6 1772.

²⁴ Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA. 093 EB83 1762g.

²⁵ Snow Hill Cloister, Quincy, PA. Seachrist item DS-029. The Snow Hill Cloister is a daughter institution of the Ephrata Cloister founded in 1798. Today, the cloister is private property and access is extremely limited. The brothers and sisters at Snow Hill preserved and emulated the music traditions begun at Ephrata.

²⁶ Seachrist item DS-009.

²⁷ The 1754 *Paradisches Wunder-Spiel* should not be confused with the 1766 *Paradisches Wunder-Spiel*. These are two completely different books. The earlier book is a unique collection of "Chor-Gesänge." All of these pieces are through-composed arrangements of all kinds of texts including the Song of Solomon, the Song of Moses, etc. It is the only attempt to bring music and text together on the same page. The later book is a typical cloister hymnbook.

²⁸ See Viehmeyer.

²⁹ One copy is in the private library of Mr. Clarence Spohn; the other is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This copy of the *Paradisches Wunder-Spiel* is in the Speer Library, Princeton, NJ.

³⁰ In the *Neu-vermehrtes Gesängbuch* this is actually called "Schwestern=Lied," which emphasizes multiple authorship.

³¹ The brothers' names appear in this order in the Spohn copy (my interpretation is in parentheses): V: FSN (Vater Friedsam), b: Elliasser (Eleaszer), b: Elk: (Elkana), b: jaebez (Jaebez) b: agate (Agabus), b: obat: (Obedia), b: nath: (Nathanael?), ?? (??), v:F:S: (Vater Friedsam), b: m: (??), b: zef: (Zephonia?), b: ken: (Kenan?), b: melchi (Melchi) b: ho(Hoseas?), b: salma (Salma), b: ne: (Nehemia?), b: na: (Nathan?), b: filema (Philimon), b: theonis (Theonis), b: jem: (??), b: gition: (Gideon), b: jon: (Jonathan), f: sam. These are the names in the Speer Library document in the order of appearance: Fried, Eleazar, Elkana, Jaebez, Agabus, Obadia, Nathanael, Nehemia, Fried, Martin Groll, Kenan, Melchy, Hoseas, Zemah, Salma, Nathanael, Philimon.

³² Anastasia or Anna Thoma (1720-78) is the sister who plays a significant role in the development of the cloister choirs, *Chronicon Ephratense* 163-64. The name Liduina is not found elsewhere.

³³The sisters' names appear in this order in the Spohn copy: V: f: s (Vater Friedsam), sch: p:lin: (Pauline), sch: persida (Persida), sch: maria (Mutter Maria), sch: febin (Phoebe), sch: Ei Frasian (Eufrosina), sch: henna (Henna), sch: ketura (Kethura), sch: salome (Salome), constantia (Constantia) sch: zeruja (Zeruja), sch: mellania (Melonia), sch: zinobin (Zenobia), sch: sera (Sara), sch: eufr (Eufrosina?), sch: marta (Martha), sch: reel (Rahel), sch sofia (Sophie), sch: anthanasi: (Athanasia), sch basila (Basilla), sch naemi (Naemi), sch Flavia: (Flavia), sch jael: (Jael), sch efiginia (Efigenia), sch paulina (Pauline). The sisters' name in the HSP copy in order of occurrence: s paulina, s persia, Anastasia, m. maria, s. phöbe, s. eufrosina, s henna, kethura, salome, s constantia, zeruja, melania, zenobia, sara, eurasia, martha, Rahel, sophia, Basilla.

³⁴These disputes are well documented in the *Chronicon Ephratense*, especially chapter 25.

³⁵Peter Müller (Jaebez, 1710-96). *Chronicon Ephratense*, 194-95, 217, 282 (note).

³⁶*Chronicon Ephratense*, 183. The best source of information about Maria is the *Chronicon Ephratense*, especially the biography where most of these details are related, 280-84 (note).

³⁷*Chronicon Ephratense*, 282-83 (note).

³⁸*Chronicon Ephratense*, 223-24.

³⁹Love feasts were certainly long, drawn-out ceremonies with prayer, meal, and foot washing.

⁴⁰*Chronicon Ephratense*, 260; Ernst, 314.

⁴¹*Chronicon Ephratense*, 284.

⁴²A good narrative summary of the land title affairs is given by Ernst, 326-31.

⁴³*Chronicon Ephratense*, 282 (note).

⁴⁴Sangmeister, Part 3, 43.

⁴⁵A similar tiff must be the reason for substituting one hymn for another midway through the printing of the *Weyrauchs Hügel* so that some copies have brother Ludwig Bender's "Wach auf, mein Geist" as hymn 91 and some have "Mein Geist, der flieset ein." There is no clue about which was the original hymn. While the *Chronicon Ephratense* and the *Abgenöthigter Bericht* deal with several aspects of producing the *Weyrauchs Hügel*, this substitution is not mentioned. Both hymns were subsequently reprinted by the brotherhood.

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- Chören Gesangs=Weise mit viel Mühe und grossem Fleiß / ausgefertiget von einem / Friedsamem, / Der sonst in dieser Welt weder Namen noch Titul suchet. Ephratæ: Sumptibus Societatis, 1754.
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- Jacobs Kampff- und Ritter-Platz / Allwo / Der nach seinem ursprung sich sehmdende / geist der in Sophiam verliebten seele / mit Gott um den neuen namen / gerungen, und den Sieg / davon getragen. / Entworfen / in unterschidlichen Glaubens- / u. leidens-liedern, u. erfahrungsvollen aus- / truckungen des gemuths, darinnen sich / dar stellet, so wol auff seiten Gottes / seine unermuedete arbeit zur rei- / nigung solcher seelen, die sich / seiner fuerung anvertraut. / Als auch / Auff seiten des Menschen der ernst des / geistes im aus halten unter dem process / der läuterung und abschmelzung / des Menschen der Sünden samt / dem daraus entspringen- / den lobes-gethön. / Zur / Gemüthlichen erweckung derer die das heil / Jesrusalems lieb haben. / Verleget Von einem liebhaber der wahrheit die im verborgenen wohnt.* Zu Philadelphia: gedruckt bey B[enjamin]. F[ranklin], 1736.
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Paradisches / Wunder= Spiel, / Welches sich / In diesen letzten Zeiten und Tagen in denen Abend= / ländlichen Welt=Theilen, als ein Vorspiel / der neuen Welt hervorgethan: / Bestehend in einer neuen Sammlung andächtlicher und zum Lob / des grosen Gottes eingerichteter geistlicher/[sic] und ehedessen / zum Theil publicirter Lieder. Ephratae [PA]: Typis & Consensu Societatis, A: D: 1766.

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Vorspiel / der / Neuen-Welt / Welches sich in der letzten Abendroethe / als ein paradisischer Lichtesglantz / unter den Kindern Gottes / hervor gethan. / In / Liebes, Lobes, Leidens, Krafft / und Erfahrungs liedern abgebildet, die / gedrückte, gebückte und Creutz- / tragende Kirche auf Erden. / Und wie inzwischen sich / Die obere und Triumphirende Kirche / als eine Paradiesische vorkost her- / vor thut und offenbahret. / Und daneben, als / Ernstliche und zuruffende wächterstimmen / an alle annoch zerstreute Kinder Gottes, das sie / sich sammeln und bereit machen auf den baldigen; Ja bald herein brechen- / den Hochzeit-Tag der braut / des Lamms. Zu Philadelphia: Gedruckt bey Benjamin Francklin, in der Marck-strass., 1732.

Zionitischer / Rosen= Garten / von der / Geistlichen Ritterschaft / in der Kirchen Gottes / gepflantzet und erbaut / bestehend, / In allerley angenehmen Melodien und / Weisen zum nützlichen gebrauch / in der Kirchen Gottes. Ephrata, 1744.

Zionitischer / Weyrauchs Hügel / Oder: Myrrhen Berg, / Worinnen allerley liebliches und wohl riechen= / des nach Apotheker=Kunst zubereitetes / Rauch=Werck zu finden. / Bestehend / In allerley Liebes= Würckungen der in GOTT / geheiligten Seelen, welche sich in vielen und mancherley / geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern aus gebildet. / Als darinnen / Der letzte Ruff zu dem Abendmahl des gros= / sen Gottes auf unterschiedliche Weise / trefflich aus gedrucket ist; / Zum Dienst / Der in dem Abend=Ländischen Welt= Theil als / bey dem Untergang der Sonnen erweckten Kirche / Gottes, und zu ihrer Ermunterung auf die / Mitternächtige Zukunfft des Bräutigams / ans Licht gegeben. Germantown [PA]: Gedruckt bey Christoph Sauer, 1739.