

Anabaptist Women as Martyrs, Models of Courage, and Tools of the Devil

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In the last three decades, under the leadership of Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Reformation scholars have been devoting increasing attention to the history of women and gender. Gendered experience is understood as a social construct whereby individuals “position themselves as men or as women” within the historical circumstances and processes of their time. This scholarly trend is evident to a limited degree within the field of Anabaptist studies, with much work still remaining to be done.¹ There was a flurry of research interest in Anabaptist women in the 1980s and 1990s, culminating in the 1996 volume, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*,² but this interest has since gone into decline. “A reliable and comprehensive account of the role of women in the Anabaptist movement has yet to be written.”³

In this paper I want to survey briefly the present state of scholarship on women in Anabaptism. I then want to examine two histories from the early eighteenth century and consider how they construct the roles of early modern women: *The Impartial History of Churches and Heretics* (1700) by Gottfried Arnold, and especially *On the Heresy of Fanatical Women* (1704) by Johann Heinrich Feustking. These works provide valuable discussions of women within radical movements in England and Europe, but offer dramatically different assessments of their contribution. The paper argues that Anabaptist women served as a “usable past” for eighteenth-century Protestants who sought to construct, or deconstruct, the institutional church of their day.

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Recent Scholarship on Women in Anabaptism

Sigrun Haude recently surveyed the scholarship on women in Anabaptism, highlighting the following issues: women's roles in Anabaptism and Spiritualism, the numerical presence of women within Anabaptism, women's motives for joining the movement, Anabaptist understanding of women's virtues and the nature of marriage, and women's experience of punishment and martyrdom. Of course issues of women and gender varied according to the context, place and time of each Anabaptist and Spiritualist group.

Scholars largely agree that while Anabaptist women held more important roles and had more choices than women in other Reformation movements, they were still far from experiencing gender equality.⁴

Anabaptist women provided the vital infrastructure and backbone of the movement. They secretly carried messages, penned consolatory letters, proffered their homes for meetings, nourished their brothers and sisters in hiding, proselytized whenever they had a chance . . . Despite their generally inferior position, women were essential for the maintenance, growth, and survival of the religious movements – particularly since the communities lived under persecution.⁵

Women found the most freedom and equality in Spiritualist groups where the Spirit was the central authority rather than the Bible. There were prominent women visionaries in Strasbourg, Saxony, and Franconia.⁶ It is also clear that women enjoyed greater opportunities for self-expression in the early phase of dissenting movements; women's roles diminished with institutionalization.⁷ This is evident in the Tirol where court records reveal that, early on, women assumed the roles of martyrs, lay missionaries and lay leaders.⁸ In the household, Anabaptist men and women were typical of society at the time, with women caring for children and the sick and men overseeing financial matters.

Anabaptist women were admonished to uphold the virtues of purity, modesty, humility, obedience and silence. However, Anabaptist women who suffered for their faith were often praised for their "manly virtues" of strength, courage, steadfastness, boldness and bravery.⁹ Marriage practice reflected the larger society; women were expected to obey their husbands and men were to be protectors and providers for their wives.

Women's punishment by the authorities was often measured according to their prominence within the movement. Women who

appeared repeatedly before the magistrates faced harsher sentences. Capital punishment for Anabaptist women was typically by drowning, but more prominent women were sometimes burned at the stake, like men.¹⁰ “Compared to Catholic and Protestant martyrologies, women held an unparalleled place [of importance] in Mennonite accounts of suffering.”¹¹ Women are more prominent numerically in Anabaptist martyrologies, making up thirty per cent of the martyr stories, compared to five to ten per cent in the other accounts. And Mennonite women were not silent sufferers, as in other traditions; they often spoke publicly in testifying to their faith. Werner Packull and others have questioned the historical reliability of the *Martyrs Mirror*, specifically in the case of Anna Jansz of Rotterdam. Its portrayal of Anna as a non-resistant religious martyr was inaccurate.¹² She was baptized by a pro-Münsterite and promoted the apocalyptic vision of an Anabaptist kingdom on earth. Her apocalyptic perspective and close ties with David Joris caused later historians to label her “unbalanced, nervous, and over-strung.”¹³

Recent scholarship has been focusing on songs written to honour Anabaptist women martyrs.¹⁴ These songs often reproduce the actual words of the martyrs. In 1562 a collection of Anabaptist martyr songs was published, entitled, *A Songbook of Sacrifices for the Lord*. In 1570 they were printed together with prose texts about the martyrs. The songs represent an edifying women’s martyr tradition within Anabaptism.¹⁵

Haude neglected to discuss the reception and interpretation of Anabaptist women within the tradition of Protestant historiography. Merry Wiesner-Hanks, however, has recently directed scholars to the way seventeenth and eighteenth century historians anticipated themes found in current gender historiography. Without providing any detailed analysis, she observed that Pietist historian Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714) wrote glowingly of women prophets in his *Impartial History of Churches and Heretics* (1700). He included a great number of “blessed women who showed the way to the truth,” some of them Anabaptist women. Wiesner-Hanks also pointed to the work of the Orthodox Lutheran theologian, Johann Heinrich Feustking (1672-1713), who included stories of Anabaptist women in his famous collection of women heretics, *On the Heresy of Fanatical Women* (1704). Feustking’s history was designed to advertise the danger of women serving as leaders and prophetesses in the church; he denounced them as “false prophetesses, quacks, fanatics, and sectarian and frenzied female persons.” The work remains surprising relevant; in the last thirty years historians have portrayed Christianity in early modern Europe

as increasingly feminized, dominated by women, and marked by growing emphases upon conversion, regeneration, devotional experience of God, and compassion for the needy. Women played dominant roles in renewal movements such as the Quakers, Pietists, Moravians, and Methodists.¹⁶ Wiesner-Hanks' observations on Arnold and Feustking form a point of departure for the present paper's analysis of Feustking's controversial work.

The Portrayal of Anabaptist Women in Gottfried Arnold's Impartial History (1700)

Gottfried Arnold's *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* of 1699/1700 is both a satire of the Lutheran church, a history of Lutheran decline, and an "impartial" tribute to "Spiritualist" believers throughout history and their Christianity of the heart. For Arnold, the real history of Christianity was to be found among the marginalised and persecuted and in the personal piety of the reborn.¹⁷ Arnold paid tribute to figures such as Caspar Schwenckfeld (1489-1561), pages 703-726; the Anabaptists, pages 726-778 (especially David Joris [1501-1556], pages 750-778);¹⁸ and Jakob Böhme (1575-1624), pages 1130-1157. W.R. Ward noted that Arnold's history is "weighted in favour of the persecuted and disadvantaged" and that Luther "gets relatively short shrift."¹⁹ Arnold's history represents a radically innovative "Pietist reworking of Protestant church history."²⁰

Arnold's history includes a passage from a work by Friedrich Breckling (1629-1711) in which Breckling offers a twenty-two page list of "some other witnesses to the truth."²¹ It is "arranged neither according to chronology nor subject matter, but simply as they came to the author's attention." Each person is identified concisely, in a short paragraph at most. Breckling described those listed as follows:

The best witnesses to the truth, like the prophets, are largely unknown to the world. Included here are those whose writings or persons became known to me when, after much traveling about, I discovered these anonymous [secret, hidden] friends of God and [their message of] truth.²²

The last two pages of the list are devoted to godly women who "have testified to the truth, or suffered much, or been wonderfully gifted, illumined and led by God, just as the men listed above."²³ There are some sixty women in all, many of them Dutch women from Amsterdam,

Rotterdam, Harlem, the Haag, Harlingen and Leiden. Some of them are certainly Anabaptists and Mennonites, but it is hard to determine precisely how many. These women are among the heroes in Christian history for Breckling and Arnold.

Arnold's approach to the story of David Joris and Anna von Briel is contrived so that the many slanders put out by his son-in-law, Nicholas von Blesdijk, are balanced by lengthy citations from Joris's friends and Joris himself which serve to refute accusations of heresy or impropriety. One accusation leveled against David Joris was that he taught that believers were not bound to observe the marriage covenant. In order to nurture "holy children," a believer was entitled to have more than one wife; if a man should have an unfruitful or pregnant wife, he could in good conscience and without sin lie with other women so that his seed was not wasted. A believing man could offer his wife to a brother in the Lord, and observe them in the act.²⁴ Arnold cited Joris's words in which he insisted that such teachings were never his intent; he was merely speaking of the coming kingdom when there would be no marriage and no death. Arnold acknowledged that Joris came to Basel in April 1544 with a large household, comprised of his wife, children, and friends (including Anna von Briel), but observed that Joris always managed his household honourably.²⁵ Arnold included some lines in honour of Joris by "the famous Holstein poetess," Anna Hoyer, in which she called Joris "the faithful servant of God."²⁶

The Portrayal of Anabaptist Women in Johann Heinrich Feustking's Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum (1704)

Johann Heinrich Feustking was born on 7 March 1672 in the village of Stellau in Schleswig-Holstein into a Lutheran pastor's family with a long tradition of Lutheran clergymen. Johann Heinrich pursued theology studies at the University of Rostock from 1688 to 1690, and then at Wittenberg University where he earned his Doctor of Theology in 1698. Feustking held numerous pastoral positions, culminating in 1712 when Duke Friedrich II of Saxon-Gotha called Feustking to be Court Preacher and Confessor in the residence city of Gotha, "the most beautiful city in Thüringen." Feustking died in Gotha on March 23, 1713 at the age of 41.²⁷

About the time of Feustking's birth, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) began promoting renewal of Lutheranism in Germany through a program of lay Bible study, prayer, pious living and confessional

cooperation in place of polemics and antagonism. In the late 1690s Feustking joined Lutheran Orthodox leaders in claiming that abundant resources for renewal were already present in the Lutheran church through proclamation of the Word in preaching and the sacraments. The Lutheran Orthodox denounced Spener and the Pietists for stirring up unrest and divisions in the churches, and for giving over leadership to women. Feustking asked rhetorically:

How has this Pietism arisen in our churches except through the testimonies, raptures and enthusiasm of women such as von Asseburg and Johanna von Merlau? How has it spread to Erfurt, Quedlinburg and Halberstadt except through frenzied young women? And how does it now maintain itself but through all kinds of suspect writings by these women?²⁸

Feustking directed his antagonism against three individuals in particular: Gottfried Arnold, Johanna Eleonora Petersen, and her husband Johann Wilhelm Petersen. All three had written in defence of women visionaries and their role in bringing Christian renewal.

Feustking saw Arnold's history as an effort not only to exalt women, but also to undermine the very foundation of the Lutheran church in its clergy and theologians.

Why do Anna Hoyer and other women despise the preaching office? Because the preachers oppose their fanatical endeavours. This is the method pursued by Arnold and other fanatics so they can present themselves as teachers and authors. Every Christian, including women, is free to preach and teach so long as they have the inner illumination [they say]. Everything in Arnold's damned *History of Heretics* is intended to bring suspicion upon the preaching office and make it hateful among political leaders.²⁹

Feustking's work, *Gynaecium Haeretico Fanaticum*, was his attempt to counteract these influential Pietists, especially Arnold.

The *Gynaecium Haeretico Fanaticum* consists of three parts: a *Vorbericht* or *Preliminary Report* (128 pages), the *Historie und Beschreibung* or *The History Proper of Heretical Women* (550 pages), and an *Anhang* or *Appendix* devoted to a refutation of Gottfried Arnold's *Impartial History* (86 pages).³⁰ In the *Vorbericht* Feustking established his basic conviction that in every age of church history the devil's strategy had

been to deceive women and thereby do damage to the church. Feustking contended that all claims to direct mystical experience and revelation from God were unfounded. The gift of prophecy had ceased after the time of the Apostles and the fixing of the biblical canon.³¹ In reflecting on his own day, he wrote: "From Luther's time up to the present hour, any reasonable man can see that false teachers rely too much upon inspired prophetesses and women teachers and gloss over their blasphemous thoughts and erroneous ideas."³² In the *Anhang* Feustking argued that Arnold's defence of women prophets amounted to placing their revelations above the Bible. Arnold was encouraging Christians to "set aside the holy scriptures and henceforth establish their faith upon the inspired teachings of women."³³

In the main section of the book, Part Two, Feustking presented the stories of 170 women, arranged alphabetically, with articles ranging from a half page to thirty pages in length. The book includes women from Old Testament times right up to the eighteenth century. The majority of the accounts deal with the seventeenth century, including twenty eight English Quaker women and thirty four German Pietist women. Feustking's main sources of information were Arnold's *Impartial History*, the *Magdeburg Centuries* (1559-1574), *The Annals of the Church* by Caesar Baronius (1588-1607), the writings of the Dutch theologian Gisbertus Voetius, and Orthodox Lutheran histories such as August Pfeiffer's *Antienthusiasmus* (1692), Ehregott Daniel Colberg's *Das Platonisch-Hermetische Christenthum* [The Platonic-Hermetic world of Christianity] (1690), Ernest Martin Plarrius's *Specimen Historiae Anabaptisticae* [Specimen of Anabaptist History] (1701), and Johannes Friedrich Corvinus's *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum Pantheon und geistliches Rüst-Hauss* [Pantheon and Spiritual Armory of Anabaptists and Enthusiasts] (1702).³⁴

Elisabeth Gössmann, a modern feminist writer, joins Wiesner-Hanks in arguing that Feustking's work offers much of value to scholars today:

Of special value is Feustking's effort to provide the most complete listing possible of writings that originate from women in his day and from women at the time of the Reformation, whether Protestant or Catholic. This is what makes his writing so indispensable for feminist research. We learn much concerning old editions of works by these women, including accounts of their visions composed by male authors, the influence of women's writings and how they were received by men at the time, which was not always governed by doctrinal boundaries.³⁵

Also significant is the way Feustking used the stories of Anabaptist women to advance his own agenda.

Feustking included five portraits of Anabaptist women in his history,³⁶ mainly Dutch women associated with Münster, Melchior Hoffmann or David Joris. There is one account of a Swiss Anabaptist. In the *Vorbericht*, Feustking summed up his understanding of the place and significance of women in Anabaptism. He observed that in 1534 the Anabaptist Prophet Jan Matthijs established his rule in Münster thanks to the influence of two female sooth-sayers. He was succeeded by the Anabaptist King Jan van Leyden who had over fourteen wives who stood by his side at the celebration of the Lord's Supper.³⁷ Feustking suggested that David Joris founded his teachings and calling from God upon the apparitions and visions proclaimed by Anna von Briel.³⁸ All in all, Anabaptism offered Feustking a case study of a movement whose leaders were led astray by delusional women.

The first Anabaptist portrait in Part Two is of Anna [Jansz] von Briel, a prophetess in the household of David Joris. Joris was a vile fellow (*Schand-Vogel*), said Feustking, who deceived people with his visionary teachings. It was this seductive woman whom the devil used to lead astray a clever and gifted man. Under the impulse of Anna's revelations and prophecies, Joris pursued his calling to reform the church and to publish hateful writings against the Evangelical churches. Feustking was baffled that Gottfried Arnold should consider Joris "the most Christian man in the world."³⁹

Feustking next related the story of Joris's granddaughter, Maria von Brük (Maria *van Bruck*). She possessed a painting of Joris that she treasured highly and displayed in her parlour. After she fell ill and died during an epidemic, the town clerk found among her belongings a large number of "frivolous and bothersome books" from the hand of Joris. When these writings came to the attention of the Dutch theologian, Gisbertus Voetius, he pronounced Maria a female heretic and source of great mischief in the churches of God.⁴⁰

In the early 1530s Melchior Hoffmann (ca. 1495-1543) found a wide response to his visionary proclamations. The result was increasing unrest in the city of Strasbourg. Hoffmann's imprisonment by the Strasbourg authorities in May 1533 only added to his legendary status throughout the Netherlands as a man of God with insight into the signs of the times and the soon-coming kingdom of Christ.⁴¹ Among those caught up by Hoffmann's teachings was Ursula Leonhard [Jost] (d. ca. 1539), wife of

Leonhard Jost, Hoffmann's "accomplice" [*Spieß-Geselle*].⁴² Ursula "spread [Hoffmann's] heresies among the people" and promoted his "poisonous contagion of the soul that derived from the devil himself." She proclaimed Hoffmann the Elijah to come and Strasbourg the new Zion. Later chroniclers reckoned her among the false prophetesses of the Anabaptists. She and another prophetess by the name of Barbara [Rebstock] were "arch-deceivers" who were instrumental in the growth of the movement and its success in many cities.⁴³ Feustking overlooked the fact that Barbara Rebstock had opposed David Joris and his ideas when he came to Strasbourg in 1538, and that she was supported in this by the men of the city. Women such as Ursula Jost and Barbara Rebstock played an exceptionally important role as prophets among the Melchiorites in Strasbourg.⁴⁴

Another Anabaptist portrait was of Alcida Lysting, one of the wives of Jan van Leyden (1509-1536). When van Leyden instituted polygamy in Münster, noted Feustking, van Leyden took for himself "as many wives as he desired." Among these was Alcida Lysting, a young woman from Amsterdam. She had been married to a wealthy merchant, but left him to travel to Münster. There she "poisoned many simple people with her delusions and took them captive." She looked for the arrival of Christ's kingdom in outward power and glory, when the godly would rule and former kings and lords be cast down and destroyed. She thus played a role in establishing the infamous kingdom of the Anabaptists in Münster.⁴⁵ Lysting was an inspiration to later Pietist chiliasts such as Johann Wilhelm and Johanna Eleonora Petersen.⁴⁶

The final Anabaptist portrait is of Magdalena Moller of St. Gall, Switzerland, who joined the Anabaptists as a young girl. She became delusional, proclaiming that she was the Christ. This was followed by another fantasy: that she would become pregnant and bring the anti-Christ into the world. At meetings with fellow believers she often appeared totally naked. She sometimes invited the men in the group to join her in a walk around the city. Magdalena said that she was called to speak "the naked truth." Her sisters in the faith took her words as coming directly from God.⁴⁷ Magdalena was part of a group of independent charismatic women prophets in St. Gall that also included Margret Hottinger, Winbrat Fanwiler, Barbara Mürklen and Frena Buman.⁴⁸

Conclusion

Early modern Protestant polemics on Christian renewal included discussions of the proper place of women within the church. This invariably involved a look back, either to praise or condemn women in earlier times. This paper has shown how Anabaptist women became objects of both praise and disdain in the course of polemics among German Pietist and Orthodox Lutheran chroniclers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Anabaptist women served as a “useable past” for eighteenth-century Protestants as they sought to construct, or deconstruct, the institutional church of their day. For Feustking, Anabaptism offered a case study of a movement whose leaders were led astray by delusional women. The place of Anabaptist women in early Protestant historiography resembles the place of women in medieval Catholic thought: either virgin or harlot; either heroic martyr or arch heretic and deceiver.

Endnotes

1. Sigrun Haude, “Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups,” in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521-1700*, eds. John D. Roth and James M. Stayer (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 425.
2. C. Arnold Snyder and Linda A. Huebert Hecht, eds., *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996). Snyder especially commends the work of Linda Huebert Hecht, Marion Kobelt-Groch and Lois Barrett (see 15, notes 27, 28).
3. Snyder, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 9. Huebert Hecht wrote in 1996 that “the study of women’s involvement in the Anabaptist movement has just begun” (407). Haude writes: “No fundamental analysis of gender in Anabaptism and Spiritualism in general exists, nor of manhood and masculinity in particular . . . There still remains much to be done in Anabaptist scholarship,” (“Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups,” 426).
4. See Haude, “Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups,” 429-431.
5. Haude, “Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups,” 430, 431.

6. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 434.
7. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 436. Haude noted Max Weber's observation that women's equality did not last "beyond the first stage of a religious community's formation . . . As routinization and regimentation of community relationships set in, a reaction takes place against pneumatic manifestations among women."
8. Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 409.
9. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 449.
10. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 458.
11. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 459, 460.
12. Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 336-343, 412n.20, 413. Packull's critique was preceded by Karl Vos who spoke of Anna's "fantastic expectations of the coming kingdom," and by A.F. Mellink who suggested that Anna found her way into the *Martyrs Mirror* by mistake, despite her revolutionary past (336).
13. See Werner O. Packull, "Anna Jansz of Rotterdam," in *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 337, 338.
14. Hermina Joldersma and Louis Grijp, "Introduction," in "*Elisabeth's Manly Courage*": *Testimonials and Songs of Martyred Anabaptist Women in the Low Countries*, eds. Hermina Joldersma and Louis Grijp (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University, 2001), 21-23. Anabaptists wrote an abundance of new songs, based upon scripture texts and set to popular melodies.
15. Joldersma and Grijp, "Introduction," in *Elisabeth's Manly Courage*, 24, 25.
16. Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Christianity and Gender," in *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, vol. 7 of *Cambridge History of Christianity*, eds. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 166, 167.
17. C. Scott Dixon, "Faith and History on the Eve of Enlightenment: Ernst Salomon Cyprian, Gottfried Arnold, and the *History of Heretics*," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57, no. 1 (January 2006): 47-51.

18. Part IV includes another 211 pages for Joris. See Gottfried Arnold, *Unpartheyischen Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, 534-737, 1351-1357; and Douglas H. Shantz, "'Back to the Sources': Gottfried Arnold, Johann Henrich Reitz, and the Distinctive Program and Practice of Pietist Historical Writing," in *Commoners and Community: Essays in Honour of Werner O. Packull*, ed. C. Arnold Snyder (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 2002), 78, 83-85.
19. W.R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 50.
20. Dixon, "Faith and History on the Eve of Enlightenment," 40.
21. Friedrich Breckling, *Catalogus testium veritatis post Lutherum* (1700). For the list see Gottfried Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie Vierter Theil, Bestehend in allerhand nöthigen Documenten, Tractaten und Zeugnissen, Acten und Geschichten von vielen Religions-Streitigkeiten* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Thomas Fritschens sel. Erben, 1729), 1089-1110
22. Arnold, *Vierter Theil*, 1089, 1090.
23. Arnold, *Vierter Theil*, 1108.
24. Arnold, *Vierter Theil*, 537. These accusations are taken from Nikolaas Meyndertsz von Blesdijk, *Historia vitae, doctrinae ac rerum gestarum D. Georgii haeresiarchae* (1642); and Johann Moldenit and Frideric Jessenius, *Kurtzer und summarischer inhalt der lehre und glaubens des ertz-ketzers und verführers David Joris* (1642).
25. Arnold, *Anderer Theil Der Kirchen- und Kätzer-Historie*, 751, 760, 768.
26. Arnold, *Anderer Theil Der Kirchen- und Kätzer-Historie*, 752.
27. Ruth Albrecht, "Einleitung," in Johann Heinrich Feustking, *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, ed. Elisabeth Gössmann (München: Iudicium Verlag, 1998), xvii-xxii. For a recent study in English see Adelisa Malena, "Sectirische und begeisterte Weibes-Personen: On the *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum* by J. H. Feustking (1704)," *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques*, 04 | 2009, mis en ligne le 25 septembre 2009, <http://acrh.revues.org/index1402.html>.
28. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxv and 117.
29. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 359, 360.
30. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxxii, xxxiii.
31. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxxii, xxxiii.

32. Feustking, "Vorbericht," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 50.
33. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxxiv.
34. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxxv, xxxvi .
35. Gössmann, "Vorwort," in Feustking, *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, xv.
36. According to Albrecht, Feustking included only four portraits of Anabaptist women (xxxvii). There are, however, at least five Anabaptist portraits in the book, and five additional women who had ties with Anabaptists or Mennonites: Tanneken Denys, 235, 236, 497; Christina Ebneria, 249; Anna Hoyer (1632 in Holstein), 356-361 (influenced by Schwenckfeld and David Joris); Susanna Magdalena Kirchner, 398-402; Barbara Gregorlisch (Maria von Methen), 51, 325, 484-488. Two of Feustking's Anabaptist women, Maria von Brük and Alcida Lysting, are not mentioned in the *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*.
37. Feustking, "Vorbericht," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 50.
38. Feustking, "Vorbericht," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 51.
39. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 201-203.
40. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," 211, 212.
41. C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 1995), 145, 205.
42. After Hoffmann's death in 1543, Jodocus Leonhard undertook to edit and publish Hoffmann's "many alleged visions" that he continued to receive while in prison (see Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 417).
43. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 418, 419. Regarding Ursula Jost and Barbara Rebstock, see Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 273-279.
44. Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 279-282.
45. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 429, 430.
46. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 431.

47. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 489. See also Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 49, 50.
48. Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 50.