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From Transylvania to Pennsylvania: Johannes Kelpius

Johannes Kelpius was one of a small band of spiritual seekers and hermits, many of them highly educated, including women and men, who settled in 1694 in the untamed woodlands on a ridge high above the right bank of the Wissahickon Creek. The site is now inside Fairmount Park near Germantown in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Traditionally referred to as the Woman in the Wilderness (based on Revelation 12:6), the community watched the stars, composed and played music, wrote poetry and possibly drama (both often accompanied by music), educated local children, and pursued intense spiritual paths that took them far beyond the three churches recognized in the Treaty of Westphalia (i.e., Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic) and even beyond the bounds of the many dissenting sects. Participation varied, and after Kelpius died, allegedly in 1708, many members left the community or settled in homes nearby, but a few hermits stayed on for decades and never forgot him, and others joined or independently followed his example along the Wissahickon and elsewhere.

His poetry has continued to be printed and anthologized, and he has figured in novels and poems. His image graces Edwin Austin Abbey's mural "The Apotheosis of Pennsylvania" in the dome of the State Capitol of Pennsylvania, and at times his story has risen to national attention, for example in a *Time* article in the 1950s.¹

A Pennsylvania State historical marker was installed in 1994 at the location of the community's settlement. Visitors still navigate the footpaths there to view the stone structure popularly known as the Kelpius Cave, where many believe he resided (but which might rather have been a springhouse). YouTube hosts dozens of videos about such visits or about Kelpius.²

But while it was his spiritual example that was of most interest to his contemporaries, following generations began to appreciate him ever more as a poet or as a kind of wizard, and his story, mixed with the stories of other hermits and pious outsiders of Philadelphia's past, became a source for generations of poets and storytellers. And yet the legends and stories retained some of the core values to which Kelpius actually held and do have their place in folklore. However, historical research attempts to uncover Kelpius' original intentions.

In this article, I present two main reasons why the historical Kelpius is still of importance and worth further research. Then I illustrate why this research is needed by presenting new documentation that I and others have uncovered through closely examining previously unnoticed sources and also by using updated digital tools. The scope of the presentation is limited here to just one aspect of Kelpius' biography: his birth. This one aspect will serve as an illustration of the poor state of research into Kelpius overall.

First, then, why is Kelpius worth such renewed research efforts? There are several reasons. Interest in Kelpius and the *Woman in the Wilderness* by a range of groups and individuals has persisted for more than 300 years. The folklore about him and the community is still being passed on and evolving. Musicologists have studied his use and possible composition of music and his influence on early American hymnody. The members of the community, including Kelpius, played an important role in the economic affairs of Germantown.³ Kelpius has been celebrated as the first Hungarian in America,⁴ and some Rosicrucians claim him as one of their own as well.

But for the sake of space, I will consider only two additional reasons why Kelpius and the *Woman in the Wilderness* remain of significance: their place within the religious and spiritual history of America, and their continuing place within German-American and American literature.

While the *Woman in the Wilderness* originally encompassed about only 40 members, participation was fluid over time and space, with some leaving and others arriving, and with a few as a steady core, including Kelpius. In addition, the group was part of a wide network reaching back to Europe, throughout the Colonies, and within the local area. Perhaps somewhat along the lines of what developed in the Ephrata community, the members onsite appear to have maintained celibacy, with families and others associated with the group settling nearby in Germantown and beyond. That said, we have no record of binding communal guidelines or beliefs.

The importance of this community far outpaced its size. Prominent German Pietist leaders, such as August Hermann Francke, appear to have been aware of them, and the connection to the internationally significant Saalhofpietists is documented.⁵ Gottfried Arnold included an entry on the

community in a follow-on volume of his innovative and classic history of churches and heretics, mentioning four members including Kelpius.⁶ A few decades later, the patriarch of Lutheran churches in North America, Henry Melchior Mühlberg (1711-1787), a Pietist in the Halle tradition, also took an interest in Kelpius.⁷

Interest in the community also extended to other Colonies and to a wide patchwork of churches and sects in early Pennsylvania, including Lutherans, Mennonites, Moravians, Brethren, Seventh Day Baptists, the Ephrata community, Schwenkfelders, and others. They maintained contact with Philadelphians (i.e., the apocalyptic movement associated with Jane Leade and others, centered in London and in direct contact with the Petersens). At least one significant organization in our time avers that community members were part of Rosicrucian networks of the past;⁸ and many of the members, including Kelpius, were scholars and as such part of the republic of letters.

Quakers have maintained a long-term interest in the Woman in the Wilderness and will likely continue to do so in so far as they refer back to their early history in the New World.⁹ Since Quakers, who were the foundational group in Pennsylvania thanks to William Penn, shared some of the same ideals, it was natural that Penn should invite radical Pietists and other dissenting sectarians to the new colony. It is likely that Penn met with the Woman in the Wilderness, as he did meet with the Saalhofpietists on the Continent who supported them.

Many of the members who left the community went on to play relatively important roles in other contexts, especially in church and Quaker history.¹⁰ But Kelpius himself appears to have remained, though at times he needed care in Germantown when his health gave out. And at least two of Kelpius' colleagues, Johann Seelig and Konrad Matthaei, continued as hermits until the 1740's on the bluffs above the Wissahickon, though not necessarily on the original site. More than thirty years after Kelpius' death, two separate church groups, Brethren and Moravian, held funeral services for Matthaei, burying him next to Kelpius.¹¹ So, in short, while the members of this community left the world behind, as it were, they all clearly remained interconnected with other movements and churches, so the Woman in the Wilderness was part of the complex early religious and spiritual history of our nation.

But the Woman in the Wilderness was influential not only through its countless and significant interconnections with other communities of its time. The community was one link in a long chain of utopian communities through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that shared similar ideals. The Woman in the Wilderness is repeatedly cited in numerous works as one of the early utopian communities in North America,¹² and Kelpius is often posited as the leader.¹³ These communities, some religious and some not,

arose not only within English-speaking contexts—e.g., the Shakers, Brooke Farm, or we might even add Thoreau's brief semi-hermitic sojourn on Walden Pond—but also within other language contexts, including German. These communities were more or less aware of previous experiments.

The Woman in the Wilderness was probably the first such community that was founded predominantly by speakers of German. They left old Europe, which Kelpius and others compared to Babylon, and settled in the New World near Philadelphia, where they devoted themselves to the spiritual life as they awaited the return of Christ.¹⁴ Kelpius himself and others were voluntarily celibate, which was, at least in theory, unusual within Lutheran and other Protestant contexts, where marriage was prioritized above celibacy. Kelpius wrote of the criticism he received for this choice: “. . . I have been called a Papist, as has been done by the Quakers in this country, as I was unwilling to enter the married state . . . wherefore I was either a Jesuit or an Indian Deitist. . . .”¹⁵ But during and after the continuing trauma of the Thirty Years' War and following wars, some Christians decided to drop out, as it were, from what we might today call organized religion. Like many of the Desert Fathers, Christian monks, medieval sectarians, and many a radical Pietist (especially Johann Georg Gichtel, 1638-1710), as well as John the Baptizer and the Essenes before them, the community of men and women in the Woman in the Wilderness fled from a society perceived to be corrupt to live in what was then considered the wilderness beyond Germantown, Pennsylvania. Indeed, the idea and practice of living as a hermit was an option within the German cultural context of the time; this option is poignantly, though of course humorously, portrayed in Grimmelshausen's picaresque novel, *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus*, which first appeared in 1668.

Delburn Carpenter studied and compared seven celibate communal movements, with the Woman in the Wilderness as the second one in time on his list. Because these movements all shared basic fundamental values and practices and had interconnections over two centuries, Carpenter considered them all to be part of one movement that he called Radical Pietism.¹⁶ The beliefs he found in common include direct inspiration, millennialism, separation from the world, asceticism, celibacy, and communism. One important correction must be made here to his account; he listed the Woman in the Wilderness as the only community of the seven with no female members (222). Research has proven this to be untrue.¹⁷

It is likely that the Woman in the Wilderness was aware of the previous community on Carpenter's list, Bohemian Manor. But though the Woman in the Wilderness group disembarked in 1694 only a few miles from Bohemian Manor's main site in Maryland before travelling on foot to Germantown, it is not known whether they visited that site.

The third group on Carpenter's list, the Ephrata community, had connections to the previous two. For example, Johann Conrad Beissel, founder of the Ephrata community, emigrated to Germantown in 1720 and visited the Woman in the Wilderness, but the group had dwindled by then, and he was only able to meet some of the remaining members, including Matthaei.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Beissel stayed in Germantown and also for a time nearby along the Wissahickon Creek as hermit himself before visiting other communities, including Bohemian Manor, and eventually founding the similar but far more elaborate and stable spiritual community of his own farther west.

In short, Kelpius is significant both in the history of spirituality in America and, more specifically, in the long line of interconnected radical Pietist and celibate communal communities. His primitivistic ideals of breaking from a corrupt system and privileging wilderness connect to the overall story of the United States itself, and to the proclaimed start of a *novus ordo seclorum*. America had to invent itself. What would it build on?

Several of Kelpius' values were shared by the cultural elite of his time and had a future in America, including religious tolerance, the appeal to personal experience, and the sense of crisis and the need and hope for fundamental change—Kelpius himself used the term “revolution,” drawn originally from astronomy.¹⁹ Many of his other values were less mainstream, such as celibacy, communism, apocalypticism, and respect for Indians, but continued to be shared by future generations of Americans.²⁰ We might put it this way: Kelpius was an American. As such, he attempted to start a new life under principles that, whether ancient or new, were not necessarily those of the present world order.

So the Kelpius story is at the heart of the American story and is not limited to Kelpius' earthly frame. But many of the specifics of his hopes for the future have not been realized. For example, he expected the coming of the Christ on this earth. This hope did not materialize in this lifetime. Nevertheless, only a few decades later, the Colonies experienced the Great Awakening, which helped prepare the way for the new order that was founded in Philadelphia as Kelpius expected, though that new order incorporated only portions of what he was hoping for.

In addition to its place in the religious and spiritual history of our nation, the Woman in the Wilderness also has a place in German-American literature and American literature as such. Kelpius' own poetry is part of the published record, though he himself did not try to publish his work. His poetry circulated at first in manuscript form, and then some of his poems were published posthumously in Germantown in 1788 and 1800.²¹ His poetry is rich and complex. Formally it fits within the Baroque period of

German literature, often in the Alexandrine verse promoted by Martin Opitz (i.e., iambic hexameter with a medial caesura); but in content, Kelpius clearly thematizes his own personal experiences, which brings his poetry into an emerging early eighteenth-century trend in German literature known as *Erlebnislyrik* (i.e., experiential poetry). His mystical poetry draws not only on recent or contemporary trends and authors, such as Quietism (probably Madame Guyon), Angelus Silesius, and Jakob Boehme, but also on Roman Catholic and medieval traditions (including the bridal and erotic themes of Western mysticism), as well as the Desert Fathers and of course the Bible.

His corpus includes verse of various lengths, and the headings usually identify the melodies they were to be sung to or provide musical notation or instructions. Some of the poems are extended and complex meditations, often deeply processing Kelpius' personal experiences, including especially friendships, complex spiritual struggles, and health challenges. Lucy E. Carroll, who was a music educator and lecturer, noted that the longest composition includes a mixture of spoken and musical parts and other elements that make it what she called a "mystical musical drama."²² Indeed, many of the compositions express the dramatic struggles of a soul to achieve union with her beloved, despite the many and persistent obstacles that she must endure and surmount with her lover's help. It is interesting that the community together sang through or even acted out the extremely personal and idiosyncratic mystical meditations of this one particular member.

One of the better-known and more accessible examples of his poetry is "Ich liebe Jesum nur Allein," which is the first line of the German version. The poem is presented in English on the facing page of the manuscript as "The Best Choice." The poem is part of a larger bilingual anthology in manuscript form with the German and English versions on facing pages and a later "Advertisement" by John F. Watson from 1823.²³ I refer to this anthology throughout as the *Lamenting Voice*.

Before I quote from "The Best Choice" as a sample of Kelpius' poetry, a brief note on authorship is necessary.²⁴ Because no author is identified on the two title pages of the *Lamenting Voice*, opinions vary, and until we have a critical edition, I offer the following: the two title pages, one in each language, both seem to point to Kelpius as the author. The relevant part of the English title reads as follows: "The Lamenting Voice of the Hidden Love . . . Composed by one In Kumber," and this corresponds to the German title: "Die Klägliche Stimme Der Verborgenen Liebe . . . Wurde Von einem in kummer Schwebenden Entworffen."²⁵ Both titles are clear that the *Lamenting Voice* was composed by "one" ("einem") person; and, based on the gender of "einem" ("one") in the German title, this composer was apparently a man.

Moreover, the title says this person “composed” (“entworffen”) the *Lamenting Voice*; there is no other verb or explicit reference to any other aspects of the production of the manuscript, i.e., its translation, transcription, or possible compilation from other sources.

And finally, there is a possible specific indication that Kelpius was the author. Namely, the English title page adds what is for all intents and purposes a translator’s note: “That Cumber is here above, spel’d with a K not with a C has its peculiar Reason.” In other words, the note is saying the English title reads “kumber” rather than “cumber.” The result is “In Kumber.”

Since at least 1952, it has been surmised that the two initial letters of this phrase allude to Johannes Kelpius’ initials (in Latin): I.K.²⁶ The initial letters of the corresponding German phrase, “in kummer”, are also “I.K.” If indeed the intent was to preserve the German text’s allusion to Kelpius’ initials, the English translator was forced to use an archaic English word (“cumber”) to replicate the “k” sound of Kelpius and then the translator also had to change the spelling of cumber to “kumber.”

However, the “peculiar reason” for the spelling change and note could be something quite different, without necessarily negating the allusion in both titles to the Kelpius’ initials. It must have been striking to the translator that Kummer and cumber are so close in pronunciation even though they are from two foreign languages. Also striking must have been their mutually shared and translatable meaning. And, as most literate persons (and especially translators) knew Latin at that time and were likely quite aware of etymology and word play, it might well have occurred to the translator that, in addition to sound and meaning, both words share a related origin, the Vulgar Latin *comboros*, which means “something brought together.”²⁷ Kummer and cumber, like the bilingual versions of the hymns in *Lamenting Voice*, are “brought together” as one word: kumber. Through word choice, a spelling change, and a note about that change, the translator has bent the English language over the dividing line between the facing pages of the manuscript to show an ultimate unity with the German. This word play is a perfect symbol and confirmation of Erben’s findings (in his *Harmony*) about the goal of German sectarians to reach the translinguistic spiritual language (aka *Natursprache*) beyond the common universal burden (Kummer/cumber) of the Babel that resulted from the fall of humankind.

Given all these considerations and others that space will not allow for here, Kelpius is probably the author of at least the German poetry in the *Lamenting Voice*.²⁸ So here we can move to a characteristic quote from this manuscript: the entire sixth stanza of “The Best Choice.” Here, the poet addresses Christ in the second person:

Die Magnet Nadel irre Geht
Wenn sie Vom Pol Verrücket
Auch gar nicht ehe stille steht
biss der sie Zu sich Zücket
und weil mein hertz
dein Liebes Kertz. .[sic]
berührt mit ihren flammen
Drum eilen sie zusammen.

The English version on the facing page is:

The Magnet-needle erring goes,
When from—when from the Pole detracted;
And takes before quite no repose,
Till He—till He has Her attracted [sic]:
And since my heart
With thy Love Dart
Is touch'd—is touch'd by 'ts flaming AEther,
Therefore they hast[e] together.²⁹

The German stanza—which is in iambic but not Alexandrine meter—is illustrative for three reasons. First, the image of a compass needle points into the vast and arcane Boehmian worldview. One's soul is like this tiny needle, teetering between two poles, positive and negative. The soul must continually strive away from the pull of the darkness of the world and toward the light of God. For Kelpius, as for Boehme, the will is crucial. Unlike the needle, which is merely a metaphor, the human soul has freedom of choice; but like the needle, it is pulled by forces beyond itself. The choice is between living like a spinning, lost compass needle, or a life that is quiet and still ("stille") in the love of God.

Second, the comparison of the German and English versions is of interest. While the iambic meter of the English version diverges somewhat from the German, it could be sung to the same melody that spans the pages of both language versions of the poem. And though "The Best Choice" was not included, the poetic quality of the English *Lamenting Voice* is supported by the fact that David S. Shields excerpted 14 pages of selections for The Library of America edition of early American poetry.³⁰

The third reason this stanza was chosen is because of the reference to fire, a crucial symbol in Kelpius (and Boehme). It is the flames of love by which Christ, the North Pole, is constantly drawing the compass of the soul

to himself; his love is like the “flames” of a “love candle” that attracts the soul, like a moth, to its flaming mystical death and union with God. (Interestingly, the English version adds a reference to the highest and heavenly fifth element, or quintessence, of Aether, enflamed in its own way.) As like attracts like, so the poem avers that both the needle and the pole rush together in mutual love. The singers of this poetic song or hymn are to be likewise attracted heavenward—by the beauty of the words and calligraphy, the mesmerizing accompaniment of the music, and the loving presence of Christ.

This fiery imagery leads naturally into a brief discussion of a later classic work of American fiction inspired in part by Kelpius or others like him: Charles Brockden Brown’s *Wieland* (1798). Drawing on stories and themes of radical Pietists in southeastern Pennsylvania and elsewhere, Brown has the deeply pious father of the Wieland family die mysteriously after being engulfed in flashings of light and searing flames while in “silent orisons” in his private “temple.”³¹ It is not at all certain that flash was of divine origin. For Brown in the 1790s, the flames were likely reminiscent not only of mystical imagery, but also of the claims of the Enlightenment.

Brown, America’s first professional writer and one of the creators of the American Gothic novel, may have modeled characters on Kelpius or local hermits similar to him, as did George Lippard in the next century.³² Rather like Washington Irving after him, Brown drew on Germanic (and other) folk tales and European Gothic themes to process the after-effects of the American Revolution, including its darker aspects, paving the way for Romantic developments in American literature. Peter Kafer has drawn a connection between the location of the Woman in the Wilderness community and the Mettingen estate of the Wielands.³³ The elder Wieland becomes pious after reading a French Camisard book, and he has a “temple” constructed 300 yards from the home at the edge of a cliff, to which he repairs at set times each day for his silent orisons. Thanks to Kafer’s work, we can identify the location as the Wissahickon valley, which features steep drops and rocky crags of schist. That location and its vicinity was in fact occupied by the Woman in the Wilderness community members and other hermits for decades, so it is likely that Brown is harking back to legends about them by having the elder Wieland spend time in silent prayer alone atop a rocky crag.³⁴

Many other allusions and themes and images could be adduced here. For example, like Kelpius, the father of the elder Wieland (viz., Theodore’s grandfather) was of noble rank and of Saxon descent and wrote music and literature.³⁵ He died, or disappeared, in the bloom of his life, as did Kelpius. We don’t know how Kelpius died, and while I have not researched the death year of 1708, I am not aware so far of solid evidence for it. The circumstances

of his death could be almost as mysterious as the disappearances or deaths of the elder Wieland and his father. Finally, the elder Wieland's children spoke both German and English, as did Kelpius and others associated with the Woman in the Wilderness.

In addition, it is possible that the references to the practice of silent orison in Brown's novel derive from a small work on inner prayer that had been published twice locally in English. Readers still treasure this short manual on meditation known as *A Method of Prayer* that has been, and continues to be, attributed to Kelpius.

Hitherto, the first known and confirmed publication of this manual has been the German version printed by Christopher Saur in Philadelphia in 1756.³⁶ However, I have discovered a separate German version that was printed, perhaps on the Continent, apparently before Saur's.³⁷ The English translation was first published by Henry Miller in 1761. Saur's son, an important member of the Brethren church in Germantown, printed a second edition in 1763.³⁸

My own bilingual edition with a new translation was published in 2006.³⁹ But I removed this book from further publication after discovering that, while authorship has been, and continues to be, attributed to Kelpius in one way or another by practically everyone—starting with nineteenth-century bibliographers and Julius Friedrich Sachse (1842-1919)⁴⁰—at least 25 percent of the content is anthologized word-for-word from German translations of Madame Guyon's works (stripped of any specifically Roman Catholic references). These German translations were published long after Kelpius had died.⁴¹

I suspect that the remainder of the manual is similarly excerpted from various sources.⁴² That said, the manual is well constructed and unified. The work was likely translated and/or created by German-speaking Quietists and/or Philadelphians (of the Jane Leade sort) in Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg—a center of radical German Pietism—in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.⁴³ So *A Method of Prayer* is another example of the need for critical review of the text and authorship of items attributed to Kelpius.⁴⁴

Fortunately, the authorship of this text is irrelevant for its spiritual purpose or even for Brown's purposes, if he indeed references it in the novel as some have suggested to me in conversation. The people who created this booklet through composition, compilation, and translation remained unnamed in all the eighteenth-century printings. The chief reason for this anonymity was likely a desire to keep the focus on God. The work itself calls for renouncing "selfhood" (*Eigenheit* in the German): "It takes courage to lose ourselves completely with great generosity. . . . [D]istresses originate in selfhood, and in

setting limits and holding back from God.”⁴⁵ Given its high quality, this small work in English translation remains a minor classic of spiritual literature in the United States.

There are also differences between Brown’s fiction and the historical Woman in the Wilderness but the boundaries between them are not always clear. During Kelpius’ lifetime, the Woman in the Wilderness was not a family estate like Brown’s Mettingen but rather a community of kindred spirits who were mostly celibate. That said, Mettingen could reflect the piety of families influenced by radical Pietism. Through the genre of the novel, Brown was considering the social implications of this kind of spirituality. Importantly, he thematizes economic issues. How does one finance a lifestyle that requires one to isolate oneself from the world? Buddhist monks in Asia do so through mendicancy. In the elder Wieland’s case, he had to first amass a fortune, including through the use of slave labor, so that he could provide himself with an estate, servants, and the necessary leisure to devote himself to his inner orisons.

How could Kelpius afford to live in the wilderness and still have time for spiritual pursuits? Thoreau opens his own account of a life in the woods, *Walden*, with a chapter on economy. Kelpius faced similar issues. He found financing of various sorts, including from donations. Two of the previously unknown Kelpius letters that I present below are to an apparent donor, Jacob Wilhelm Imhof, whom Kelpius refers to as “most generous.” Financing also came from Quaker and Continental Pietist sources.

It should be noted here that Cissy Scheerer concluded in her *Historical Sketch* that Kelpius was not poor at all, but rather a “wealthy, intelligent and shrewd businessman.” She claimed to have gone beyond the “Kelpius Legend” and the “usual” story of a “pious crazy hermit” to get to the “real” story through historical research. For her, Kelpius was a “human” with “dual identities for one reason or another.”⁴⁶ As such, her Kelpius is quite similar to Brown’s elder Wieland. The evidence she adduces does require reconsideration of aspects of the usual story, but it does not support such sweeping claims about Kelpius’ character or true intent. To make those claims work, she needs to assume that anything and everyone connected to the Woman in the Wilderness was under his leadership and that his religious statements were exaggerated in order to acquire support for the community. Nevertheless, she is one of the few writers who have tried to get beyond the Kelpius Legend to the historical facts. Most notably, she reviews the extensive real estate holdings of various persons associated with the community and the roles that several members, including Kelpius, played in the Frankford Land Company (especially in chapters II and III).⁴⁷ She states in her Summary that while her study is thorough, there

is “more information that is unavailable at this time.” She recommends an archeological dig and hopes others “will be intrigued and try to find new material.”

Also of note in this regard, Carpenter points out that members of the radical Pietist communal society prior to the *Woman in the Wilderness* on his list, Bohemia Manor, began eventually to hold slaves after the society started allowing the ownership of private property. All the other celibate communal societies he listed were explicitly against slavery except for the *Woman in the Wilderness*, for which he could find no clear position.⁴⁸ The portrayal of the elder Wieland in Brown’s novel makes one wonder if research is needed here as well. The only issue that I am aware of at this time is that there appears to be evidence that offsite and decades after the group had mostly disbanded, Christopher Witt (who joined the community in 1704) appears to have had an African-American slave (and/or apprentice?), Robert Clymer (or Claymer or Claymoore) in his Germantown home starting in 1746, whom he freed by will after his death in 1765.⁴⁹

Perhaps Brown was aware of and referencing the slavery issue connected to the Bohemian Manor or possibly to Christopher Witt, or to other former or active radical Pietists, or to pious slaveholding Quakers. If so, perhaps he, following a trend within the Enlightenment, was positing that radical Pietism or even religion in general is reactionary or even a form of sickness; or perhaps he was using this form of spirituality as a foil for his larger reflection on the practical outcomes of the Enlightenment and of the American Revolution itself.

A more striking difference between Brown’s novel and the historical Kelpius story is that the younger Wieland, Theodore, murders his wife at what he believes to be the command of God (cf. Abraham and Jacob in the Bible). While a few supernatural or ghost stories were told about Kelpius and the others, especially after they each died, no mysterious murders took place—as far as we know. Here, too, Brown might have had in mind not so much Kelpius or similar Wissahickon hermits, but rather the influence their teachings might have had on a wider or later following, and apparently there had been local domestic murder cases. After Brown, Lippard included a mysterious murder in one of his novels involving the Wissahickon Creek and its past hermits and monks.⁵⁰ Perhaps there was some historical kernel of truth here. Or was Brown referencing this motif as part of a larger questioning of the certainty of Enlighteners? Was he perhaps tacitly echoing a German-American sectarian and Quaker critique of the revolutionaries’ call to arms and of killing and war?

If, by drawing on the *Woman in the Wilderness*, Brown has been even partially successful in helping us to question the import of and relation

between the Enlighteners and the radical Pietists' respective claims to be precursors of utopia, his works would seem to be of great value for our own time as we reevaluate our past and as contemporary utopian alternatives for our future are in play. Conversely, it would seem to be of value to understand Kelpius and the Woman in the Wilderness more deeply in order to understand Brown.

Given the precedent in *Wieland* and other of Brown's novels, along with Lippard's and those of various later writers (such as Hawthorne, Poe, or Melville) who drew on what appeared to be quaint, outdated, or exotic spiritual practices and beliefs as sources for their stories, we might be able to say that, while Sachse's book, *The German Pietists of Pennsylvania*, is primarily intended as nonfiction, it could nevertheless be approached as a kind of novel itself, though on a lower literary level than Brown's. Of course, the balance in Sachse's work is strongly weighted toward what he presents as historical facts. But he did creatively pull a full and satisfying story together. And he built in gothic-related and mysterious elements and added visual imagery throughout, though not as much as a graphic novel, to create a certain mood for the reader.

Consider the following chapter titles: "The Divining Rod and Horoscope," "Local Superstitions," and "The Romance of Spook Hill." Or witness Sachse's account of the funeral for Kelpius:

Such of the brethren as were left of the original Community performed the last rites according to the impressive ritual of the Mystic Fraternity.

It was shortly before sunset that the cortège with the bier solemnly filed out of the Saal of the Tabernacle, the Mystics chanting a solemn "De Profundis," ranging themselves in a circle around the open grave. As the last rays were seen, at a given signal from Seelig, who was now Magister, the body was lowered into the grave. At the same instant a snow-white dove was released from a hamper, and winged its flight heavenward. . . . (247-48)

Sachse cites no source documentation to support this account.⁵¹ And even if such documentation were to be located, the whole account would remain akin to the embellishments of a Gothic novelist. As Sachse writes, Kelpius' "history is so filled with romance and mystery" (249). This admixture of history and romance is acceptable and enjoyable as long as the reader is aware that the author is walking a tightrope; but many take Sachse's works at face value.

It is perhaps due to this literary side to his books that they are among the inspiring factors for numerous YouTube videos and for many creative endeavors surrounding Kelpius and the Woman in the Wilderness, especially in the last few decades, including drama, song, and a novel by Jonathan Scott.⁵²

Finally, as Kelpius and various other members were poets themselves, it is fitting that their story has inspired poetry, including especially by John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892), a Quaker who sang of the life of Kelpius and his companions in several stanzas of his poem "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim," referring to Kelpius as the "maddest of good men." In turn, the German-American poet Emil Doernenburg (1880-1935), a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, wrote of Kelpius and the community in two long narrative poems.⁵³

I have been able to touch only lightly on a few of the many avenues of interest and potential research that remain open for exploration. And, again, there are far more issues involved than this overview of only the spiritual and literary ones (with a glance at economy). Nevertheless, I hope the above review has conveyed a sense for why Kelpius is fascinating and significant in our history.

I will now move to illustrate how we need to, and can, update our approach to Kelpius and make significant new discoveries as a result. We owe much to earlier historians like Oswald Seidenstricker and Sachse. But much, or even most, of the history still remains shrouded in mystery because it unfolded mostly in Germanic language contexts, outside of established and mainstream institutions, and often in oral form.

However, many writers, including scholars, seem to have taken for granted that the facts are already established. The only scholar I know of who has fully and critically sifted through all the extant manuscripts and documentation was Willard M. Martin, though his study was focused on the poetry of Kelpius and Johann Gottfried Seelig.⁵⁴

It was above all Sachse who, at the turn of the last century, established the storyline that has become foundational. Sachse was the Heinrich Schliemann of the German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania. No one has since matched the intensity and scope of his research into Kelpius and other radical Pietists in early Pennsylvania, and he was an assiduous collector and synthesizer of documents. His works on Kelpius, the Ephrata community, and related subjects have become minor classics.⁵⁵ But he did not always identify his sources; his information is not always correct; and he forged at least one, long document.⁵⁶ But despite these drawbacks, and though his books are more than a century old, they remain the most commonly cited sources on the Woman in the Wilderness, even by scholars.

More and updated research is needed to establish or broaden many of the

most basic facts: where and when Kelpius was born, what he wrote (because much was anonymous or merely attributed to him), what his role in the Woman in the Wilderness was, whom he maintained connections with in the Old and New Worlds, and when he died.

The several manuscripts (at least five) and literary remains that are associated with Kelpius are held in various libraries and contain material various members of the community wrote or that has been mistakenly attributed to Kelpius, as well as outside materials, including a hymn by Theresa of Avila and part of an English translation from Madame Guyon's works. Identifying authorship and keeping careful records were not the community's prime concerns. Even so, we are fortunate that as later generations inherited or were gifted with these records, they passed many of them on, along with the community's books and an interesting object referenced as an horologium ("clock" in Latin). If we are ever to understand Kelpius well, crucial next steps must, as for any past author, include a standard scholarly biography and a critical edition of his complete works. Similar study is needed in regard to the entire community, akin to what Jeff Bach has done for the Ephrata community.

To support and encourage those further studies, this article enters new or recently discovered documentation into the scholarly record. We have depended for too long on information that was gathered a century or more ago. Digitization and technical advances, in addition to newer efforts, have opened access to far more information and documentation than was available at that time. Much of this is appearing online outside of scholarly contexts.

Space is limited, so to illustrate how much more research is needed and possible, this article focuses on Kelpius' birthplace and birth date as an example for what is needed for all the other parts of Kelpius' biography. Information about birth sets any author within a specific context in time and space.

However, as I uncovered various new documents from different periods of Kelpius' life referencing his birth information, it became necessary and natural to expand the scope of this project to include his identity. All the new documents should fit together with the previously known documentation like links in a chain and undergo peer review, and in fact, they do fit together. The Johannes Kelpius I have described above was baptized in the town variously known as Daia, Dalia, and Denndorf (and several other forms in different languages over many centuries), now located in Romania, in September 1667.⁵⁷

Most historians have identified Kelpius' birth year as 1673, and many continue to do so even now. The earliest mention of the 1673 date I have found is in Sachse's *German Pietists*, which was published in 1895. Sachse

implies he discovered this information in an “old book” at a used bookstore in Halle, Germany, by Johann Seivert.⁵⁸ But Seivert’s book on Transylvanian scholars does not include a birth year in the entry on Johannes Kelpius.⁵⁹

Watson’s *Annals* of 1857 may have provided Sachse with the material to calculate a birth year of 1673. Watson sets Kelpius’ year of death as 1708 and quotes from an unidentified source that Kelpius died “in the midst of his days.”⁶⁰ Watson then adds in parentheses: “said to be 35.”⁶¹ If we subtract 35 from the alleged death year of 1708, the result is 1673. Q.E.D.?

In 1899, Willis P. Hazard hazarded no birth year.⁶² So he did not draw on Sachse’s *German Pietists*. Rather, he identifies his source as Oswald Seidenstricker.⁶³ Like Seidenstricker, the first date Hazard cites in Kelpius’ biography is 1689, the year Kelpius obtained his master’s degree.

I have found no record of another baptism of a Johann Kelp in this period in all of Transylvania. Moreover, the Johannes born to Georg Kelp and his wife Katharina Kelp (nee Streitforder) had to take place before she died on April 24, 1670.⁶⁴ Various documentation connects the three children of Georg and Katharina Kelp: Georgius, Martin, and Johannes. Martin is mentioned in a record I present below of an academic exercise involving Johannes at the *Bergschule* in Sighișoara/Schäßsburg.

Given all these considerations, we must drop 1673 as the birth year for Johannes Kelpius Transylvanus/Pennsylvanus. And, interestingly, some German reference works have already begun to use the correct birth year, though without identifying their sources. The first to do so, as far as I know, was in 1955.⁶⁵ In 2006, the *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* (DBE) showed the correct location and date.⁶⁶ Based on information I provided to the Kelpius Society, the Wikipedia article on Johannes Kelpius has also been updated, so some American sources have also begun using the correct birth year, too.

As for Kelpius’ place of birth, this is often listed as unknown or is incorrect.⁶⁷ But Kelpius’ university records and publications clearly show him as coming from “Dalia,” which is the Latinized designation for the town known in German as Denndorf.⁶⁸ That he was born (or at least baptized) in Denndorf in 1667 is proven by the baptismal record, called a *Taufmatrikel*, for the church at Denndorf.⁶⁹

The month and year are clear, along with the names of the parents, which are the crucial pieces of information for the purposes of this article. My transcription of the crucial lines in the text reads as follows:

Mense Septembris. 1667 [Year is in a different hand and ink, as well as underlined.]

[2]0. Johannes, filiulus Georgÿ Kelpÿ Pastorÿ h[uius] l[oci], ex Chatarina, 1. uxore.⁷⁰

I translate as follows:

Month of September. 1667

[2]0th. Johannes, little son of Georg Kelpius, Pastor of this town, by Chatarina, [his] first wife.

Here, clearly, Johannes Kelpius was baptized in Denndorf, now located in central Romania, in the area known as Transylvania, on September [2]0, 1667.⁷¹ The father was the pastor in Denndorf, Georg Kelp, and the witnesses (which I have not included here) were pastors, their wives, and a venerable local political leader.⁷²

While the Taufmatrikel records the baptism, not the birth, Johannes Kelpius would have been born shortly before the baptism, mostly likely in Denndorf because all subsequent records that indicate Kelpius' town of origin reference Denndorf/Dalia.

The second document presented in this study that links Kelpius to Denndorf is a Latin panegyric in beautiful calligraphy dated February 11, 1687. The manuscript is signed in Latin script at the bottom by "A.S.C. Cliens et Filius humillimus Johannes Kelpius Daliens[is], Gymn.Schaesb. Orat[or]."⁷³ I translate the signature block here as: "A.S.C. Charge and most humble son, Johannes Kelpius, Denndorf, School of Schäßburg, Orator".⁷⁴ Below is the full transcription and translation of the panegyric by Robert Ziomkowski. Note that he correctly translates "Dalien[sis]" as "of Dalia," which is of "Denndorf" in German—more proof that Johannes Kelpius came from that town.

This poetic speech was delivered in praise of Michael Delius, prominent citizen of Schäßburg to whom Johannes later dedicated one of his books. Johannes's brother Martin had married Delius' daughter Katharina almost a year earlier on February 27, 1686. As the panegyric is a speech in praise of a contemporary personage with close ties to the Kelp family, and Johannes lists himself as schoolmaster and orator, Johannes Kelpius is surely the author and deliverer of the speech. By 1687, Johannes had lost both his parents, and it is likely that Michael Delius was helping to fill the vacuum, along with Johannes' older brother Martin.

The third document that links Kelpius to Denndorf is also from his time at the school in Schäßburg and is available online.⁷⁵ This document appears to be the record of an academic exercise over which Johannes' brother Martin presided in 1685. The document states that Johannes was from Dalia ("Daliens"; i.e., "of Denndorf").⁷⁶

1	I<n> N<omine> J<esu>	45	IN THE NAME OF JESUS,
2	DEUS TER-OPTIMUS MAXIMUS	46	THE THRICE BEST GREATEST GOD
3	ATLANTEM NOVUM	47	A NEW ATLAS [<i>direct object</i>]
4	SENATUI, JUDICIIS, URBI	48	FOR THE SENATE, JUDGES, CITY
5	SCHAESBURGI	49	OF SCHÄSSBURG
6	excitat, supponit hodie, 1687. d. 11. Februar<i>	50	raises up, installs today, 1687, 11 th of Feb.,
7	AMPLISSIMUM, CONSULTISSIMUM ac	51	THE MOST EMINENT, EXPERIENCED, and
8	DOCTISSIMUM VIRUM	52	LEARNED MAN,
9	MICHAELEM DELI<UM>	53	MICHAEL DELIUS
10	Reipubl<icae> Schaesburgen<sis> Senatorem et	54	of the Republic of Schässburg [Sighisoara], Senator and
11	Thesaurarium strenuē meritum,	55	extremely worthy Treasurer
12	jam verō et Judicem Regium spectatissimum	56	now also even a most distinguished Royal Judge
13	Musarum et Musegetarum Patronum optimum.	57	of the Muses and best Patron of those who lead the Muses.
14	Id ut cedat felicissimē	58	That he may walk most auspiciously
15	precor medullitus	59	I pray with all my heart.
16		60	
17	Ambigo, praecularos hodie dum volvis honores	61	While today you are wound in resplendent honors, I wonder
18	Clivo huic Tene, Tibi gratuler anne decus?	62	if I should congratulate you for receiving this office, or the office for receiving you!
19	Sed dudum talem Patria exoptavit Atlantem	63	But for a long time the Fatherland desired an Atlas
20	Qualem Te virtus nobilitasque tulit.	64	such as You, whom virtue and nobility brought,
21	Qui Patriae possit nutantem suscipere axem,	65	One who would be able to hold up the faltering sky
22	Commissumque sibi grande capessere onus.	66	and take in hand the heavy burden committed to him.
23	Sed: tu laeta dies! Patriae jam redditur heros	67	But you, happy day! Now the hero is restored to the Fatherland:
24	DELIUS, ille urbis culmen et ille decus:	68	DELIUS, the very pillar of the city and its glory:
25	O jam! felicem Patriam; Respublica namque	69	O now [I behold a] blessed Fatherland, for the Republic
26	Palladiā claros promovet arte viros!	70	promotes men bright with the art of Pallas!
27	Ne, ut possit, vulgi se Fidere purpura coeno	71	Lest the purple be entrusted to the filth of the rabble
28	Indocilesque manus publica sceptrā dare.	72	and untrained hands bestow the public scepters,
29	Antiqui rursus quō prensent sceptrā Catones	73	The ancient Catos once again grasp the scepters
30	Et grato ad clavum murmure Philosophi.	74	and with a grateful sigh the Philosophers [are] at the tiller.
31	In populum pandant qui docta oracula voce	75	Let those with a learned voice reveal oracles to the people
32	Ut sedeat summā Pallas in arce Fori.	76	so that Pallas may govern within the Forum's citadel.
33	Plaudite jam docti, vobis patet aurea honoris	77	Applaud now, learned ones, for you the golden door of honor opens,
34	Janua, nam claves Delius ipse tenet.	78	since Delius himself holds the keys.
35	Judice nunc tali quoque Pallas nostra triumphat	79	With such a judge now also our Pallas triumphs
36	In sola urbs etenim Pallade ponit opes.	80	And indeed in Pallas alone the city places her wealth.
37	Ergo triumphales—! i!—conscendite currus,	81	Therefore—go! go!—ascend triumphal chariots
38	Oblatumque Tibi perge capesse decus!	82	and proceed to seize the glory offered You!
39	Implevit pia vota Deus. Tu nostra COLUMNA	83	God has answered pious prayers. May you, our PILLAR,
40	DELI in Coelum post tempora sera migres!	84	O DELIUS, enter into Heaven after seasons long-delayed!
41		85	
42	A.S.C.	86	A.S.C.
43	Johannes Kelpius Dalien<sis>, Gymn<asiarchus>	87	John Kelp of Dalia, Schoolmaster
44	Schaesb<urgensis> Orat<or>	88	Orator of Schässburg

*The accusative *felicem patriam* should be vocative?

Fig. 1: Transcription and English translation of the Latin panegyric.

The above documentation shows that a Johannes Kelpius did in fact come from Denndorf in Transylvania. But is this the Johannes Kelpius who came to Pennsylvania and who figures in our history and literature?

The answer is yes. The trail of documentation leads not only forward from Denndorf to Germantown, but also backward from Germantown to Denndorf.

First, the many samples of Kelpius' handwriting from both continents appear to be in the same hand and could be studied more closely for further certainty. In Europe, the earliest manuscript so far is the panegyric (Fig. 2) from the school in Schässburg. Moreover, I have discovered three previously unknown Latin letters by Kelpius, likely in his own hand. The Bayerische



Fig. 2. Manuscript of the Latin panegyric dated February 11, 1687, with Johannes Kelpius' autograph.

Staatsbibliothek (BSB) holds the manuscripts. The first is a cover letter from 1691 transmitting his dissertations to a scholar.⁷⁷ The second two letters were written while Kelpius was in London—a stop along the way to the New World—to an author and genealogist in what is now Bavaria in 1693 and 1694.⁷⁸

Until now, we have been limited to the letters in the *Diarium*.⁷⁹ Because correspondence was so vital to Pietist networking, I suspect that researchers will recover many more letters in the future, especially with increasing digitization.

The *Diarium* includes copies of letters and drafts that Kelpius (and Seelig) wrote in Pennsylvania, plus his travel journal. And as I noted, there are

various other manuscripts in various libraries, some of which likely include additional handwriting by Kelpius.⁸⁰ We also have an additional example of his signature in one of the books in his possession in Germantown, which signed as “Johannes Kelpius Transylvanus”;⁸¹ though we do not know when he signed it.

Beyond the handwriting, we find Kelpius making connections from American shores back to contacts on the Continent. For example, the *Diarium* includes a copy of a letter to his former professor at the University of Altdorf, Johannes Fabricius.⁸² Fabricius and Kelpius co-authored a book in 1690, three years before Kelpius left for the New World.⁸³

Moreover, in 1748, at least one Moravian source refers to Kelpius as “Baron Kelpio.”⁸⁴ This noble title probably derives from the fact that Johannes’s two nephews, Martin Kelp and Johann Georg Kelp, were raised to the rank of nobility in 1742 along with their mother and their children.⁸⁵ There must have been some contact between Pennsylvanians and Europe to confer this news, and someone made the connection to Johannes Kelpius long after he had died.

The 1667 birth year helps us to make better sense of Kelpius’ life story. For example, his birth in September 1667 means that Kelpius lost his mother, who died on April 24, 1670, at the age of two and a half; and he lost his father, who died on February 25, 1685, at 17. In addition, Kelpius received his master’s degree in June of 1689, so he was almost 22 at the time. This makes more sense than Sachse’s 16. And one last note: I have also found no records that show a Johannes Kelpius from Denndorf as being in Europe or publishing new books after 1693, when he started his journey to Pennsylvania.

To conclude, the web of documentation now available to us clearly shows the Pennsylvanian immigrant of 1694 was the Transylvanian born in Denndorf in 1667. The research project has shown that even the simplest basic fact of Kelpius’ life had not been clearly established, and that erroneous dates and places have been perpetuated as a result over time. But through updated technology and careful research, solid information is available to establish Kelpius’ birth, and a similar approach is needed to establish almost everything else in Kelpius’ biography. Even just the documents I have presented here provide countless opportunities for further investigation. Eventually, a scholarly biography can be composed that can be referenced with confidence. And a parallel effort is needed to establish a critical edition of his works. Finally, anyone who studies Kelpius in this way will likely uncover new information and documents that will help us come to a fuller and more accurate understanding of Kelpius, the individuals associated with the Woman in the Wilderness, and the community as a whole.

Like countless others before and after him, Kelpius undertook a long and dangerous epic journey to realize his spiritual ideals in the New World. Moreover, he and his companions arrived at a time and place ripe for starting precedents that would help set the tone and continue to echo as we Americans have been inventing our nation. Utopianism will ever remain as one strand in our fabric. So it is understandable that interest in Kelpius has continued and will continue.

But the full background and contributions of German-American communal movements to the invention of American culture have been undervalued. In the first part of this study, I reviewed how Kelpius is significant for our spiritual and literary history. I also made use of Carpenter's book, *The Radical Pietists*, which links seven celibate communities together as one movement not limited by language barriers. And Erben's unparalleled study, *A Harmony of the Spirits*, examines the efforts of early German sectarians in Pennsylvania, including the Woman in the Wilderness, to overcome the Babel of languages after the fall through translations and music, and he examines how those efforts influenced speakers of English and other languages.

A next step is to go even further into the Woman in the Wilderness itself. But the only way we can continue to confidently build a full edifice of higher criticism is to first lay a solid foundation of lower criticism: we must critically and fully establish the facts and texts associated with the Woman in the Wilderness and its most renowned member, Johannes Kelpius Transylvanus.

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Notes

¹ "Maddest of Good Men," *Time* 57 (May 7, 1951): 60. The title is taken from "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim" by John Greenleaf Whittier.

² I have collected many such videos in a playlist, "Johannes Kelpius," on my YouTube channel, *Spiritual Pathseeker* (https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLxSmH_oKSmGF00MZXLwkwDzkMvDvsQeIG). Included there and elsewhere is a short documentary by Nik Stamps, "Cave of Kelpius," which was shown repeatedly on local public television stations. The video, part of a larger documentary film, contains clips of an interview with me. Unfortunately, the retained portions of the interview were mainly ones with some connection, however indirect, to the mysteries and magic contained in the legends about the Woman in the Wilderness.

³ Cissy Scheerer traced details of the extensive land holdings and related court proceedings by people associated with the community in her *A Historical Sketch of Johannes Kelpius and the Hermits of the Wissabickon* (Philadelphia: Fairmount Park Commission, 1979).

⁴ Transylvania was part of Hungary in Kelpius' time. Kelpius was a Transylvanian Saxon. The German name for Transylvania is Siebenbürgen or, in the siebenbürgisch-sächsisch dialect, Siweberjen.

⁵ On August Hermann Francke, Williard M. Martin writes: “The Falckner brothers and others [of the Woman in the Wilderness] exchanged letters with him after they had settled in America,” in his “Johannes Kelpius and Johann Gottfried Seelig: Mystics and Hymnists on the Wissahickon,” Ph.D. diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 1973 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan). As for the Saalhofpietists (who included especially Johann Jakob Schütz and the Petersens), the clearest connection with the Woman in the Wilderness is via the Frankfurt Land Company, which included such Saalhofpietist members as Franz Daniel Pastorius (eventually of Germantown) and Johanna Eleonora Petersen (née von Merlau). For further details, see Klaus Deppermann, “Pennsylvanien als Asyl des frühen deutschen Pietismus,” in *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 10 (1984): 198ff.; and Scheerer, *Historical Sketch*, Chapter II.

⁶ Arnold, *Gottfried: Gottfrid Arnolds Fortsetzung und Erläuterung Oder Dritter und Vierder Theil der unpartheyischen Kirchen- und Ketzler-Historie: Bestehend In Beschreibung der noch übrigen Streitigkeiten im XVIIIden Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, parts 3/4 (Frankfurt/Main: Thomas Fritsch, 1700), #1082, 135 (pp. 775-76). Arnold writes that these four members, with others, wrote letters to “us.” (Of course, Goethe highly valued this work by Arnold.)

⁷ As a start, see Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania: 1694-1708* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, 1895), 75, 148, 193f., and 337. By the way, I have found a letter to Mühlenberg by Gotthilf August Francke (son of August Hermann Francke) dated August 21, 1767, that includes a report on Kelpius and requests further information about him (Franckesche Stiftungen, Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke, Archiv und Bibliothek; Missionsarchiv; Signatur: AFSt/M 4 C 15 : 20).

⁸ AMORC placed a stone marker at the entry to the so-called Kelpius Cave in 1961 that identifies Kelpius as the “Magister of the first Rosicrucian AMORC colony in America.” AMORC’s website makes similar characterizations (<https://www.rosicrucian.org/history>, as accessed on October 16, 2021). Much earlier, in 1895, Sachse referred to the members of the Woman in the Wilderness as “Theosophical Enthusiasts,” an umbrella term under which he included “Rosicrucian,” and he referred to whole group as “a true Theosophical (Rosicrucian) Community” (*German Pietists*, 37-38). Arthur Versluis explores these and related issues in a nuanced and academic fashion and concludes that Kelpius was a “theosopher in the classical Böhmean tradition” (in his *Wisdom’s Children: A Christian Esoteric Tradition* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 89).

⁹ Kelpius discusses Quakerism and William Penn in *The Diarium of Magister Johannes Kelpius*, Julius Friedrich Sachse, ed., Part XXVII of a Narrative and Critical History Published by The Pennsylvania-German Society (The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses at Lancaster, PA., November 13, 1914, XXV) (Lancaster, 1917), 80-81 et passim. I cite the Sachse edition, which includes his translations, as we have no critical or other edition. Referenced henceforth as the *Diarium*. Later, Charles Brockden Brown and John Greenleaf Whittier were interested in the community. In the twentieth century, Pendle Hill co-published (with Harpers) *A Method of Prayer*, attributed to Kelpius, apparently as suggested by Quaker historian Howard Brinton. Also, in 2006, I received a grant from Central Philadelphia Monthly Meeting for my new translation and edition of *A Method of Prayer*, a work that is discussed further below.

¹⁰ Justus Falkner, who was loosely associated with the Kelpius group (especially through his brother Daniel), was the first ordained pastor of the incipient Lutheran church in the colonies. His brother Daniel had connections to August Hermann Francke, and Daniel’s published works survive. Heinrich Bernhard Koester set up a rival community, supported the Keithian movement of Quakerism, and preached locally before returning to German lands. Anna Maria Schuchardt continued to announce her visions as she had done in German lands, but in Pennsylvania she also directed messages to Quakers.

¹¹ Lamech and Agrippa in the *Chronicon Ephratense: A History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Penn'a*, trans. J. Max Hark (Lancaster, PA: S.H. Zahm & Co., 1889), 14. The location of Kelpius' grave remains uncertain.

¹² The literature on utopianism in America is vast. For illustration of literature on Kelpius, see a website list hosted by Yale University (<http://brbl-archive.library.yale.edu/exhibitions/utopia/utopcom.html>) and an article by Donald F. Durnbaugh: "Communitarian Societies in Colonial America," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 14-36. For a wider focus and a chapter on the Woman in the Wilderness, see Patrick M. Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

¹³ John Fanning Watson is an early source for this leadership idea. See his *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time; Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of the City and Its Inhabitants, and of the Earliest Settlements of the Inland Part of Pennsylvania, from the Days of the Founders*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Elijah Thomas, 1857), 20. In contrast, and well before Watson, Johann Christoph Adelung named Heinrich Bernhard Koester as the leader ("Anführer"), not Kelpius. See his "Heinrich Bernhard Küster" in his *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit . . .* (Leipzig: In der Weygandschen Buchhandlung, 1789), 7: nos. 70, 90.

¹⁴ Kelpius' apocalyptic biblical references draw especially on Revelation—referencing "dragon" and the Woman in the Wilderness of chapter 12 (see *Diarium* 29, 47, 72, 74f., et passim), Babylon (*Diarium* 38, 75, et passim), and the millennium (*Diarium* 83 et passim)—and the Parable of the Ten Virgins (47 et passim, from Matthew 25:1-13). These references also feature in two of the three Latin letters I have discovered and present below. In addition, Kelpius references "Pietism, Chiliasm, and Philadelphianism" as different names for the same "revolution" (*Diarium*, 48f.).

¹⁵ *Diarium*, 82. Devon Dyne explores efforts during this era to integrate celibacy back into the Protestant tradition, particularly in British North America, in his "Celibacy in the British North American Colonies, c.1600-1750," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015.

¹⁶ Carpenter, Delburn. *The Radical Pietists: Celibate Communal Societies Established in the United States before 1820* (New York: AMS Press, 1975). I have adopted his definition of radical Pietism for this study. (For a church historical perspective, see Hans Schneider, *Gesammelte Aufsätze I: Der Radikale Pietismus* [Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2011]). For a more updated consideration of how radical Protestants (including Kelpius) saw themselves as "belonging to larger transconfessional and even transnational communities," see Elizabeth Bouldin, "In Search of 'Fellow Pilgrims': Radical Protestants and Transconfessional Exchanges in Europe and the British Atlantic, c. 1670-1730," in *Church History* 83,3 (September 2014): 592f. and n. 8.

¹⁷ Previously unnoticed source documents showed that Anna Maria Schuchardt, known also as the "Erfurtischen Liese" back in Germany, belonged to the community. See Johannes Wallmann, "Pietismusforschung Gesamt- und übergreifende Darstellungen und Aufsatzbände (II)," in *Theologische Rundschau*, Neue Folge, 76, 3 (August 2011): 306 and note. In fact, many other women were also part of or connected with the community. I discuss Christina Warner further below.

¹⁸ According to Jeff Bach, in his *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 14-16.

¹⁹ Tolerance was an issue long before Locke wrote about it in the 1780s; Kelpius expresses his irenic views in various passages throughout the *Diarium*. As for personal experience, Kelpius appealed to lived experience: "They [i.e., fiery trials] cannot be described; it is only experience

which can teach them best" (*Diarium*, 91). As for astronomy, J.J. Zimmermann, likely the eldest member of the Woman in the Wilderness, was a mathematician and astronomer. For Kelpius' (spiritual) use of "revolution," see the *Diarium*, 48f. Paul Hazard describes the contemporary sense of crisis and the responses to it in his *La crise de la conscience européenne, 1680-1715* (1961).

²⁰ In the *Diarium* (80-81), Kelpius' mentions God's great works ("magnalities") "amongst the Indians" and the "grief" brought to them by "blind-mouthed Christians," and he quotes a response after the preaching to them by William Penn in which they criticized his personal and familial ownership of land as a lack of faith in God. (The quotes are from English translations of Kelpius' Latin in Sachse's edition.)

²¹ Both published by Peter Leibert. For a discussion of the Leibert publications and a review of manuscripts, see Erben's *Harmony*, 216. For full details on the original or later manuscript versions of poetry by Kelpius (and fellow community member Johann Gottfried Seelig), plus additional information on and interpretations of the content, see Martin, *Johannes Kelpius*.

²² In her posthumously published "Of Master Kelpius and Mozart," in *The Rosicrucian Beacon* 28, 4 (September 2019): 11-13; online at https://amorc.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/2019-09_RC_Beacon.pdf (accessed on July 3, 2021).

²³ A facsimile is available in Johannes Kelpius, "The Hymnbook of Magister Johannes Kelpius," trans. Christopher Witt, *Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, Publications of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 4 (Philadelphia: Printed for the Society, 1926), 1:19-165. Because the manuscript has page numbers only on the English side, I reference instead this book's page numbers throughout; unless I quote a transcription from Martin, *Johannes Kelpius*. The manuscript, which could be original as dated in 1705, is held at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania under Johannes Kelpius, "Die klägliche Stimme der verborgenen Liebe . . . /The Lamenting Voice of the Hidden Love . . ." [trans. Christopher Witt] (HSP catalogue: "Hymnal; Collections of Songs, Chiefly Composed and All Arranged by John Kelpius; Copied German and English; English by Dr. De Witt"), MS Ac 189, HSP. As of July 10, 2021, I was unable to find a digital version.

²⁴ Carroll (10-11) maintained that Christina Warner's (aka Christiana Warner) signature on the opening German and English facing pages makes her the author of the *Lamenting Voice*. But I had replied in a discussion with her years before that the adjectival noun, "einem . . . Schwebenden," in the German subtitle seems to identify the author as masculine and that the German title page includes a word play on Johannes Kelpius' Latin initials. Lucy did not reply at that time, but perhaps her article contains what she might have ultimately responded; namely, that Warner created the *Lamenting Voice* as "probably a poetic form of Kelpius' teachings" (10). For his part, Erben sees Kelpius as the composer of the poetry in German and Christopher Witt as the possible English translator, with Warner as the probable compiler and transcriber of the final *Lamenting Voice* manuscript (*Harmony*, 210-12).

²⁵ The English transcription is my own. As for German, I follow Martin (19), except that I dropped the "s" he placed on "kummer." (I am not certain, but the word appears to end in an "r," and also grammar would not tend to call for an "s".)

²⁶ Albert G. Hess noted this possible allusion, and he also he found another possible example in Kelpius' "journal" (in the *Diarium*). See his "Observations on 'The Lamenting Voice of the Hidden Love,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5, 3 (Autumn 1952): 218. Erben holds that the presence of a note about the spelling change exclusively on the English title page indicates that "the composers of the German and English hymn texts were not the same person" (211).

²⁷ Kummer was taken from the Medieval Latin *cumbrus* or *combrus*, and cumber has a similar heritage. See "Kummer" in Duden's *Etymologie* (vol. 7 of *Der Duden in 12 Bänden*

[1997]), and “cumber” in Webster’s New World College Dictionary, Fourth Edition, 2005.

²⁸ That the original poetry was composed in whole or part in German would seem likely but needs to be established. That Witt was the translator also needs to be established. Until then, it remains possible that Kelpius himself was the poet and the translator in whole or part, as well as the “composer” of the music, especially if his initials really are alluded to on both title pages.

Note that Watson’s “Advertisement (21) claims the manuscript is a copy. Also, Albert G. Hess (216) asserted that Kelpius’ “Journal” (in the *Diarium*) and the *Lamenting Voice* were not by “identical hands.” Comparing the handwriting and linguistic idiosyncrasies between the manuscript and other handwriting and works by community members could bring clarity.

³⁹ *Lamenting Voice*, Stanza 6, 162-63. The German version is based on the transcription by Martin, *Johannes Kelpius*, 228. I’ve added two bracketed notes in my transcription of the English version. (Also, I have silently corrected my transcription of “response” to “repose” in line 3 and of “they” to “thy” in line 6 because I was unable to confirm those before publication.)

³⁰ In his *American Poetry: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. New York: *Literary Classics of the United States* (2007), 284-98. For why it is important that both language versions fit the same melody, see Erben’s *Harmony*. His illuminating analysis of the goals and interactions of multilingualism in *Lamenting Voice* considers the significance of the entire production of the manuscript and its uses.

³¹ Charles Brockden Brown, *Wieland or, The Transformation* in his *Three Gothic Novels* (New York, NY: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 1998), 15-17.

³² See, for example, Lippard’s novel *Paul Ardenheim, the Monk of the Wissabickon*.

³³ Peter Kafer, *Charles Brockden Brown’s Revolution and the Birth of American Gothic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). There appear to be further connections in the novel that could be explored.

³⁴ Brown’s reference to silent individual prayer could be a reference to *A Method of Prayer* (as attributed to Kelpius) or to the French mystic Madame Guyon’s *Short and Easy Method of Prayer (Moyen court et facile d’oraison)*. Brown’s “orison” could be a nod to Guyon’s “oraison,” though his narrator references a French Camisard source (7-8). Madame Guyon’s quietism, the Camisard uprisings, and the Woman in the Wilderness were all generally contemporary.

³⁵ Brown claims the Wielands are related to the eighteenth-century German poet and novelist, Martin Wieland (6). So Brown was likely aware of Martin Wieland’s portrayals of hermits and other pious characters. Kelpius might have been of noble descent, but the rank of baron appears to have been conferred on him posthumously in 1742. See Richard Ackner, *Allerlei von Vorfahren in Siebenbürgen (und darüber hinaus)*, ergänzte Fassung (Neubrandenburg: [Familien Druck], 2010), 64f. Available online at https://richard-ackner-archiv.de/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Ackner_Verschiedene_Verwandte.pdf (accessed on July 13, 2021). Moravians in the Colonies referred to Kelpius as a baron as early as 1748 (as noted below), so Brown could have been aware as well.

³⁶ Many, even including Martin (61-62), as well as Seidenstricker, Hildeburn, and Evans, have attributed this printing to Benjamin Franklin and A. Armbruster. But for reasons given in the Library of Congress catalogue, I follow Miller, Arndt, et al., that Saur (aka Sower) the elder was the printer. For additional details, see Kirby Don Richards, *A Method of Prayer: A Mystical Text from Colonial America* (Philadelphia: Schuylkill Wordsmiths, 2006) (ISBN-13: 978-0978899806, now out of print), 96.

³⁷ Like Saur’s edition, this newly discovered edition, entitled *Kurzer Begriff des leichten Mittels zu beten*, does not identify an author, date, or location; the library lists “1720?” as a date, while Google Books offers 1740. The title and format, including the vignettes, differ from Saur’s. A hard copy is available at the University of Lausanne, but additional information, including a link to the digitized Google Books version, is found online at: <https://renouvaud1>.

primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/search?query=any,contains,991013438929702851&tab=Everything&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&vid=41BCULAUSA_LIB:VU2&offset=0 (accessed on July 9, 2021).

³⁸ Saur's title page says there is an "addition," but no such addition has been found. E. Gordon Alderfer's edition of this translation includes an introduction and was in association with Pendle Hill, *A Method of Prayer* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951). The 1951 *Time* article referenced previously is a review of Alderfer's edition.

³⁹ Kirby Don Richards, *A Method of Prayer: A Mystical Text from Colonial America*.

⁴⁰ See Sachse, *German Pietists* (102f.) and the *Diarium* (95f.). In the *Diarium* (95), Sachse claims that Kelpius created a "compilation" that was the original edition and that was "said to have been" printed by Reynier Jansen around 1700. However, such an edition has not been found, and title that Sachse quotes, *Eine Kurtze und Begreiflige anleitung zum stillen Gebet*, is likely a German translation of Madame Guyon's *Moyen court et facile d'oraison*.

⁴¹ However, my research is ongoing; it is necessary to confirm that these German translations were first editions, or at least that they could not have been available to Kelpius. Also, the source(s) for the other 75 percent of the manual remain unknown.

⁴² Sachse, in his *German Pietists* (102f.) implies that a work on prayer by August Hermann Francke might be one of the sources for the compilation (that he suggests Kelpius made). But I have not found any borrowings so far from that work.

⁴³ That said, a former member of the Woman in the Wilderness, Heinrich Bernhard Köster, was later active in Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg, so there is an outside chance that he could have brought material written or compiled by Kelpius with him.

⁴⁴ Given the above two discoveries, the credibility of the handwritten note about Kelpius on an edition of the manual that Sachse presents must be reconsidered. Sachse presents this note in the *Diarium* (99). This note attributes *A Method of Prayer* to Kelpius. The note purports to be by Christian Lehman, whom Sachse identifies as one of Christopher Witt's students, and it (conveniently?) explains that Kelpius "composed" the work and that Christopher Witt translated it. Even if Lehman did inscribe this note, the information about Kelpius would still be at second hand, recorded almost 50 years or more after Kelpius had died.

⁴⁵ This passage is taken from paragraph 98 of my own translation and edition of 2006 (37-38). (For easy reference, I numbered the paragraphs based on the Saur edition.)

⁴⁶ In the Introduction.

⁴⁷ Gerhard Friedrich asserts a document shows that Kelpius acted as an attorney for a case in 1700. See his "Johannes Kelpius as Attorney: An Unknown Kelpius Manuscript," in *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 9, 4 (October 1942): 267-70.

⁴⁸ Carpenter, 35 and 223.

⁴⁹ For some recently considered details on the relation between Witt and Clymer, see Ena Veronica Lindner Swain, *The Evolution of Abolitionism in Germantown and its Environs* (Philadelphia: [Lulu Press, Inc.?], 2018). ISBN: 9780359207084. Google Books, which I accessed in July 2021, offers a partial view. Meanwhile, the article by Joe Tyson III at the following site is my source for the 1746 date: <http://www.svjlit.com/the-monks-of-the-wissahickon-a-series/2016/3/4/monks-of-the-wissahickon-part-iv> (accessed on July 9, 2021). There is also a cryptic reference to an "Ethiopian virgin" in Kelpius' travel journal (*Diarium*, 13).

⁵⁰ In his *The Rose of the Wissahickon*, according to Scheerer (21).

⁵¹ The introductory material to the *Lamenting Voice* (i.e., the facsimile) cites an unidentified "Muhlenberg MSS" on page 15. This MSS appears to be the source only of a final prayer over Kelpius' grave, which is quoted in a footnote. The footnote also cites Sachse's above account, from which I have not included the final prayer.

⁵² *The Woman in the Wilderness. Inside the Mystery of America's First Mystics* (Coatesville, PA: Middleton Books, 2005).

⁵³ In his "Franz Daniel Pastorius" and "Das Weib in der Wildnis (Johannes Kelpius 1693-1709)" in his *Lieder eines Einsamen* (Leipzig: Xenien-Verlag zu Leipzig, 1928), 80-82 and 85-98. Doernenburg identified birth and death years that both differ from Sachse's and that have Kelpius reach the age of only 16 (unless the "9" in "1693" as the birth year is a typographical error in the edition in my possession).

⁵⁴ *Johannes Kelpius*.

⁵⁵ Most, but not all, of his writing on Kelpius is found in his *German Pietists* and his edition of Kelpius' *Diarium*.

⁵⁶ Kim-Eric Williams pointed out to me that Sachse forged an ordination certificate for Justus Falckner. The authentic certificate was later discovered in 1925. See William's *The Journey of Justus Falckner (1672-1723)* (Delhi, New York: ALPB Books, 2003), 41-45. In his *Voices of the Turtledoves*, Jeff Bach has identified numerous cases of Sachse's lack of documentation for his claims, his many errors, and his tendency to read Rosicrucianism into his interpretations of the Ephrata community.

⁵⁷ Note that in this article, I generally reference the German location names (such as "Denndorf") that were current among Transylvanian Saxons in Kelpius' day. These locations now of course bear Romanian names.

⁵⁸ *German Pietists*, 220-21.

⁵⁹ Johann Seivert, *Nachrichten von Siebenbürgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*, Preßburg (Romania): 1785, 212-16. In his note in *German Pietists*, Sachse misspelled the author's name as "Sievert" and did not provide page numbers.

⁶⁰ The source of this quote could be the *Chronicon Ephratense*, 14, note 1, which states that Kelpius died in the "midst of his years."

⁶¹ *Annals*, 20. I have not researched the claim that Kelpius died in 1708, but I am not aware at this time of a legal or other contemporary source document that supports this date.

⁶² In his "Additions and Emendations to Vol. II" of John Fanning Watson's *Annals*, vol. III, (Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stuart, 1899), 458.

⁶³ Probably the following: Oswald Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte* (New York: E. Stieger & Co., 1885). In his *Vorwort* (v), Seidenstricker cites his several sources that I have not consulted directly. His chapter on Kelpius was a reprint of the following: "Johannes Kelpius, der Einsiedler am Wissahickon," in *Der Deutsche Pionier. Monatsschrift für Erinnerungen aus dem deutschen Pionier - Leben in den Vereinigten Staaten*. Unter Mitwirkung deutscher Geschichtsfreunde, II, 1, 1870, 35-42; II, 3, 1870, 67-75.

⁶⁴ The date of death was provided to me by the archive at the Friedrich-Teusch-Haus in Hermannstadt. Georg Kelp married Katharina Streitforder on November 9, 1653, in Schäßburg (Matrikel Volume II, 12/13). The marriage information was provided to me by Mr. Richard Ackner of Neubrandenburg, Germany, who gave me permission to cite it.

⁶⁵ Gustav Arz, *Series Pastorum: Die Pfarrer der evangelischen Gemeinden A.B. in Siebenbürgen*, 1955 (reprinted in "Siebenbürgische Familienforschung," Köln: 1990-1995).

⁶⁶ *DBE, Bd. 05: Hitz – Kozub*, Walther Killy and Rudolf Vierhaus, eds., 2nd edition, K.G. Saur Verlag: 2006, 589.

⁶⁷ See Sachse's *German Pietists*, 221, where he is uncertain on the birthplace, though he speculates it could have been Halwegen, a town he says is in the same district as Denndorf.

⁶⁸ Hans-Günther Kessler references these documents and the use of Dalia for Denndorf in his *Ein Transylvanier in Pennsylvanien: Magister Johannes Kelpius, der erste Siebenbürger Sachse in Nordamerika*. Edition Wissenschaft, Reihe Geschichte, XLVIII, Marburg an der Lahn: Tectum-Verlag, 1999, 8 (footnote 10) and 13.

⁶⁹ Kessler made me aware of this baptismal record. Mr. Richard Ackner later informed me that he had advised Mr. Kessler of the existence of the record, and he provided me with a snippet view that I passed on to the Kelpius Society and that has been posted in Wikipedia. I then tracked down the location. The *Taufmatrikel* is held at the Zentralarchiv of the Kultur- und Begegnungszentrum “Friedrich Teutsch” der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Rumänien, in Sibiu/Hermannstadt, Romania. (“A.B.” refers to the *Augsburg Confession*, i.e., Lutheran confession of faith.) The record is referenced as: “Denndörfer Taufmatrikel (1662-1704), Sign.-Nr. 602-980, S. 20 (unten).” Upon request, the archive provided a photographic copy of the full record page.

⁷⁰ Brackets indicate uncertain readings or my editorial insertions not in the original. Also, the symbol \ddot{y} may be transcribed as “ii” or “ij.” The archival staff provided helpful hints for the transcription.

⁷¹ The “2” in “20” is not quite clear to me. Note that Gustav Arz gives “20” as the day in his *Series Pastorum*; he, or a source he had access to, must have had a copy or transcription of the *Taufmatrikel*.

⁷² Regarding Georg Kelp as pastor at Denndorf, see the *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum: Österreichische Geschichtsquellen*. Published by the Historische Commission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Erste Abteilung (*Scriptores*), Vol. IV. Vienna: Aus der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1864, LXXV.

⁷³ The manuscript is held by the Manuscript Department of the Library of the City of Sighişoara (Schäßburg), Romania, and listed in the catalogue as Manuscript 505. The photograph of the copy provided to me was taken by the Mr. Hobai Razvan, Librarian in the Manuscript Department, who kindly authorized its use for publication. I have published the photograph in an article for the Kelpius Society, available at <http://kelpius.org/panegyric.html>. But the translator has provided below a much better transcription and, for the first time, an English translation.

⁷⁴ The transcription appears to be missing the words “Cliens et Filius humillimus,” which, as noted, I translate as “Charge and most humble son.” A “cliens” in Latin suggests that Delius was Johannes Kelpius’ “patron”; and Kelpius in fact refers to Delius as a patron in the heading of the panegyric. The word “son” could possibly indicate legal adoption. (Neither I nor the Latin translator could decipher “A.S.C.”)

⁷⁵ Entry 1565, “Kelp (Martinus),” in Károly Szabó, *Régi magyar könyvtár, II-Dik Kötet*. Budapest: A M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1885, 427 (accessed online on July 13, 2021, at <https://books.google.com/books?id=ySYAAAAAMAAJ&lpg=PA427&dq=%20%22Johanne%20Kelpio%22&pg=PA427#v=onepage&q=%22Johanne%20Kelpio%22&f=false>). I discovered this document through a web search. (Note that during final revisions of this article, I discovered Richard Ackner’s *Allerlei*, and on page 77 he provides a transcription of the entry from this book.)

⁷⁶ Some of the referenced Latin theses were published in G.D. Teutsch, “Programm des Schäßburger Gymnasiums,” 1852/3, 27. It might be possible to recover Johannes Kelpius’ thesis there or elsewhere.

⁷⁷ Letter to Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff, January 15, 1691. Details and digital copy available at <https://kalliope-verbund.info/ead?ead.id=DE-611-HS-3666201> (accessed on June 18, 2021).

⁷⁸ Two letters to Jacob Wilhelm Imhof dated December 12, 1693, and February 3, 1694. Details and digital copy available respectively at <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV046951402> and <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV046951384> (accessed on June 18, 2021).

⁷⁹ Erben (203) notes that Sachse’s edition of the *Diarium* leaves out Kelpius’ list of his contacts. Also, as Erben notes, the original manuscript is held at the Historical Society of

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Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, as Johannes Kelpius, “Briefbuch,” bound with “Journal,” MS Am. 0880. I hope that a critical edition can be produced, including new or revised translations, plus footnotes, and encompassing the new letters I have introduced here.

⁸⁰ Gerhard Friedrich believed the document presented in his previously referenced article was handwritten by Kelpius.

⁸¹ This signature is found in Kelpius’ personal copy of the *Cherubinische Wandersmann* by Johann Scheffler, held at the Library Company of Philadelphia (location: Sev Ang 70122.D).

⁸² *Diarium*, 80-83. The letter is dated July 23, 1705, and was translated by Sachse.

⁸³ *Scylla Theologica aliquot exemplis Patrum & Doctorum Ecclesiae, qui, cum alios refutare laborarent, fervore disputationis abrepti in contrarios errores misere inciderunt, ostensa atque in materiam disputationis proposita / a Ioh. Fabricio S. Theol. Prof. Publ. & M. Ioh. Kelpio Dalia-Transylvano Saxone.*

⁸⁴ German Manuscript Minutes of the Bruder-Synode, Bethlehem, PA, from Oct 12-13 to 16-27, 1748. The entry involves the funeral for Matthaï at the Kelpius gravesite. Sachse alludes to this document without identifying it in his *German Pietists* (224).

⁸⁵ The two relevant documents are in the national archives of Hungary in Budapest, as follows: A copy of the *Adelsdiplom*: Archiv der Siebenbürgischen Hofkanzlei, Libri regii, Bd. IX, S. 224-230; the document of nobility with the application: Archiv der Siebenbürgischen Hofkanzlei, Acta generalia, Jg. 1742, Nr. 399, S. 407-420, including coat of arms in color. Mr. Richard Ackner provided this information to me, and he discusses this matter more fully in his *Allerlei*, 65f.

