

# Hans Adam and Jörg Ziegler: Strasbourg's Radical Tailors

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In the late 1530s most of Strasbourg's Anabaptists were artisans.<sup>1</sup> Of some fifty known non-Melchiorite Anabaptists and sympathizers, thirty-nine (78%) were artisans, representing twenty-seven occupations.<sup>2</sup> The remaining thirty-two artisans included five shoemakers, three weavers, and the following: a mason's apprentice, a sawsmith, a soapboiler, a watchmaker, a gardener, a carpenter, a joiner, a smith, a knifsmith, a windlass-maker, a clothworker, a barrelmaker, a ropemaker, a baker's apprentice, an innkeeper, a clockmaker, a purse-maker, a shipper, a basket-carriage weaver, a strawcutter, a metal ringmaker, a vine-dresser and an inn-keeper's wife. Besides two tailors, leaders included a soapboiler, a gardener, a clothworker, a mason's apprentice, a weaver and a strawcutter.<sup>3</sup> Why were tailors so disproportionately represented? One reason was the presence of Hans Adam and Jörg Ziegler, two radical tailors present throughout the first generation of Strasbourg's reform.

## The Early Years, 1524-1532

During the Reformation of the sixteenth century, Strasbourg, with its long tradition of religious tolerance, was a haven for religious refugees and a centre of religious radicalism. In the early 1520s Strasbourg's radicals were largely comprised of peasants and artisans, especially gardeners and butchers, seeking social and economic justice.<sup>4</sup> The coming of the evangelical movement heightened their hopes for a transformed society. When these hopes were

dashed in the Peasants' War, evangelical religious reform was effected by the reformers and the *Rat*, the government council, within existing social structures.<sup>5</sup> Religious radicals were obliged to find less revolutionary leaders to pursue their dreams. Among these were the tailors Jörg Ziegler and Hans Adam.

Although Ziegler and Adam hailed from the suburbs of Schiltigheim and Mundolsheim respectively, in the 1520s both lived on Steinstrasse in Wolfgang Capito's Young St. Peter's parish. The sources do not present them together, but with a common street, guild and radical orientation, the men doubtlessly knew each other and perhaps even joined forces. In their thought and in their actions, both combined social revolutionary and sectarian impulses.

By 1524 at the latest, both Adam and Ziegler were caught up in the growing unrest associated with the evangelical reform and the Peasants' War. In Strasbourg this unrest was evident, especially among the gardeners whose leading voice was Jörg Ziegler's brother, the gardener-preacher, Clemens Ziegler.<sup>6</sup> Although the gardeners were Strasbourg's largest guild with one sixth of the artisan population, they were socially and politically marginalized.<sup>7</sup> In 1523 while the gardeners in the parish of St. Aurelia refused to pay all rents, fixed dues and tithes to their ecclesiastical lords, Hans Adam in nearby Suffelweyersheim challenged a priest and preached Luther's teaching.<sup>8</sup> In the spring of 1524, as the reforming *Rat* was beginning to dismantle monasteries, an angry crowd of gardeners gathered in front of those convents they considered most corrupt.<sup>9</sup> In August the gardeners of Steinstrasse set out to clear their Young St. Peter's church of images. The tension climaxed on September 5, 1524 when Konrad Treger, the Augustinian prior, published inflammatory pamphlets opposing reform. In response a crowd of 400 commoners, mostly gardeners, invaded the monastery, dragged Treger before the *Rat* for prosecution, and at several places smashed statues.<sup>10</sup> Among the rioters was found the *Schneider in der Steinstrass*, either Hans Adam or Jörg Ziegler.<sup>11</sup> Jörg Ziegler's home on Steinstrasse would become one of the centres of Anabaptist meetings and activity. In early 1526 he received into his home Wilhelm Reublin, who with a number of other Anabaptists had fled into Strasbourg from Waldshut and Zurich.<sup>12</sup>

Hans Adam (Adolf) hailed from Mundolsheim, a village north of Strasbourg. He had lived on Steinstrasse at least since February 1524. Earlier, in Suffelweyersheim, he had troubled a priest and had preached Luther's teaching. In December 1525, fifteen months after the Treger riots, Hans Adam was accused of having slandered the priests.<sup>13</sup> In December 1525 Adam was also accused of having slandered priests.<sup>14</sup>

As a result of the Peasants' War, thousands of refugees fled from the countryside into Strasbourg.<sup>15</sup> Anabaptist refugees also arrived from Zurich and other parts of Switzerland where they had been expelled for Peasants' War activities and/or for accepting rebaptism.<sup>16</sup> No longer able to press for social reversal, many radicals re-directed their ideals in spiritualist, sectari-

an or apocalyptic directions. Ziegler and Adam became involved with sectarian Anabaptists without entirely abandoning their social-revolutionary inclinations.

In the spring of 1526, perhaps at Capito's request, Ziegler hosted Wilhelm Reublin who had been expelled from Zurich and Waldshut.<sup>17</sup> The *Rat*, already anxious about religious nonconformists because of Karlstadt's influence in 1524 and the Peasants' War, immediately sought to know Reublin's whereabouts. Although Reublin conversed privately with reformers such as Capito and Matthew Zell, he avoided public debate on baptism, and it was Ziegler who finally agreed to a private debate with the clergy. There he condemned them for compromising with the "world" and for lacking courage to carry the reform through fully.<sup>18</sup> That Jörg Ziegler was later described as having been a "suspicious and tumultuous man" is not surprising given his prior involvement in the Treger riots. That Capito would invite him to host visitors also points to a trustworthy and hospitable side to Ziegler. Probably he was both hospitable and passionate about his convictions.<sup>19</sup>

That year Ziegler also came to know Ulrich Trechsel of Augsburg, a former priest and Anabaptist leader who stayed in Strasbourg briefly.<sup>20</sup> In November 1526 the Hebraist and spiritualist Anabaptist Hans Denck arrived in Strasbourg and asked Ziegler to host some of his followers. To Bucer's alarm Denck quickly attracted a large following. This led Bucer to organize and lead a controversial public debate which resulted in Denck's departure on Christmas Day, 1526.<sup>21</sup>

With Denck's departure, leadership of the radicals swung to more biblicist and sectarian men such as the furrier Jakob Gross and the former monk Michael Sattler who had also arrived in late 1526. Within a week Jörg Ziegler was imprisoned together with Gross and three Swiss colleagues, a shoemaker named Wilhelm Echsel, a furrier named Mathis Hiller and a Strasbourg citizen through marriage named Jörg Tucher.<sup>22</sup> If their trial sheds light on their backgrounds and beliefs, and on their intentions in Strasbourg, the questions asked reveal much about the magistrates' anxieties. The *Rat* asked about (re)baptisms and about how these artisans had come to join the Anabaptists. Questions about attitudes toward the Catholic church suggest uneasiness about a possible Catholic-radical alliance against the evangelical church, and questions about clandestine groups point to fears of a renewed uprising like that of the Peasant's War.<sup>23</sup>

From the testimonies of these men it appears that the Anabaptists gathered at the home of Jörg Ziegler and somewhere in Ruprechtsau. Besides having preached, Gross had baptized at least three persons, some in the presence of Clement and Jörg Ziegler and several women. Virtually all participants were artisans—at least two furriers, a potter, a tailor, a gardener, a tanner, a barrelmaker and a shoemaker.<sup>24</sup> They claimed meetings were for worship without criminal intent. Although differences of interpretation existed, most held to a literalistic biblicism. Emphasis fell on baptism following faith and

mutual ethical obligations. Literal obedience to New Testament teachings included pacifism, refusal to swear oaths and participation in Peasants' War-type conspiracies. Less frequent was the appeal to the Spirit which dominated the rhetoric of Clement Ziegler and Hans Denck. Common to all was disappointment with the ethical failure of the official reform. Part of their vision was a society of moral integrity and neighbourly love. In their willingness to lay down arms and share material possessions with the needy, these virtues appear at least to have been partially realized in this Anabaptist group.<sup>25</sup>

In the end at least the three non-citizens Gross, Echsel and Hiller were expelled.<sup>26</sup> With fresh memories of the Treger riots, the Peasants' War and Hans Denck, the *Rat's* decision to expel these Anabaptists points to its determination to stop potential popular unrest at its inception.<sup>27</sup> Strasbourg citizens received more lenient treatment. The native Jörg Ziegler was allowed to remain in the city even though the authorities described him as a "suspicious and tumultuous" man. The authorities' perspective was myopic. The next twenty-five years would also reveal gifts of hospitality.<sup>28</sup> The willingness of both Capito and Denck to utilize Ziegler's hospitality suggests an initial working relationship between them. It also suggests that Capito's approach toward the radicals was more personal and pastoral than Bucer's more theological and political approach.<sup>29</sup>

Hans Adam appeared next in 1528. A flood of refugees from persecution and famine in the late 1520s multiplied nonconformist numbers in Strasbourg. In August 1528 the police disrupted an Anabaptist congregation meeting at *Zum Pflug*, an inn near Young St. Peter's. Those detained included a large number of artisans who had emigrated from Augsburg, a Strasbourg carpenter named Lukas Hobelmacher who had baptized others, and Hans Adam.<sup>30</sup> Adam repented of his Anabaptist "misunderstanding," and promised to submit to the authorities in everything. In the coming years he would be less docile.<sup>31</sup>

### Hans Adam after 1533

By 1531-32 the radicals reached their zenith with some 2000 members, or one fifth of Strasbourg's adult population.<sup>32</sup> Major groups included the "Gardeners" around Clement Ziegler, spiritualist Anabaptists of the Hans Denck stream, the Swiss Brethren who followed Michael Sattler, the circle around Pilgram Marpeck, Augsburg refugees sympathetic to Hans Hut, Melchiorites led by Melchior Hoffman, Schwenckfeldian spiritualists, and intellectual sympathizers known as the Epicureans.<sup>33</sup> Fear for the official reform, sparked in part by the Münster revolution, drove Strasbourg's authorities to hold a Synod in 1533-35 in order to legislate correct doctrine and expel nonconformists.

For the radicals this was a watershed. While some recanted, most scattered into the countryside. For the most part their status changed from numerous to few, from visible to clandestine, from urban to rural, from a movement comprised of educated leaders to scattered groups led by uneducated leaders, and from a membership representing all social strata to one that included

mostly lower artisans. This crisis spurred Hans Adam and Jörg Ziegler to stronger opposition against the Strasbourg clergy, and propelled them into leadership of Anabaptist dissidence.

The Synod of June 1533 catapulted Adam into direct and overt resistance against the clergy. Although identified at the synod as one of three independent-minded nonconformists in Schiltigheim, he was not intimidated.<sup>34</sup> Two weeks later he was apprehended; his offence was that when Pastor Wolfgang Schultheiss stepped down from his Sunday sermon in Schiltigheim, Adam stepped up and continued to preach.<sup>35</sup> That summer he interrupted Jörg Buser, the Mundolsheim pastor, during the sermon. Then after the Christmas Day sermon, Adam advised Buser to let him preach in the afternoon in order to correct the errors of the morning's sermon.<sup>36</sup> Three days later, when Capito finished his sermon in Young St. Peter, Adam stepped up to continue preaching. The authorities concluded that Adam was a "hardnecked" and fanatical Anabaptist.<sup>37</sup>

Within weeks of the Anabaptists' February, 1534 seizure of the city of Münster, the Strasbourg *Rat* passed ecclesiastical ordinances legislating doctrinal orthodoxy and infant baptism, and it decreed punishment and expulsion for all dissidents.<sup>38</sup> A year later disciplinary ordinances decreed on pain of expulsion that all infants must be baptized within six weeks of birth and all adults swear the civic oath.<sup>39</sup> Many were banished in 1534-35, with the greatest pressure in early 1535 during the final stages of the siege of Münster; yet there was no determined expulsion of every single Anabaptist.<sup>40</sup> Hans Adam, disciplined and probably expelled soon after the Synod of 1533, settled in nearby Schiltigheim for a time. In the spring of 1535 the measures of 1534 were liberalized to grant greater freedom of conscience and the authorities' surveillance began to slacken.<sup>41</sup> Illicit Anabaptist meetings took place again, and Adam and others secretly slipped back into the city.<sup>42</sup> This information was inadvertently revealed to the *Wiedertäuferherren* in May, 1535 by the Anabaptist Anna Pfeiffer, wife of Jakob Krumb from Rottenburg. The church visitation report from Schiltigheim in May, 1535 described him as stubbornly wayward, deserving punishment. His wife, equally feisty, was willing rather to lose her life than yield to the authorities.<sup>43</sup>

In May, 1537 Hans Adam was arrested again. Having consistently resisted the institutional church since 1524, he was by now seen as a leader by the Anabaptists and even as an elder.<sup>44</sup> He traveled widely, encouraging congregations in Reichstett, Mundolsheim, Suffelweyersheim, Ottrott, Rossheim, Schlettstadt, Oberehenheim and elsewhere.<sup>45</sup> He rebaptized Barbara Kneiger, the wife of the tailor Hans Kneiger, a converted Jew in Rossheim. Kneiger later testified that she had been rebaptized because she had not properly understood her first baptism.<sup>46</sup> When arrested for these activities, Adam declared:

Our pastors preach the letter... and promise us salvation and consolation before they or we have renounced our sins, and so they give us a rotten stick in our hand on which we lean.

Again the authorities characterized him as a "hard-necked troublemaker."<sup>47</sup>

As late as August, 1540 Adam worked as an Anabaptist missionary, in that month converting Heinrich Wendling, a local peasant from Flexburg. Wendling was imprisoned but would not be shaken in his faith. His wife pleaded for his release; she only wanted him to be a good man, she said, and would easily deliver him from his error were it not for Hans Adam who gave him no peace. The authorities decided that Johann Lenglin, pastor of St. Nicholas, and then former Melchiorites Peter Tasch and Johannes Eisenburg should remonstrate with Wendling. If Wendling remained obstinate, he was to help Wendling's wife take in the harvest and then be expelled. Hans Adam, for his part, was to be summoned one more time.<sup>48</sup>

For all his combativeness and unlike other outspoken radicals, Adam managed to survive and remain in Strasbourg. The fact that he was probably not a Melchiorite contributed to his staying power; in general Melchiorites created greater fear and received stricter treatment than did other kinds of Anabaptists. Adam's roots in Strasbourg also doubtlessly helped him; indigenous citizens were expelled less frequently than non-citizens such as Hans Denck or even immigrant citizens such as Pilgram Marpeck. Still, other indigenous commoners such as Heinrich Wendling were expelled for less reason; few were as publicly confrontational as Adam. He may have sensed when to pressure the authorities and when to comply; at other moments his challenges might have earned him immediate expulsion. His presence also points to the flexibility and tolerance of the *Rat*; at times the *Rat* turned a deaf ear to even its more outspoken critics.

### Jörg Ziegler after 1533

Jörg Ziegler, meanwhile, also had endured the crisis of 1533-35, spending most of his time in Schiltigheim. Although he was an Anabaptist and his pastor Wolfgang Schultheiss was a member of the clergy, they agreed on certain issues and cooperated in meeting the needs of their Schiltigheim church. With Matthew Zell, one of the earliest Strasbourg reformers, Schultheiss had consistently opposed the hardening of the reform into a new institutionalism. Like the Anabaptists he affirmed the primitive church's congregational structure where all had the right to prophesy and interpret Scripture (I Cor. 14) lest a new tyranny replace the old. Calling for a continuing openness to the Spirit and for broad religious tolerance, Schultheiss had defended freedom for the Anabaptists at the Synod of 1533 and eventually paid for his dissent with the loss of his job.<sup>49</sup> When in early 1535 the parishioners in Schiltigheim lacked pastoral care because Schultheiss' manse was not yet built, it was Ziegler who frequently stepped in to comfort the sick and dying. His fellow tailor, Hans Adam, was less cooperative.<sup>50</sup>

In February, 1539 a sharply worded pamphlet by Ziegler declared that the clergy "did not help his poor Christ," and criticized the schools and other social institutions.<sup>51</sup> Using economic pressure rather than expulsion or imprisonment,

the *Rat* punished him by closing his business on pretext of economic restraint to prevent overflowing the market. A year later, in May, 1540, just after sixty-nine Anabaptists were imprisoned and a renewed Anabaptist mandate was promulgated, he asked the *Rat* to allow him again to run his business so that he could feed his family and pay his debts. The *Rat* stayed with its decision to allow only two tailoring businesses in Schiltigheim.<sup>52</sup>

In February, 1543, possibly in response to Schultheiss' 1542 dismissal, Ziegler pinned up a poster depicting a large fool with reference to the clergy. This earned him an interrogation but he seems to have escaped with a reprimand.<sup>53</sup> Six months later reports reached the *Rat* that Ziegler was preaching sermons to compete with Schiltigheim's new pastor and generally being bothersome. Since he was already making himself heard and since he wanted to expound on his poster of the fool, the *Rat* summoned him for a more thorough interrogation. Again he seems to have escaped with a warning.<sup>54</sup>

A year later, in December, 1544 Ziegler was again cited for writing and publishing anticlerical pamphlets and songs.<sup>55</sup> His work was part of a general increase in radical activity which, to the alarm of the clergy, coincided with articles promulgated by followers of David Joris.<sup>56</sup> In February, 1545 Caspar Hedio, Bucer and Zell petitioned the *Rat* for stricter enforcement of doctrinal and ethical standards. Some radicals, they said, openly maligned the church and religion of Strasbourg, some denied the existence of the devil, and others argued that one should tolerate all citizens whether Jew, Turk or Catholic. In addition, they noted that David Joris was in the area. They also specified a long list of ethical failings to correct.<sup>57</sup> In a *Rat* committee's response to the petition, Jörg Ziegler, together with his brother Clement Ziegler, his former pastor Wolfgang Schultheiss and a Schwenckfeldian, Wolf Weckinger, were named as persons influential in leading people into "evil, seductive and unchristlike" sects. Catholics also were found to be freely criticizing the clergy.<sup>58</sup>

Despite this increased alertness to radical activity, in November, 1545 Ziegler dared to be even more provocative: he dressed up as a fool, called himself Georg Narr (fool), played a violin, gathered boys around him, and in the voice of a young boy, preached, "Whoever has not stolen may steal,... and whoever has stolen may steal more."<sup>59</sup> At the same time he distributed a satirical booklet mocking the city's social, educational and economic elitism. The magistrates, he complained, would not listen to him, the barking dog. Rather they threatened him with prison, even though he preached the truth and denounced vice. Since the clergy barked surreptitiously about the income of their benefices, he declared, his direct message and his transparent manner must appear foolish to them. In contrast the clergy were pedantic hypocrites and fakes.<sup>60</sup> Infant baptism was also a farce. Finally, since he could no longer work because of his fool-like appearance, Ziegler asked the clergy to bear his singing and speaking with patience and let him earn his living. He was raising three of his relatives' children; if every rich person raised one of these, he reasoned, the rich

would not need to guard against unauthorized begging.<sup>61</sup>

The magistrates had finally reached the limits of their endurance. They placed Ziegler in prison where he continued writing, and then they expelled him for two years.<sup>62</sup> Ziegler was not alone; a colleague named Martin der Glaser was also imprisoned. To tackle the larger problems of citizens interacting with Anabaptists, the appearance of Anabaptist pamphlets and their illegal publication, the *Rat* launched an investigation of all printers, publishers, shippers and others involved in Ziegler's booklet.<sup>63</sup>

Ziegler, however, had his supporters. The following summer the *Schultheiss* and other natives of Schiltigheim petitioned that he be allowed to return to Schiltigheim. Ziegler, they said, was hungry, losing weight and humbled, and, thus, should be allowed home again. Moreover, both he and his business were beneficial to the Schiltigheim community. The *Rat*, having endured his criticisms for years, disagreed and left him outside.<sup>64</sup> Somehow Ziegler still managed to contact people. In April, 1547 there were complaints that he drew people away from the eucharist.<sup>65</sup>

When Ziegler's two year expulsion was over in December, 1547, he asked to return home and also to be protected from his creditors so that he would not be thrown in debtor's prison. Noting that he was still loudly unrepentant and that many nonconformists were currently settling in Strasbourg, the *Rat* decided to readmit him to the city but not protect him from his creditors; they had their rights and Ziegler would have to make peace with them himself. Meanwhile, the *Rat* declared, Ziegler should be well behaved or expect further hardship.<sup>66</sup>

For a year and a half he kept relatively quiet, but in June 1549, after the Smalkald War against the emperor had been lost and the Augsburg Interim had reinstituted Catholicism in Strasbourg, Ziegler spoke out in various places against the eucharist. In one instance, Ziegler argued and made subversive comments (probably about imperial troops and the Interim) in the presence of mercenaries to a merchant with strong political opinions.<sup>67</sup> Such talk by Ziegler, bordering on sedition, was not taken lightly by the *Rat*; both the *Ammeister* and the *Stettmeister*, Strasbourg's highest officials, lectured him thoroughly, warning him to refrain from such remarks or expect treatment "different than before."<sup>68</sup>

For a time Ziegler kept a low profile, but in November, 1551, with loud cursing and scolding, he created an uproar first in the cathedral where the Catholic mass was again being celebrated, and then in front of the pillory. The *Rat* first imprisoned him so that the Catholics could not molest him and then investigated the reason for his outburst. When they dismissed his reasoning, they banned Ziegler from the city for a second time.<sup>69</sup>

Four months later, in March, 1552, Jörg Ziegler's brother, the gardener-preacher Clemens Ziegler, pleaded for his return home.<sup>70</sup> Clemens Ziegler, the Peasants' War social activist had, after the Synod of 1533, submitted to the authorities and turned to spiritualism. In May, 1552 he published and presented



to the *Rat* his last known writing, *Dreim und Gesicht*, an exposition of his dreams and visions and an exhortation to stricter discipline and morals.<sup>71</sup> War was again on the horizon. Reports had arrived in December, 1551 of France's Henri II's march toward Alsace. An anti-Hapsburg alliance in January, 1552 between Henri II and Duke Maurice, the new Elector of Saxony, strengthened the likelihood of war. In March Henri II declared himself the defender of those German princes locked in the emperor's prisons. With Protestant princes to the east, French forces to the west, and word of 80,000 French troops and 12,000 horses advancing on Strasbourg, the city began to take extraordinary defensive measures.<sup>72</sup>

Clemens argued that in this time of threatened war between France and the emperor, Jörg should come home to his wife and children. He was always "sleepwalking," never quite aware of what he was doing. If the danger of war should pass, the magistrates could expel him again.<sup>73</sup> The *Rat*, however, judging the situation too grave for a dissident to disrupt the city's resolve, thought otherwise. Two months later Jörg's wife died. For her funeral he was granted one week's entry into the city on condition that he keep his words and actions to himself.<sup>74</sup> This was the last official word of him.

If anyone epitomized and provided continuity to the Anabaptist movement in Strasbourg from its origins in 1524 to the 1550s, it probably was Jörg Ziegler. He is one of a few known Anabaptists whose dissidence spanned the entire first generation of this reform movement. His personal contacts were broad, ranging from the gardeners and other Peasants' War sympathizers to Denck, Sattler, Zell, Capito, Bucer and the *Schultheiss* of Schiltigheim. Throughout the 1520s he hosted Anabaptist meetings in his *Steinstrasse* home. Although dismissed by the authorities as having been a "suspicious and tumultuous" man, in fact he was a complex individual who at various times over thirty years displayed social revolutionary tendencies, organizational and pastoral gifts, commitment to his goals, and a strident and creative anticlericalism.

The socio-economic and political character of his radicalism was especially prominent from 1524 to 1551; during this time he called for a reversal of society's structures and wealth. Yet throughout this time his framework was religious: his vision coincided with the Twelve Articles' gospel-based vision of a transformed society with justice and equality for the poor. In his view the clergy were as much to blame for social injustice as the magistrates. An idealist rather than a tactician, he chose to pursue his vision in the Anabaptists' alternative community rather than settle for piecemeal change in the official church. Aware that his vision had little chance of realization, he resorted to critiquing social conditions and the political and religious establishment.

The authorities' response to Ziegler most often approached an exasperated tolerance, so long as the larger radical movement was not too threatening. Unlike other dissidents who were expelled immediately and permanently, or at least until they recanted, it took twenty years for Ziegler to be expelled, and

then only temporarily for after only two years he was readmitted even though he had not recanted. Only when his dissidence was unusually provocative and part of a greater danger was he expelled. To a large extent he may have been tolerated because he was a Schiltigheim native. This tolerance points to the magistrates' pragmatism and loyalty to native "Strasbourggeois"; they were prepared to live with dissent if it did not spell a threat and if they could preserve the peace of the city.

If the presence of Jörg Ziegler and Hans Adam did not change the direction of Strasbourg's reform, they certainly affected the makeup of Strasbourg's religious radicals. In the 1530s and 1540s they were probably the two most prominent of Strasbourg's eight known Anabaptist leaders, and they were a major reason for the disproportionately high number of Strasbourg Anabaptists who were tailors.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Printed primary sources for Strasbourg's religious radicals are found in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, vols. 7, 8, 15 and 16: *Elsass. Stadt Strassburg*, vols. I & II ed. by M. Krebs and H. G. Rott (1959, 1960) and vols. III & IV (1986, 1988), ed. M. Lienhard, S. F. Nelson, and H. G. Rott, all published by Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn. Henceforth they are cited as TAE I, II, III and IV. Secondary works include T. W. Röhrich, "Zur Geschichte der Strassbürgischen Wiedertäufer in den Jahren 1527 bis 1543," *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* 30 (1860), 3-121; Camill Gerbert, *Geschichte der Strassburger Sectenbewegung zur Zeit der Reformation, 1524-1534* (Strassburg: Heitz und Mündel, 1889); A. Hulshof, *Geschiednis van de Doopsgesinden te Straatsburg van 1525 tot 1557* (Amsterdam: J. Clausen, 1905); J. Adam, *Evangelische Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg* (Strassburg: J. H. Ed. Heitz, 1922); R. Kreider, "Anabaptists and the Civil Authority of Strasbourg, 1525-1548," *Church History* 24 (1955), 99-117; C. B. Mitchell, "Martin Bucer and Sectarian Dissent: A Confrontation of the Magisterial Reformers with Anabaptists and Spiritualists," Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1961; G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962); G. H. Krahn, "An Analysis of the Conflict between the Clergy of the Reformed Church and the Leaders of the Anabaptist Movement in Strasbourg, 1524-1534," Ph.D. Diss., U. of Washington, 1969; K. Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman: Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1979); M. Wren, *Melchior Hoffman* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987); D. Husser, "Liberté Spiritualiste et Structures Socio-religieuses: Caspar Schwenckfeld et les "Schwenckfeldiens" entre Eglises, Sectes et Autorités à Strasbourg (1529-1631)," Ph.D. Diss., University of Strasbourg, 1980; S. Boyd, *Pilgram Marpeck: His Life and Social Theology* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989).

<sup>2</sup> Eight (16%) were of high social or intellectual status, and three (6%) - two maids and a peasant - ranked below artisan status. These figures are drawn from TAE II and III, *passim*. John Derksen, "Religious Radicals in Strasbourg, 1525-1570: A Social History," Ph.D., Diss. U. of Manitoba, 1992, 365. Seven of these were tailors.

<sup>3</sup> Derksen, 365.

<sup>4</sup> On late medieval grievances, see Francis Rapp, *Réformes et réformation à Strasbourg: Eglise et société dans le diocèse de Strasbourg, 1450-1520* (Strasbourg: U. de Strasbourg, 1975), and L. J. Abray, *The People's Reformation: Magistrates, Clergy, and Commons in Strasbourg, 1500-1598* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. Press, 1985), 22-32.

<sup>5</sup> Studies of the reform in Strasbourg include T. W. Röhrich, *Geschichte der Reformation im Elsass und besonders in Strassburg*, 3 vols. (Strassburg: Friederich Carl Heitz, 1830-32); A. Baum, *Magistrat und Reformation bis 1529* (Strassburg: J.H. Ed. Heitz, 1887); J. Adam, *Evangelische Kirchengeschichte*; M. U. Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); W.S. Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy: The Inception of the Reformation in Strasbourg 1522-1524*, (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976); T.A. Brady, Jr., *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg 1520-1555* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978); M. Lienhard, "La Réforme à Strasbourg," *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, Vol. II, G. Livet et F. Rapp, eds. (Strasbourg: Edition des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1981), 367-540; M. Lienhard and J. Willer, *Strassburg und die Reformation: Die Hohe Zeit der Freien Reichstadt* (Kehl: Merstadt Verlag, 1981); Abray, *People's Reformation*.

<sup>6</sup> On Clemens Ziegler and the gardeners, see Rodolphe Peter, "Le Maraîcher Clément Ziegler, l'homme et son oeuvre," *Revue d'histoire et philosophie religieuses* (1954), 267-280, and Stephen Boyd, "Anabaptism and Social Radicalism in Strasbourg, 1528-1532: Pilgram Marpeck on Christian Social Responsibility," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 63 (1989), 67.

<sup>7</sup> Boyd, "Social Radicalism," 67.

<sup>8</sup> Brady, 204; Chrisman, 146-147; *TAE I*, No. 148, 180, fn. 1.

<sup>9</sup> S. Büheler, *La Chronique Strasbourgeoise*, published in *Bulletin de la Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace*, deuxième série, 13 (Strasbourg, 1888), 73, cited by Chrisman, 141-142.

<sup>10</sup> I Peter, 267.

<sup>11</sup> *TAE I*, No. 148, p. 180, fn. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *TAE I*, Nos. 46, 63, 67; *TAE I*, Nos. 1770, 1772; J.M. Stayer, "Die Anfänge des Schweizerischen Täuferturns im reformierten Kongregationalismus," *Umstrittenes Täuferturn: 1525-1975. Neue Forschungen*, H.-J. Goertz, ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), 30-32, 42-44; Boyd, 62; R. Gerber, "Recherches sur les Anabaptistes à Strasbourg entre 1536 et 1552," M.A. Thesis, U. Strasbourg, 1983, 32.

<sup>13</sup> *TAE I*, No. 148, p. 180, fn. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> On relief efforts in Strasbourg after the Peasants' War, see Otto Winckelmann, *Das Fürsorgewesen der Stadt Strassburg vor und nach der Reformation bis zum Ausgang der sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte*, Vol. 5 (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1922).

<sup>16</sup> On Anabaptists in the Peasants' War, see James M. Stayer, *The German Peasant's War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal: McGill-Queens U. Press, 1991), 19-92, 165-167.

<sup>17</sup> Stayer, "Die Anfänge des Schweizerischen Täuferturns im reformierten Kongregationalismus," *Umstrittenes Täuferturn: 1525-1975. Neue Forschungen*, ed., H.J. Goertz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), 30-32, 42-44; Boyd, "Social Radicalism", 62; Krahn, 193-196.

<sup>18</sup> From Strasbourg Reublin went to Horb where he was joined in early 1527 by Sattler. Krahn, 230.

<sup>19</sup> *TAE I*, No. 45, pp. 51-52; No. 46, p. 52, n. 2; No. 65, pp. 65-66; Hans-Werner Müsing, "The Anabaptist Movement in Strasbourg from Early 1526 to July 1527," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 51 (1977): 92-93; Krahn, 196-197; Deppermann, 179; Boyd, "Social Radicalism", 62; Hulshof, 10-11.

<sup>20</sup> He participated in the "Martyr's Synod" of August 1527 in Augsburg. *TAE I*, No. 67, p. 66; No. 104, p. 129, n. 8.

<sup>21</sup> *TAE I*, No. 46, p. 52; No. 67, p. 66. The willingness of both Capito and Denck to utilize Ziegler's hospitality suggests an initial working relationship between them. It also suggests that Capito's approach toward the radicals was more personal and pastoral than Bucer's more theological and political approach. Müsing, 107, 111, 112; Krahn, 205; Boyd, *Marpeck*, 95.

<sup>22</sup> *TAE I*, No. 67, pp. 62-67; No. 112, p. 135; Müsing, 107; C.-P. Clasen, "The Anabaptists in South and Central Germany, Switzerland and Austria," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 52 (1978), 93.

<sup>23</sup> *TAE I*, No. 67, pp. 62-67; Krahn, 204-205; Müsing, 107-108.

<sup>24</sup> *TAE I*, No. 67, pp. 62-65; Müsing, 107-108; Krahn, 211.

<sup>25</sup> *TAE I*, No. 67, p. 64; Müsing, 107-112; Krahn, 211-212.

<sup>26</sup> Gross and Echsel went to Augsburg; Hiller was executed with Michael Sattler at Rottenburg am Neckar five months later. Müsing, 107, 110; Deppermann, 182-184; Krahn, 225-226, 230.

<sup>27</sup> Müsing, 110-112; Krahn, 212.

<sup>28</sup> *TAE I*, No. 46, p. 52; No. 67, p. 66.

<sup>29</sup> Müsing, 107, 111, 112; Krahn, 205; Boyd, *Marpeck*, 95; *TAE II*, No. 680, p. 467; *TAE IV*, No. 1480, p. 165.

<sup>30</sup> *TAE III*, No. 723, p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> Within five years Adam would become most aggressive! *TAE II*, Nos. 400, 477, 477a; *TAE IV, Beilage*, No. 475a.

<sup>32</sup> *TAE I*, No. 130, p. 155; No. 148, p. 181, n. 7; No. 224, p. 277.

<sup>33</sup> Deppermann, 274-275.

<sup>34</sup> *TAE II*, No. 384, p. 72.

<sup>35</sup> *TAE II*, No. 400, p. 111.

<sup>36</sup> *TAE IV, Beilage*, No. 475a, pp. 508-509.

<sup>37</sup> *TAE II*, No. 477 & 477a, pp. 233-234.

<sup>38</sup> Deppermann, 308; *TAE II*, Nos. 518, 535, 577, 631, 652; Hulshof, 150; Chrisman, 223-224; Williams, 297. These decrees were reiterated to the guilds in February and March 1535. *TAE II*, No. 638, pp. 431-432; No. 645, pp. 437-438.

<sup>39</sup> *TAE II*, Nos. 638, 647, 649; Williams, 297; Deppermann, 308; Adam, 209; Hulshof, 150.

<sup>40</sup> Deppermann, 356; *TAE II*, Nos. 637, 639, 644, 645, 649, 653, 660.

<sup>41</sup> *TAE II*, No. 647, p. 439; No. 672, p. 458; Deppermann, 309-310.

<sup>42</sup> *TAE II*, No. 664, pp. 451-452; Hulshof, 163-164, 171-172; Adam, 211.

<sup>43</sup> *TAE II*, No. 680, p. 467.

<sup>44</sup> *TAE II*, Nos. 148, 384, 400, 477 & 477a, 680; *TAE IV, Beilage*, No. 475a.

<sup>45</sup> *TAE III*, No. 762, p. 65.

<sup>46</sup> *TAE III*, No. 980, pp. 380-381.

<sup>47</sup> *TAE III*, No. 762, p. 65. See also Adam, 211; Hulshof, 172. In the 14 Melchiorite tracts from Speyer of December 1537, a man named Adam is mentioned. It is not clear whether Hans Adam, Adam Slegel (*TAE III*, Nos. 731, 747) or another is intended. Since Slegel was a Philippite and Hans Adam was a radical long before Hoffman's arrival, the Melchiorite Adam may be a third individual. In one tract he claimed a divine vision that there were still 700 Anabaptists in Strasbourg. *TAE III*, No. 799, p. 115.

<sup>48</sup> *TAE III*, No. 1057, pp. 429-430.

<sup>49</sup> Disgusted with evangelical church government, he eventually returned to the Catholic Church. *TAE I*, No. 236, p. 293; *TAE II*, No. 524, p. 295; *TAE III*, No. 1290, pp. 31-34; No. 1309, p. 46; Williams, 282; Deppermann, 289; Marc Lienhard, "Les Epicuriens à Strasbourg," *Croyants et Sceptiques au XVIe Siècle* (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1981), 20-21.

<sup>50</sup> *TAE II*, No. 680, p. 467.

<sup>51</sup> *TAE III*, No. 896, p. 312.

<sup>52</sup> *TAE III*, No. 1031, p. 414.

<sup>53</sup> *TAE IV*, Nos. 1262, 1309, 1410.

<sup>54</sup> The *Rat*'s rationale here points to its practice of generally ignoring Anabaptists who kept quiet. *TAE IV*, No. 1309, p. 46.

<sup>55</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1410, p. 119.

<sup>56</sup> *TAE IV*, Nos. 1394, 1397, 1399, 1411, pp. 119-121.

<sup>57</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1421, pp. 125-126.

<sup>58</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1439, pp. 135-136; No. 1488, pp. 173-174.

<sup>59</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1480-1481, p. 165; No. 1486, p. 172.

<sup>60</sup> He called them Dr. Griffel von Hohensinnen, a humanistic mock name for Thomas Aquinas and the Scholastics.

<sup>61</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1480-1481, p. 165.

<sup>62</sup> *TAE IV*, Nos. 1480, 1481, 1486, 1514.

<sup>63</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1493, pp. 176-177.

<sup>64</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1514, p. 194.

<sup>65</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1547, p. 217.

<sup>66</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1572, pp. 233-234. The new arrivals in Strasbourg may have come as a result of the Smalkald War.

<sup>67</sup> The merchant, Blesy Nessel, a friend of the recanted Melchiorite, Peter Tasch, had been imprisoned in 1547 for "unhelpful talk" against Strasbourg's treaty with the emperor. *TAE IV*, No. 1600, p. 249.

<sup>68</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1669, pp. 292-293.

<sup>69</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1758, p. 345; No. 1770, p. 350.

<sup>70</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1770, p. 350.

<sup>71</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1773, pp. 352-369.

<sup>72</sup> Rudolphe Reuss, *Histoire de Strasbourg depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1922), 147-149.

<sup>73</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1770, p. 350.

<sup>74</sup> *TAE IV*, No. 1772, p. 351.