

Zwölf Personen, Männer und Weiber, zu Bucht bei Herzogenbuchach enthauptet und verbrannt	30	melsbeter Märther zugetragen hat, wie auch ihre Glaubensbekennnisse	526
Zwölf Personen werden zu Gent getötet, darunter einer genannt wird	183	Dreundreißig Personen zu Antwerpen getötet	401
Zwölf Brüder werden zu Zürich gefangen	606	Zweundvierzig Personen, nämlich vierunddreißig Männer und acht Weiber, werden im Berner Gebiete vor und im Jahre	257
Achtzehn Personen zu Salzburg verbrannt	12	1566 getötet	
Achtzehn Personen, nämlich elf und sieben, werden in der Herrschaft Millen und Borren getötet	75	Vierundfünfzig Personen, Brüder und Schwestern, nämlich siebenunddreißig zu Antwerpen und siebenzehn zu Brüssel werden sehr unbarmherzig verbrannt	505
Einundzwanzig Personen zu London in England, nämlich vierzehn Weiber werden zur Stadt hinausgetrieben, ein Jüngling hinter einem Karren ausgepeitscht, einer im Gefängnisse gestorben, zwei lebendig verbrannt und zwei kommen aus dem Gefängnisse. Geschehen unter der Regierung der Königin Elisabeth	519	Siebenundsechzig Personen werden nach des Thomas Hermans Tod gemartert	8
Nachbericht, was sich bei der Gefangenschaft und Marter vorge-		Bei siebenzig Personen werden aufgeopfert mit Wolfgang Brandstüber und Hans Nidermayer	17

Konfondanz zu dem Märtyrer-Spiegel

In diesem Inhalts-Verzeichnis zu dem Märtyrer-Spiegel sind einige merkwürdige Begebenheiten aus der Geschichte der Märtyrer, wie auch einige Bekenntnispunkte ihres Glaubens in der Kürze konfondiert. Es sind ungefähr 140 verschiedene Punkte angewiesen und das Verzeichnis umfaßt den ersten und zweiten Teil des Werks. Z. B. Die Angabe für den ersten Punkt bedeutet daß die Stelle im ersten Teil des Märtyrer-Spiegel, Seite 268, rechte Spalte, oben zu finden ist.

Abendmahl.

- Zm Abendmahl das Brot mit seinem eigenen Blut gefärbt. T. 1 r. o. S. 268
Zum Abendmahl werden die Täuscher zugelassen bei den Katholischen. T. 2 r. m. S. 325
Warum die Gläubigen nicht wollen das Abendmahl. T. 2 r. S. 525

Absonderung.

- Von der Absonderung; 5 Ursachen den Gebannten zu meiden. T. 1 l. o. S. 30
Wenn über Absonderung verschiedene Ansichten sind, soll bis zur Erleuchtung getragen werden. T. 1 l. o. S. 35
Die da sündigen strafe vor allen daß sich auch die Andern fürchten. T. 1 l. m. S. 34
Wo bei Abgefallenen Hoffnung ist, die soll man ermahnen. T. 2 r. o. S. 245
Von denen scheiden, die Zwietracht und Angernis anrichten. T. 2 l. o. S. 354

Bann.

- Sollen glaubwürdige Zeugen sein ehe sie bannen. T. 1 r. o. S. 34
Alles vergeben wo die h. Schrift nicht den Bann auflegt. T. 2 r. o. S. 347
Nicht in mißlichen Zeiten mit dem Bann strafen. T. 2 l. m. S. 354
Sich blos hüten vor dem Bann, macht's noch nicht eine neue Creatur zu werden. T. 2 r. o. S. 422
Die Gebannte sind Tote. T. 2 r. m. S. 349

Beten.

- Beten zu Gott ohne ihre Not zu überlegen. T. 1 r. o. S. 241
Das Beten für die Toten gehört zum Papstthum. T. 1 l. m. S. 240

- Es ist vergeblich für die Toten beten. T. 1 r. o. S. 281
M. Servas wünscht nur zu beten, Herr, dein Wille geschehe. T. 2 l. m. S. 256
Wenn die Welt betet, so ruft sie ihren Vater, den Teufel an. T. 2 l. o. S. 38
Sollen für einander beten, daß unsere Flucht nicht im Winter oder Sabbath geschehe. T. 2 r. u. S. 90
Konnte in ihrer Betrübnis nichts beten als: Herr, dein Wille geschehe. T. 2 r. u. S. 148

C

- Wo Christus sein Fleisch empfangen. T. 2 r. m. S. 194
Den Christen verboten vor Gericht ihr Recht zu fordern. T. 2 r. m. S. 611
Der Christen Kampf mit der Reise der Kinder Israels verglichen. T. 2 r. o. S. 81

Diener.

- Diener werden durch gemeine Stimmen erwählt, und durch Älteste Hände Auflegen bestätigt. T. 1 r. m. S. 331
Wennemand von den Dienern abfällt, soll er abgesetzt werden. T. 1 r. m. S. 321
Wie die Diener in die Welt gesandt werden. T. 2 l. u. S. 156
Zwei Diener gingen Menschen gefangen nehmen, einer böse, der Andere Fromme. T. 2 r. u. S. 592
Die Diener sind abgesetzt worden. T. 1 l. m. S. 224

Erkenntnis Christi.

- Von der Erkenntnis Jesu Christi, und wie notwendig es sei, solches zu wissen. T. 1 r. u. S. 313
Von der Menschwerbung Jesu Christi. T. 1 r. m. S. 311
Von der Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu Christi. T. 1 r. m. S. 315
Die unbeschreibliche Gottheit mit verschiedenen Benamen als: Schadai und Gott Jehovah usw. T. 1 l. u. S. 31
Herman Zimmerman erklärt den einzigen Gott, Vater,

dern gemacht, zusammen	L. 1. m. S. 168	Die Welt verehrt den Teufel durch die große Pracht, Ball-
Über ungesegneten oder unbeschworenen Wasser Taufe.	L. 1. r. m. S. 179	häuser und Tänzen.
Den Fingerring antun mit der Taufe verglichen.	L. 1. I. o. S. 183	U
Die in Sünden gefallenen nach der Taufe werden auf die Tröntautse gewiesen.	L. 1. r. m. S. 181	Großes Ungewitter entstanden beim Feuer anstecken.
Nimmst du das Wasser weg, so ist es keine Taufe, nimmst du das Wort weg, ist es auch keine Taufe.	L. 1. I. m. S. 193	L. 2. r. o. S. 505
Wie Israel im roten Meer erhalten und Pharaos ertrank, so ist die Kirche der Heiden durch die Taufe.	L. 1. r. u. S. 167	Wer nach drei Ermahnungen ungehorsam bleibt.
Von der abermaligen Taufe der Männer zu Ephesus.	L. 1. I. u. S. 194	L. 2. I. u. S. 347
Die Lehrer können die Taufe sichtbar verrichten, aber nicht den heiligen Geist geben.	L. 1. I. o. S. 210	Uns selbst untersuchen bezeugt uns daß wir irdisch sind.
Dass viele getauft, aber nicht am Geist ihres Gemüts erneuert.	L. 1. I. o. S. 210	L. 1. r. u. S. 351
Punkt sieben von der Taufe.	L. 1. I. u. S. 224	Der Unterschied zwischen Apostel und Bischof.
Dass das auswendige Wasser der heiligen Taufe nicht verschieden sei, von dem Wasser in den Flüssen.	L. 1. r. u. S. 225	L. 1. I. o. S. 49
Wie zu Johannes Taufe viel Unwiedergeborene kamen, so geschiehe es auch hier.	L. 1. r. o. S. 255	Man soll die Überbleibsel nicht verehren.
Des Herrn Ordnung in der Taufe unverändert bleiben.	L. 1. I. m. S. 292	L. 1. r. S. 148
Die auswendige Taufe fördert nicht zur Seligkeit, wenn die inwendige mangelt	L. 1. r. o. S. 293	die Lüste ihres Fleisches.
Die Nachtheit Adams, und die Bedeckung mit Eimeln in der Taufe verglichen.	L. 1. r. m. S. 293	L. 1. r. m. S. 310
Wie es nur ein Gott und ein Glaube ist, so gibt es auch nur eine Taufe.	L. 1. I. o. S. 324	B.
Der Neuer ihre Taufe ist ungültig.	L. 1. I. m. S. 120	Ein Vorleser wird Baronius genannt.
Junge Knaben getauft.	L. 1. r. m. S. 94	Ein Verleumder soll nicht in der Gemeine bleiben.
Ein gottloser Mann ist nicht würdig zu taufen.	L. 1. I. m. S. 94	L. 2. r. o. S. 342
Jesus machte und taufte mehr Jünger denn Johannes.	L. 2.	Von seinem Nachfolger gerettet da er über Eis lief.
Twist nennt Baronius einen gottseligen Mann, der mit Nachdruck gelehrt.	L. 1. r. u. S. 211	L. 2. r. o. S. 289
Die Toten können nicht bei den Lebendigen bleiben.	L. 2. I. o. S. 347	Wenn in der Vermahnung widersprochen wird, soll man schweigen.
Seine Seele flog in Taubengestalt gen Himmel.	L. 2. r. o. S. 55	L. 1. r. u. S. 281
Dreimal des Herrn Tag erschienen und den Unterschied gesehen, der Gerechten und Ungerechten.	L. 2. r. u. S. 28	Ein Pfaffe von Läufen verzehrt.
Seine Tochter soll folgende Bücher lesen, als: Testament, Dietrich Philipp's usw.	L. 2. r. m. S. 580	Des spöttischen Schreibers grausamer Tod.
Ihr sollt des Herrn Tod verkündigen bis daß er kommt.	L. 1. r. m. S. 22	Der Scharfrichter bittet um Vergeltung.
Dass es erlaubt sei an heiligen Tagen leibliche Werke zu tun, ohne die Sünde.	L. 1. I. o. S. 273	Der Richter wird sehr gestraft.
Dass man täglich fasten soll, aber nicht seinen Leib stören.	L. 1. I. m. S. 108	Der Verräters Fleisch verfault.
Die überflüssigen Festtage sollen abgeschafft werden.	L. 1. I. m. S. 252	Heinrich Adams verkündigt dem Richter seinen Tod.
Ursache des Sonntags erklärt.	L. 2. I. m. S. 20	L. 2. r. m. S. 157
Thomas Herz konnten sie nicht verbrennen.	L. 2. I. m. S. 8	Augustin fordert den Richter vor Gottes Gericht.
Vor Taufschén, Spielen und Verschwenden warnen.	L. 2. I. m. S. 208	L. 2. I. o. S. 124
Katechismus Schüler müssen sich vor der Taufe mit keinen Frauen vermengen.	L. 1. I. u. S. 107	Jaques Verräters schrecklicher Tod.
Die Worte ausgelegt: Ich habe gepflanzt, und Apollo hat begossen.	L. 1. I. m. S. 101	W.
		Niemand kann ins zukünftige Leben eingehen, er sei denn wiedergeboren.
		L. 2. I. u. S. 52
		Die Wiedergeborenen führen einen beständigen Krieg wider die Lüste ihres Fleisches.
		L. 1. r. m. S. 310
		Wo keine Wiedergeburt ist, da dient auch kein Beicht.
		L. 2. r. m. S. 162
		Beflagt wie wenig er die Wiedergeburt erkannt, vielweniger gehabt.
		L. 2. I. o. S. 421
		W.
		Die Wächter sollen die jungen Personen fleißig mit Gottes Wort ernähren.
		L. 2. I. S. 422
		Dreizehn Wochen gefroren nachdem 6 Brüder erwürgt.
		L. 2. I. o. S. 137
		Wenn die Welt betet ruft sie ihren Vater den Teufel an, und begehrt daß sein Wille geschehe.
		L. 2. I. o. S. 38
		Wie starken Widerstand es kostet wenn eine belagerte Stadt Verräter hat.
		L. 2. I. o. S. 352
		Siehe ich bin bei euch alle Tage bis an der Welt Ende.
		L. 1. I. m. S. 22
		Nicht zu denen zählen die durch ihre Werke wollen selig werden.
		L. 2. r. u. S. 253
		Wasset weder in Worten noch in Werken eine Verstellung erfunden werden.
		L. 2. I. u. S. 250
		Vom schmalen Weg, wie die Christen im Triümpf wandeln müssen.
		L. 2. I. o. S. 269
		Selig sind, die eines guten Willens sind.
		L. 2. I. o. S. 179
		Mit den geistlichen Waffen gegen die Verführer treten, wie David gegen Goliath.
		L. 2. r. o. S. 238

Wie sich Witwen verhalten sollen. T. 2 r. m. S. 249	Frage an die Bischöfe ob die Apostel die Obrigkeit gebraucht das Evangelium zu verklügeln. T. 2 l. m. S. 97
Der Weg des Lebens wird kostlich und eng geschildert. T. 2 r. S. 493	Seine Besserung aufzuhören bis er alt oder stark ist, heißt mit dem Herrn spotten. T. 1 r. o. S. 280
Was für Glieder die Wohltat empfangen sollen, und wie gebrauchen. T. 2 r. o. S. 249	Sein Blut sahe man am dritten Tage an der Sonne. T. 2 r. m. S. 420
Die Werke der Liebe werden in drei Teilen geteilt. T. 1 S. 33	Nimm diesen Befehl mit vor Gottes Gericht und siehe was es nützt. T. 2 r. m. S. 75
Die Waldenser treiben keine kaufmännische Geschäfte usw. T. 1 l. S. 227	Wir fürchten uns nicht wenngleich die Berge versetzt würden. T. 1 l. o. S. 21
Waldenser lehren keine andere Gebete, als das Vater-Unser. T. 1 l. u. S. 227	Leonhard Kaiser konnten sie nicht verbrennen. Mit seinem Blümlein. T. 2 r. u. S. 7
Waldenser ließen keine andere Kirchenämter zu als Bischöfe, Lehrer und Diaconen. T. 1 l. m. S. 252	Bei Brod und Wasser lebenslang Tote und Lebendige zusammen. T. 2 r. u. S. 47
Der letzte Wille eines Sterbenden soll nicht von kirchlichen Personen unterschrieben werden. T. 1 r. o. S. 222	Alle Brüder und Schwestern sollen sich hüten vor allen denen, die die Gemeine verlassen. T. 2 l. o. S. 246
Es nützt nichts, daß man den Weg wisse, ohne ihn zu bewandeln. T. 2 l. o. S. 103	Die Fußfertigen wieder aufzunehmen. T. 1 l. u. S. 117
Wird von seinem Weibe besucht und verursacht große Traurigkeit. T. 2 r. m. S. 175	Die Bereitschaft zur Taufe. T. 1 r. u. S. 194
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Algerius seine große Freude im Gefängnis. T. 2 r. u. S. 138	Bekenntnis über sein Murren weil sie das Leiden nicht willig angenommen samt ihren vielen Kindern. T. 2 r. u. S. 263
Alberner Mensch hat das Gerippe vor die Herren geworfen. T. 2 l. u. S. 593	Ein Mann der in groÙe Bekümmernis kam, wegen seiner ungültigen Taufe und wünschte die rechte Taufe zu erlangen. T. 1 l. m. S. 40
Der Unterschied zwischen Bischof und Apostel. T. 1 l. o. S. 49	Blandina gepeinigt vom Morgen bis Abend. T. 1 r. u. S. 37
Die Kepfel am Toten Meer voll Asche. T. 1 l. o. S. 9	Lebt einfach, wird mit Brustkrankheit behaftet. T. 1 r. u. S. 55
Nehmen die Apocryphen nicht an. T. 1 r. o. S. 212	Ein Bischof soll untersucht werden. T. 1 l. m. S. 117
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Adam, Adam, was hast du getan. T. 2 r. u. S. 393	Benjamin ein Diacon graushaft getötet. T. 1 l. u. S. 114
Es hat nie kein Auge gesehen. T. 2 l. o. S. 546	Was willst du mit meinem Mann machen, der nicht einen Buchstab lesen kann? T. 2 r. m. S. 180
Beflagt seine geistliche Armut mit Thränen. T. 2 l. o. S. 473	Der Besuch von ihrer Schwester verdroß sie. T. 2 r. u. S. 186
Bernhart Reiser behält sein Amt. T. 2 l. u. S. 7	Zeige mir einen Bischof oder Lehrer in eurer Kirche, der unsträflich ist. T. 2 l. u. S. 172
Um der Außerwählten werden die Tage verfürzt. T. 2 r. u. S. 266	Ein Bräutigam verläßt seine Braut. T. 2 l. u. S. 277
Die große Angst um das wahre geistliche Kind zu gebären. T. 2 l. u. S. 265	Simons Bekenntnis von der Taufe und Abendmahl, und was die Strafe sei. T. 2 S. 133
Die vielerlei Artikel, welche die Waldenser für unrecht halten. T. 1 S. 222	Ein Brief mit der linken Hand geschrieben. T. 2 l. m. S. 212
Was das Wort: Catechumen bedeutet. T. 1 r. m. S. 120	Wie die Einfältigen zu ermahnen. T. 2 l. o. S. 216
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Nur diesmal noch werden die Frommen über diese Brücke geführt. T. 2 r. m. S. 23	Schöne Ermahnung als Testament. T. 2 l. m. S. 468
Einem Bruder sieben grausame Hiebe gegeben. T. 2 r. m. S. 118	Wer nach gehöriger Ermahnung sich nicht versöhnen kann, darf nicht Bruder bleiben. T. 2 r. o. S. 346
Das ist die beste Buße, nicht wieder sündigen. T. 2 l. o. S. 254	Die Begierde nach irdischen Gütern ist das rechte Fundament des Verderbens. T. 2 l. m. S. 494
Sechs Brüder an Pfählen erwürgt, auf jedem Pfahl ein Licht gebrannt. T. 2 l. o. S. 137	Fehler nachweisen ohne Liebe findet nicht Eingang. T. 2 l. u. S. 18
Brüder sollen sich hüten vor solchen Geistern, die große Vollkommenheit wollen, und das Kleinsten mangeln. T. 2 l. m. S. 147	Einem fehlenden Bruder der Gehör gibt, die Sünde zu decken. T. 2 r. m. S. 330
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Um der falschen Brüder halben nicht zurück weichen, oder schwach werden. T. 2 l. o. S. 433	Freudentränen sind gewisse Zeichen der Reue. T. 2 r. m. S. 535
Vor der Begierde nach irdischen Gütern soll man sich hüten. T. 2 l. m. S. 494	Wenn das Fleisch Freiheit erlangt nimmt es sich mehr. T. 2 r. o. S. 103
Es soll Niemand der neulich aus dem Heidentum aufgenommen, Bischof oder Lehrer werden. T. 2 r. o. S. 95	Dem Fleisch keine Ursache geben zu sündigen. T. 2 l. u. S. 148
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	Unser Friedensanerbieten an die im Glauben einstimmigen Völker. T. 1 r. u. S. 28
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Vom Glauben und Festtage oder Sabbath und Chestand.	T. 1 S. 19	Durch Schießsal werden die Bücher verteilt.	T. 2 r. u. S. 133
Mehrere Gottes-Gerichte.	T. 2 S. 593	Wie die Täuflinge sind bedient worden, und mit weißen Kleidern ihre Reinigkeit bewiesen.	T. 1 I. S. 154
Nach sieben grausamen Sieben, das Haupt abgeschlagen.	T. 2 r. m. S. 118	Ich schreibe eure Namen in irdische Bücher, Gott aber zeichnet sie auf Tafeln, die nicht vergehen.	T. 1 I. u. S. 100
Gott straft seine Kirche zur Besserung, die Gottlosen zum Verderben.	T. 2 I. o. S. 470	Die Christen hatten keine besondere Tracht.	T. 1 r. m. S. 69
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German Printings of the MARTYRS MIRROR

by David Luthy

The first edition of Thieleman van Braght's **Martyrs Mirror** was published in the Netherlands in 1660. Its language was that of its compiler—Dutch. While the Dutch Mennonites could easily read and appreciate the volume's 1,290 pages, Anabaptists living in German-speaking areas could not. They wished for a German translation.

It is an odd but true fact that the first German **Martyrs Mirror** was not published in Europe where there was an early demand. It was published in North America. In fact, all but one of the German editions have been published here.

The 1748-1749 Ephrata Printing

The first German edition of the **Martyrs Mirror** came about as the result of a war. In 1744, England and France declared war. The Mennonites residing in the English colony of Pennsylvania feared that the colonies would be forced into the conflict which would severely test their nonresistant faith. They felt that an edition of the martyr accounts in their German language would help their brethren to remain faithful to the principle of nonresistance.

Thus, in October of 1745 four Mennonites from the Franconia area of southeastern Pennsylvania wrote to the Dutch Mennonites asking for assistance in translating and printing a German edition. Since no reply was received for three years, the Pennsylvania Mennonites had meanwhile found a printery in their own neighborhood to undertake the gigantic task. A group of Seventh-Day Baptists (a branch of the Dunkards) had established a paper mill and a printing press at their Ephrata Cloister in 1745. One of their brethren, Peter Miller, knew many European languages and was assigned the job of translating the huge volume from Dutch to German. Records kept by two of the celibate brethren at the Cloister reveal what a major task the printing was:

After the building of the mill was completed, the printing of the **Book of Martyrs** was taken in hand, to which important work fifteen Brethren were detailed, nine of whom had their work assigned in the printing department: namely one corrector who was at the same time the translator, four compositors and four pressmen; the rest had their work in the paper mill. Three years were spent on this book, though not continuously, for there was often a want of paper. And because at that time there was little other business in the Settlement, the household of the Brethren got deeply into debt which, however, was soon liquidated by the heavy sale of the book.

The book was printed in large folio form, contained sixteen reams of paper, and the edition consisted of 1300 copies. At a council with the Mennonites, the price of one copy was fixed at twenty shillings (about one pound) which ought to be proof that other causes than eagerness for gain led to the printing of the same. [*Chronicon Ephratense*, p.213]

The finished volume was a masterpiece of Colonial printing. Its 1,512 pages were bound between half-inch-thick boards covered with leather. Brass corner pieces were fitted onto the covers. The finished product measured 10 x 14 x 4½ inches. Weighing thirteen pounds, it was the largest book printed in Colonial America.

Not only is the volume's binding a work of craftsmanship, so are the pages. The typeface is large, so (as the preface states) "it may suit the eyes of all." Nearly every page has a decorative initial capital letter at the beginning of new accounts which adds to the book's beauty. In some of the volumes a full-page illustration showing John the Baptist baptizing Jesus by immersion was included opposite the front title page. Since the printers of the volume were Dunkards, it was only natural that they depicted the baptist in their mode. Historians for many years thought that copies bearing this illustration were rare, but recent research reveals that it was plac-

ed in nearly one-half of the volumes, including copies purchased by Amish and Mennonites. All the copies have a picture on the front title page showing a man digging with a shovel. He is entwined with branches tied in an oval shape. The words "Arbeite und Hoffe" ("Work and Hope") are printed in a semi-circle above the man's head. This picture was patterned after the illustration on the title page of the original **Martyrs Mirror**, the Dutch edition of 1660. Several other insignificant illustrations or ornaments appear in the Ephrata edition.

Since the volume is divided into two portions or divisions, there are two title pages. The first bears the date 1748, while the second has 1749 which indicates the large volume was not completed until that year. Five years later in 1754, Israel Aerelius, the author of **History of New Sweden**, visited the Ephrata Cloister and was shown the large volume. He commented:

We went down again to Miller's room, and there he showed me the History of the Persecution of the Anabaptists, a large and thick folio volume, which he himself had translated from the Holland into the German language, and had afterward had it printed there in Ephrata, saying it was the largest book printed in Pennsylvania, and also that he had labored for three years upon the translation, and was at the same time so burthened with work that he did not sleep more than four hours during the night...The edition of Miller's book was one thousand two hundred copies, of which seven hundred have been circulated and five hundred are still on hand. He said they could be sold within ten years. I think he meant twenty. The price is twenty-two shillings. I asked him how they could be sold at so low a price. Why not? said he; for we do not propose to get rich.

However, the remaining copies were not sold during the next "ten years" nor during the next twenty. Several hundred still lay unbound at the Ephrata Cloister when the Revolutionary War began in 1775. Since there was a serious shortage of all war materials including paper, the unbound **Martyrs Mirrors** were confiscated by the Patriots. Six soldiers arrived one day at the Cloister, demanded the unbound copies, paid for them, and loaded them into two wagons. They were taken to a munitions factory in Philadelphia where about 150 were used to make cartridges for the Patriots' muskets. One historian writes: "And so it came to pass that the book which was printed with so much care and toil and sacrifice to teach young men not to fight, was rammed down American muskets and sent flying after the Red-coats and Hessians." After the war, Joseph Von Gundy and other concerned parties purchased the remaining 175 copies from the government. Two of these copies are today in Heritage Historical Library in the Amish community at Aylmer, Ontario. [For a more complete account of this historic event, see "The Ephrata Martyrs Mirror Shot From Patriots' Muskets" in the January 1986 issue of **Family Life**.]

The 1780 Pirmasens Printing

In 1779 an Amish bishop, Hans Nafziger, in the Palatinate region of Germany drew up a church discipline or ministers' manual. The first part contains a lengthy explanation of how to conduct the communion service. The second part contains sixteen articles or rules. Forty-eight ministers representing twenty-two Amish congregations in Europe signed their names in agreement with the church discipline.

The following year, 1780, Hans Nafziger published the second German edition of the **Martyrs Mirror**. Although his name does not appear anywhere in the volume, he is credited with having published it. The only indication the volume itself gives as to publisher are the words on the front title page: "von der vereinigten Brüderschaft in Europa" ("from the united Brotherhood in Europe"). This, undoubtedly, is referring to the twenty-two congregations which had signed the church discipline the previous year.

Some copies have a variant front title page which states "von etlichen der Brüderschaft" ("from several of the Brotherhood"). It also includes the printer's name: "Johann Friedrich Seelig, Hochfürstl. Hof- und Canzley = Buchdrucker, 1780." However, the other title page at the beginning of the second division does contain the words "Im Verlag der vereinigten Brüderschaft." This term also appears twice in the epilogue on the next-to-the last page in all copies. Its caption is translated "Short Epilogue by Several Ministers of the Mennonite Church for the Second High German Edition of the **Martyr Book**."

Very few copies of the 1780 edition have been discovered with another variant title page. It shows two angels hovering in the air and holding the top corners of a square banner which contains the unique title: **Der Blutige Tonnell Der Tauffs-Gesineden oder Wehrlosen Christen**. Surrounding the banner is a series of scenes depicting martyrdom. No mention is made on it of the "united Brotherhood" or the printer's name, but it does contain the words "verlegt in der Hochfürh. Cantzley-buch Truckerey, Im Jahr 1780."

Two of the three aforementioned 1780 title pages include the name of the town, Pirmasens, where this edition was printed. One does not.

For all practical purposes the 1780 edition is a reprint of the 1748-1749 Ephrata edition. But it is not an exact rendering of the Ephrata language, for there are differences in spelling, capitalization, and hyphenization;

for example, "Landschafften" becomes "Landschaften;" "Römischen" becomes "römischen;" and "Menschen-Geboten" becomes "Menschengeboten."

The 1780 edition has marginal notes beside the text as does the Ephrata edition. It also has decorative initial capitals at the beginning of each account, but they are only half as large as the ones in the Ephrata volume. The text itself is in the same order except in some copies of the 1780 printing the initial 56-page section in the Ephrata edition appears on 52 pages in the middle of the volume; however, some 1780 copies do have it in the front.

Because of its smaller typeface, the 1780 edition contains nearly 200 fewer pages than the previous printing: 1,316 rather than 1,512. However, it does contain a major new feature—104 illustrations by the Dutch artist, Jan Luyken. Originally they appeared in the second Dutch edition of the **Martyrs Mirror** printed in 1685. Most of the illustrations depict Christian martyrdom and have captions beneath them in both French and German, but eight are in Dutch and two have no caption at all. The most famous of the 104 pictures (and the most often reprinted) is the scene showing Dirk Willems kneeling on thin ice to save the life of his pursuer who fell through the ice.

Besides the Luyken etchings, there are numerous other illustrations. Some are merely ornaments which the printer used to fill up blank space in the platen to keep the ink roller from dipping and smudging the paper. They are flowers, shells, or intricate designs. A large (3 x 6 inch) illustration appears above the preface on page 6 of the volume's second division. It shows a stately formal garden with trimmed evergreens, stone pillars, and fountains. In the center is a pedestal upon which rests a crown, and the sun has a human face. It represents God smiling at the martyrs who are symbolized by the crown. No artist's name appears.

One thousand copies are thought to have been printed of the Pirmasens edition. It is as lovely as the Ephrata edition and much more scarce.

The 1814-1815 Lancaster Printing

The third German edition of the **Martyrs Mirror** was printed by Joseph Ehrenfried of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Although it bears the date 1814 on both title pages, it was not completed until the following year, for the preface is dated May 1815. It states that this edition was published in the interests of "Mennonite ministers and leaders." They likely were concerned because of the War of 1812 which was being waged at that time.

Basically the text of the Lancaster edition is a reprint

of the Ephrata. However, minor spelling differences occur, and fewer words are abbreviated. The Ephrata edition often had "u." for "und", "h." for "heilige," etc.

By using smaller typeface and wider pages, Ehrenfried was able to reduce the volume's thickness to 1,014 pages; whereas the Ephrata edition had 1,512. Another way the weight was reduced was by substituting cardboard for actual boards under the leather covers. The Lancaster edition weighs nine pounds which is four less than the Ephrata. But by becoming more compact, it lost some of its beauty. Smaller boldface letters replaced the decorative initial capitals which graced the pages of the Ephrata edition.

The only illustrations in the 1814-1815 edition are a new rendering of the "Arbeite und Hoffe" picture on the front title page and a pair of birds on the second division's title page.

This edition has marginal notes like the Ephrata and Pirmasens and is the last **Märtyrer Spiegel** to have them. Future editions have the notes at the bottom of each page rather than along the sides of the text. This edition is also the last to have a word at the bottom of each righthand column telling what the word on the next page will be. This was a very old practice so the reader would not lose his train of thought while turning the page.

It is not known how many copies were printed, but there must have been several thousand for it is commonly found. It apparently did not sell well, for it is said to have caused Ehrenfried's bankruptcy a few years later.

The 1849 Philadelphia Printing

The fourth edition of **Der Märtyrer Spiegel** was published in 1849 by an Amish layman, Shem Zook, who according to the volume's title page lived "near Lewistown, Mifflin County, PA." The actual printing was done by King and Baird of Philadelphia whose imprint also appears on the title page. Its pages measure eleven inches which is about three inches shorter than those of the three earlier editions. Bound in leather with 1,047 pages, the volume weighs 6½ pounds or half that of the Ephrata edition a century earlier. Looking at it in line with the earlier editions, one can readily see a difference in size. Another major difference, however, is not so readily seen. This is the first edition where textual changes were made. The publisher mentions this in his preface, stating "A man of undoubted ability not only guided the printing of this work but also noticeably improved the language and style..."

Whether this person was Shem Zook or his talented half-brother, David, is not known. David had translated some of Wilhelm Wynantz's sermons from Dutch to Ger-

man and published them in 1830. He was skilled in the German language, but so was Shem. Actually the publisher wanted to make greater changes. In the preface he explains that he wished to leave out certain sections which, in his opinion, would improve the book. But people opposed his "shortening or changing any portion." Thus, only the language was changed.

The preface is mistakenly entitled "Preface to the Third High German Edition." The publisher apparently was not aware of the Pirmasens edition. The 1849 is the third American edition but the fourth in the German language.

A special illustration "Noble Army of Martyrs" appears on the page facing the front title page. It is based on a nearly identical illustration, "Die edle Zahl der Martirer", which appeared in the German language edition of Fox's **Allgemeine Geschichte des Christlichen Marterthums** published in Philadelphia in 1833 (copyrighted in 1831). The 1849 illustration was engraved on steel by Peter Maverick and depicts the martyrdom of Saints Mark, Stephen, Matthias, John, Peter, and Andrew in a series of sketches surrounding a larger picture in the center of Christ crucified. The illustration is bordered by a lovely design made to look like an ornate picture frame.

The "Arbeite und Hoffe" picture on the front title page is a better version of the one which appeared on the title page of the Ephrata edition. However, the historically important illustration in the 1849 edition appears on the title page of the second division. It depicts the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist and shows both standing in the Jordan River (but the artist made it look more like the Rhine River). At the time this edition was published, there was a baptismal controversy in Shem Zook's home community. One of the Amish bishops there was promoting the idea of baptizing people in "living (flowing) water"—streams or creeks. He did not immerse the people but had them kneel while he dipped water from the stream over their heads. The controversy led to a church division in Mifflin County and spread to other Amish and Mennonite communities. That Shem Zook included this particular illustration indicates he supported those favoring baptism in streams. The 1849 edition is the only **Martyrs Mirror** which contains the illustration.

This edition can still be found in Amish homes and is a handsome volume. It was the last edition to have a rope binding and clasps to keep the covers closed.

The 1870 Elkhart Printing

The fifth edition of **Der Märtyrer Spiegel** was published by John F. Funk and his brother Abram K. Funk ("John F. Funk und Bruder") in 1870 at Elkhart, Indiana.

The preface to this edition is mistakenly entitled "Fourth High German Edition" and mentions each of the previous three American editions but is silent concerning the 1780 Pirmasens printing. Apparently, even at this late date, the European edition was not well known in America.

The publisher also mentions in the preface that this new printing is arranged according to the 1849 edition but does have "some improvements in language, corrections of quoted Scripture verses, etc." Although some changes were made, the 1870 edition very closely follows the 1849. In fact, it is the first printing whose pages correspond in content with a previous edition. The word order in the columns does not always match, but an obvious effort was made to have the pages follow the format of the 1849 edition. This format has been the basis for all later editions. Each edition after the 1849 has the same pagination so that the page numbers in the index of one correspond with those in all of the others.

Not all copies of the 1870 edition have the same full-page illustration facing the front title page. Three different illustrations have been documented. One is an imitation by the Acme Engraving Company of Chicago of the picture which appeared opposite the title page in the 1685 Dutch edition. It shows two naked angels hovering in midair while holding a banner which bears the volume's title. This picture, depicting martyrdom and other Christian characters, also has a woman and children wearing very little clothing. This illustration appeared in an advertising circular which was distributed while the 1870 edition was being printed. Perhaps complaints were sent to the publisher, for this picture was bound into only some of the copies.

The second variant illustration which appears opposite the front title page in some of the copies is identical to that which appeared in the 1833 edition and subsequent printings of Fox's **Allgemeine Geschichte des Christlichen Marterthums**. It is captioned "Die edle Zahl der Martirer" ("The Noble Band of Martyrs"). The Funk brothers must have purchased a plate for it directly from the Philadelphia printers. [For a description of it, see the entry for the 1849 edition.]

The third variant illustration is the rarest of all. It used "The Noble Band of Martyrs" as its model, but the sequence of martyr scenes has been changed and a new martyr "Vitalus" added. The style of the drawing is also quite different, being almost like cartoon art. At the bottom of the illustration appear the name of the artist, "Wm. R. Palin," and the company in Chicago which manufactured the plate, "Hallock & Chandler-Chi."

The volume's publisher, John F. Funk, advertised the book in his periodical, **Herald of Truth**, but made no mention of the three different illustrations. Apparently

customers received whichever he chose to send them.

The "Arbeite und Hoffe" illustration, which appeared on the front title page of all earlier German editions except the Pirmasens, is on the title page of the 1870 edition. It is nearly identical to the one on the 1849 title page, but the spired church house in the background has been replaced with a one-story frame structure.

On page 629 at the end of the second division is a small illustration of a naked child leaning on two entwined wedding rings—a most unusual picture with which to end an Amish and Mennonite devotional book.

Although this edition was advertised as "bound after the style of the last edition published by Shem Zook," it is inferior to it. The 1849 edition had a rope binding. At first glance the 1870 also appears to have such. Actually there are no small ropes or cords holding its covers in place. Instead, the leather covering the spine has been slightly padded in four places to make it appear as if it has a rope binding.

Originally the 1870 edition sold for \$6.00; or if a person purchased twelve copies, he received the thirteenth free. By 1906 the printing was almost sold out, and the price was \$5.00.

The 1915 Scottdale Printing

The sixth German edition of the *Martyrs Mirror* was printed in 1915. By this time the 1780 Pirmasens printing was known in America, so that the preface to the 1915 edition correctly calls itself the "Sixth High German Edition." It also states that the "present edition is an unrevised reprint of the last edition." This is true. However, since a different typesetting was used with more space between the words, wider columns were needed. Because of this, the 1915 is a little wider and taller than its two predecessors but still small when compared with the first three editions.

This is the only edition which has a date stamped on the spine; "1916" appears there along with "Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa." Since both title pages have "1915", the date on the spine indicates the copies were not bound until the following year. This was the last edition to be bound in leather—some in full-leather and others in half-leather.

Since the volume's spine and title pages bear the imprint of the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, it would appear to have been the publisher. However, evidence indicates it was the printer but not the publisher. The 1915 edition was financially sponsored by the Old Order Amish. A letter concerning it appeared on pages 393-394 of the December 1, 1914 issue of the Amish periodical, *Herold der Wahrheit*. It was written by John "Hansi" E. Borntrager, an Amish minister of Lagrange County, Indiana. Following is a translation of part of what he wrote:

A New Edition of the Martyrs' Mirror

This book was last printed in 1870. This edition is already long sold out. Now, many of our young people are growing up and also have a desire to have this book to read and should have it along with the Bible in their homes. Since it can no longer be gotten, there is a need.

To help out with this need, we have set about to discover under what conditions this book might be newly printed, as we have already announced in the *Budget*. Now, Brother L.A. Miller of Arthur, Illinois has written me that he has entered into an understanding with the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale that they would print it and bind it in leather for \$3.50 apiece, when we can find sales for 1,000 or more copies.

Thus, Brother L.A. Miller has asked me to make this known through the *Herold der Wahrheit*. We want to try it now and see how many buyers we can get.

So we request that all the ministers of our churches will make it known and appoint someone to obtain subscriptions and as much as possible to forward them to Brother L.A. Miller or me.

We wish that this work be undertaken with earnestness in all our Old Order Amish churches from Pennsylvania to Oregon that as many orders be gathered as possible to see if we can get 1,000 customers.

Since so many of our people do not read the *Herold der Wahrheit*, this will be announced again in the *Budget*.

Hans E. Borntrager
Shipshewana, Ind.

Two months later L.A. Miller, the Amish publisher and bookseller at Arthur, Illinois, wrote a letter to the *Herold der Wahrheit*, giving a progress report. He stated:

Many, perhaps, are eager to know how we are progressing with the new edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror*.

The complete number of subscribers thus far is 514 from 38 churches, several of which hope yet to send in more orders. These are about half of our churches. From the other half we have no more news than that some of them are gathering subscribers.

We would rejoice when all efforts could be made with this work to hurry and send in the orders as soon as possible, so that all are sent in by Feb. 15 so we can send them in by March 1.

There is a great difference in the number of subscribers from the various churches, from 2 to 35. The largest number comes from a Russian-Mennonite church in Kansas.

Over a year later a small announcement appeared in the August 15, 1916 issue of *Herold der Wahrheit*: "The new edition of *Der Märtyrer Spiegel* is printed and is in the hands of the binder. The binding will require a few weeks. Whoever wishes to have this book, and

has not yet sent his order, should write to: L.A. Miller, Arthur, Ill."

The subscribers paid only \$3.50 which was much cheaper than the 1870 edition. Since the 1915 was sold at the wholesale price, it cost less. However, people who purchased it after the pre-publication offer had expired paid more. L.A. Miller was selling it in the 1930s for \$5.00.

The 1915 edition has no new illustrations. It repeats the two which appeared in the 1870 edition: "The Noble Band of Martyrs" opposite the front title page and the "Arbeite und Hoffe" at the bottom of the title page.

The 1950 Berne Printing

The seventh edition of *Der Märtyrer Spiegel* was printed in 1950. Since it has a maroon cloth cover, it can be easily recognized. According to its title page, it was "Printed and Published by Light and Hope Publishers, Berne, Indiana." It is true that Light and Hope did the printing, but it was actually published by the Old Order Amish of Lagrange County, Indiana. An Amish layman, Levi D. Christner, was in charge of the project at the request of his brother Cornelius Christner, a bishop. Assisting Levi were Ezra Yoder, Ervin Eash, and C.D. Troyer.

Subscribers to the 1950 edition were solicited through advertisements in *The Budget*. The books were to be sold at cost plus postage and handling. The printing cost was \$4.15, and the books were sold for \$5.00. Quite likely 1,000 copies were printed, but actual records show 878 were sold of which 324 went to J.A. Raber, the Amish bookseller at Baltic, Ohio. Raber had collected subscriptions and also purchased copies to sell in his bookstore and via his annual almanac. His retail price for the volume was \$6.50.

Copies of the 1950 edition found their way to Europe in 1951 through the charity of *Budget* subscribers. Jonathan B. Fisher, an Amish layman, asked the readers of his weekly *Budget* column, "Lancaster Co. Briefs," to donate money so copies could be sent to displaced German-speaking Mennonites. These people had fled their homes in Russia and Eastern Germany during World War II and resettled in West Germany. Donations of \$5.25 were to be sent to C.D. Troyer of Topeka, Indiana who had the remaining copies of the 1950 printing. Troyer commented on this in a letter in *The Budget*:

From the recent printing of the German *Martyrs' Mirror*, the committee decided to set aside about 40 copies for the German-reading Mennonites of Europe. Nearly all of them hail from the Jakob Ammon side. It is hoped that by reading the *Martyrs' Mirror* they will become more steadfast in the faith and in their stand against military acceptance.

Enough money was donated so that 70 copies were sent to these families. The Mennonite Central Committee of Akron, Pennsylvania shipped the books with their regular relief shipments to Europe.

The 1950 edition was the first to be done by photoreproduction. The printer photographed the 1915 edition at 95%, thus reducing the size of the pages but also the print. The Amish publishers were not pleased with the finished product. Had they known that the printer wanted a somewhat smaller volume, they would have advised him to photograph the 1870 edition so the print would not have needed to become smaller. Another fault of the 1950 edition is that many pages are difficult to read because the printer used too much ink. The heavily inked words are very black and not always clear. This heavy inking and 5% reduction in size also affected the volume's two illustrations. The martyrs in "The Noble Band of Martyrs" are hard to distinguish, and the "Arbeite und Hoffe" picture is inferior to the original.

The 1950 edition is merely a reprint of the 1915 edition and contains that volume's preface. In fact, all future printings contain this "Preface to the Sixth High German Edition." The 1950 edition, however, does contain two features which the 1915 did not have. It has a seven-page concordance ("Kondordanz") at the back which lists the references in the volume to such religious terms as baptism, communion, excommunication, etc. And this edition contains a large map of central Europe which folds out at the back of the volume. All future editions contain the concordance, but the 1950 alone contains the map.

The 1962 Scottdale Printing

The eighth edition of *Der Märtyrer Spiegel* was printed in 1962. The title page states that it was "Published for use in the Old Order Amish and Mennonite churches in the U.S.A., Canada, and Mexico." The imprint of the "Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania" appears beneath that statement. Thus, the impression is given that the Mennonite Publishing House published the book.

Although the 1962 edition was printed at Scottdale, it was actually published by Lester C. Byler, an Amish layman of Middlefield, Ohio. He suffered from multiple sclerosis and was not able to do heavy work. He owned a small bookstore and operated a printing press on which he printed memorial cards and religious sayings. Although he did not print clothbound books, he did publish some with the printing being done by commercial printers.

In March of 1962, Byler inserted the following notice in *The Budget*:

By request and since there is a great demand, we have undertaken to have the German *Martyrs' Mirror*

reprinted. Thus, we sent some letters to all the church districts asking for orders to help. If we have overlooked any districts or groups, we want them to contact us. You will receive our immediate attention.

Three months later a larger notice appeared in the same newspaper. This time Byler mentioned that many complaints had been made about the previous printing and that he had found "a company that will print photo offset from an earlier edition." He went on to mention that the price would be \$9.50 and that "Many who would have ordered but for the poor print done on the last edition can rest assured that there will be a good job done this time."

The printing job was, indeed, superior to the 1950 edition. The printers photographed the 1915 edition which resulted in the 1962 edition not having the sometimes-smudgy, sometimes-too-light pages of the 1950 printing. But, unfortunately, the printers did not correct the other bad aspect of the previous printing—the reduced type size. They, too, photographed the 1915 at 95%, but at least it was clearer to read.

The 1962 edition of 1,000 copies was sold out within five years.

The Pathway Printings

The ninth edition of *Der Märtyrer Spiegel* was published in 1967 by Pathway Publishing Corporation, an Amish group at Aylmer, Ontario with a branch office at LaGrange, Indiana. Both addresses appear in the imprint on the front title page. Letters in advance of the printing were sent to all Amish congregations. A special pre-publication price of \$6.50 was offered.

The 1967 edition is an exact reproduction of the 1962, since Pathway purchased the photographic negatives directly from Lester C. Byler. Pathway, however, forgot to change the imprint at the bottom of the title page at the beginning of the second division so that it shows "Mennonitischen Verlagshaus, Scottdale, Pennsylvania" and "1962." Another mistake occurred when the title was stamped in gold on the volume's spine. "Märtyrer" is incorrectly spelled "Märtnrer." This edition with a tan cloth cover was printed for Pathway by Eerdmans Printing Company of Grand Rapids, Michigan. A printing of 1,995 was made.

In 1973 the tenth German edition was again published by Pathway Publishers with the same mistakes occurring on the volume's second title page and on the spine. This edition consisted of 2,088 copies with light-blue cloth covers and was printed by Eerdmans Printing Company. Thus, the only difference between the 1967 and 1973 editions is the date on the front title page and the colors of the cloth covers.

In 1981 the eleventh edition was published by Pathway Publishers who had instructed the printers, Eerdmans Printing Company, to change the date on the front title page from 1973 to 1981, but they failed to do so. Thus, the only way the 1981 edition can be identified is by its dark-brown cloth cover. A printing of 1,933 copies was made.

