



Nonviolent Political Action In Sixteenth-Century Strasbourg: The Ziegler Brothers

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I. Introduction

Ever since James M. Stayer's *Anabaptists and the Sword*, scholars of the Reformation's nonconformists have recognized that among the Anabaptists, "apolitical pacifism" or "separatist nonresistance" was a posture consolidated only after 1560, and that especially in the first decade of the "Radical Reformation," Anabaptists held a range of attitudes toward the sword. Stayer identifies four quadrants on a compass: crusading, *Realpolitik*, moderate apoliticism, and separatist nonresistance. The former

two are political; the latter two apolitical. Crusading and separatist nonresistance are radical; *Realpolitik* and moderate apoliticism are moderate or pragmatic. Among early nonconformists, Thomas Müntzer and Münster represent a crusading mentality. Balthasar Hubmaier alone represents *Realpolitik*. Hans Denck and Pilgram Marpeck represent moderate apoliticism, and the Swiss Brethren and the Hutterites represent separatist nonresistance. Müntzer and Münster share with the Swiss Brethren and the Hutterites a radical orientation. The Swiss Brethren and the Hutterites share with Denck and Marpeck an apolitical posture. Thus, except for Hubmaier, in their attitudes toward the state the worldly power, Anabaptists were typically radical and apolitical.¹

This schematization misses an orientation with an ancient history² and made famous in the twentieth century by Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., namely, political pacifism, or nonviolent political action.³ In Gandhi's and King's conviction that social and political change had spiritual and cosmic dimensions, they were radical like the crusade. In their aims and aspirations, they were clearly political, like the crusade and *Realpolitik*. In their focus on effective strategy and willingness to move in small steps toward their goals, they were pragmatic, like *Realpolitik* and moderate apoliticism. In their principled and uncompromising adherence to nonviolence, they were radical like separatist nonresistance. Their approach touched all four quadrants. Nonviolent political action does not appear in Stayer's schema but it was present among sixteenth-century Strasbourg's nonconformists.

From another angle, attitudes of the Reformation's nonconformists included the social-revolution of Thomas

Müntzer and Münster, the sectarian separatism of the Swiss Brethren and the Hutterites, the apocalypticism of Hans Hut and Melchior Hoffman, the spiritualism of Hans Denck and Caspar Schwenckfeld, and the *Realpolitik* of Balthasar Hubmaier. This paper argues that nonviolent political action was another way the Reformation's nonconformists pursued their goals of just socio-economic structures and meaningful participation in religion. Clemens and Jörg Ziegler, two brothers in sixteenth-century Strasbourg, illustrate this.

In *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Gene Sharp identifies 198 nonviolent measures persons and groups may take to protest injustice, seek redress for grievances, and pursue goals they consider more just. Among them are speeches, pamphlets, vigils, demonstrations, civil disobedience, boycotts and others.⁴ Such measures, used to great effect by Gandhi and King, appeared also with Clemens and Jörg Ziegler. While seeking to avoid physical injury to persons, they used speeches, debates, arguments, letters, petitions, pamphlets, acted parodies, demonstrations and mass rallies to influence government policy and change socio-economic structures. Their impact did not approach Gandhi's, but both men made lasting contributions. The older Clemens, a gardener-preacher, set the stage for Anabaptism and the broader Reformation in Strasbourg through the impact his ideas and preaching had on others around and after him. Jörg, a tailor, offered continuity and stability to Strasbourg's transient and unstable Anabaptist movement. Without Jörg the tailors' guild would have been less radical⁵ and the Anabaptists more fragmented. Without Clemens and his fellow gardeners, the Strasbourg Reformation may not have taken place at all.⁶

II. Clemens Ziegler, Agitator for Justice

Clemens Ziegler first appears around 1524 in the electric years of Strasbourg's early reform, when Strasbourgers came to embrace Martin Luther's message preached by Matthew Zell. Although the gardeners' guild was the city's largest, its members were the most marginalized and most discontented.⁷ In 1523 gardeners of the St. Aurelia parish withheld payment of tithes, rents and fixed dues to their lords. In early 1524, a crowd of angry gardeners converged on the convents they judged the most corrupt.⁸ In August gardeners set out to destroy the images in their Young St. Peter's church. In September 400 citizens, mostly gardeners, dragged the prior of the Augustinian monastery before the city council for having opposed reform. Along the way they smashed statues.⁹ Thus Ziegler's fellow gardeners exerted grass roots pressure for change.

Meanwhile, outside the city, nearby peasants were catching the spirit. They interacted daily with Strasbourg's gardeners, grain merchants, winetasters and butchers. At religious feasts, villagers travelled from miles around to the Strasbourg cathedral. Politically and economically, many of the city's individuals and institutions controlled rural lands, tithes and rents.¹⁰ For decades recurrent poor harvests, rising costs and growing landlessness had sparked peasant uprisings in Alsace.¹¹ These climaxed with the *Bundschuh* revolt of 1517 and the Peasants' War of 1525. Martin Luther's ideas on the "Gospel" and "freedom" gave new energy to peasant demands for "ancient rights" and "divine right." From 1519 onward reform pamphlets spread throughout Alsace, villagers streamed to hear the reformer Matthew Zell preach, and Strasbourg artisans traversed the countryside, denouncing tyranny and

raising hopes for a new age. Delighted that the city council was actually meeting the gardeners' demands, restricting the Catholic clergy and enacting reform ideas, peasants joined the movement with growing fervor.¹²

But for many the reform was too slow. The city council, an oligarchy composed of nobility (patricians) and guild representatives, made concessions with great caution, and its reforms were more religious than socio-economic. By 1524 radical currents in the reform were pressing for faster socio-economic change and more meaningful involvement in religion.¹³ The most visible and important early radical preacher was Clemens Ziegler. With a vision and methods like those of Gandhi and King 400 years later, he stirred up peasants and city folk to revolt, and articulated three explosive issues: baptism, the eucharist and economics.¹⁴

In five pamphlets of 1524 and 1525 Ziegler condemned sacramental practices, explicated the Gospel, reconceived Christology, and demanded socio-economic change.¹⁵ The Catholic clergy, the sacraments, the worship of saints, expensive tapestries, images, and even the reformers came under attack.¹⁶ His pronouncements on baptism¹⁷ and the eucharist¹⁸ shook the Strasbourg Church for a decade, but his sharpest break from the reformers concerned the gospel's economic implications. Insisting that God's sovereignty vitiates human hierarchies, he demanded that exploitation cease, urged the reversal of socio-economic structures, and proposed that Christ might have joined the *Bundschuh* revolt.¹⁹ Thus, on the eve of the Peasants' War, Ziegler moved into the Alsatian countryside to preach the Gospel of justice, equality and freedom for the poor under the rule of God.²⁰

Meanwhile, across Germany, Switzerland and Austria, peasants and other commoners were rallying to demand their rights. In a manifesto called "The Twelve Articles," key demands included the choice of their pastor (1) and their tithes (2), the right to hunt, fish (4) and gather wood in the traditional manner (5), the restoration of seized common meadows (9), and the abolition of serfdom (3) and the death tax (10). Any article would be withdrawn, they said, if shown to counter the Word of God (12).²¹

In the spring of 1525, to peasant bands in various locales, Ziegler explained the "Twelve Articles," denounced economic exploitation, proclaimed Jesus' solidarity with the poor, and urged nonviolence.²² Town councils banned him from their area and appealed to Strasbourg to remove him from their territory, but he returned to preach some more -- and be removed by military force.²³ Peasant response was swift. In March villagers from Börsch and farmers from the St. Leonard parish together rose up against Strasbourg's Cathedral Chapter, whose land they worked.²⁴ In April peasants near Heiligenstein rioted after Ziegler had preached and leaders were arrested. On Easter Monday the St. Leonard peasants, under a banner bearing Ziegler's name, attacked the Truttenhausen convent, and 2000 insurgents, among them Strasbourg gardeners, ravaged the abbey of Altorf.²⁵ Despite pleas for restraint, for three days commoners pillaged and plundered until, in bloody fashion, Duke Anthony of Lorraine and his army ended the Peasants' War in Alsace.²⁶

While Strasbourg now bent over backwards to mollify both peasants and their lords and to restore calm,²⁷ Ziegler, deeply disappointed, left the peasants' army and went home. The turning point seems to have been the violence at Altorf. He had

hoped for the establishment of a harmonious community based on equality and justice, but in sacking Altorf, his peasant and artisan colleagues spurned his peaceable ideas.²⁸

Ziegler's worldview was so shaken that he sought a new orientation and direction in life. This he found in a visionary spiritualism that included universal salvation in the next world.²⁹ In a pamphlet of 1532 he argued that universal salvation logically implied the union of all religions, which, in turn, would assure the peace of the whole world.³⁰ At the Church Synod of 1533, which established a doctrinal base for the city, Ziegler criticized government interference in religion, argued for freedom of religious conscience and affirmed universal salvation.³¹ Forbidden to propagate his teachings, Ziegler yielded to the authorities,³² and thereafter his life took on an increasing mystical tone. In 1534 and 1552 he published books of his visions.³³ Several of these visionary writings addressed the politics of the day, and these he submitted to the city council for policy consideration. The council, for its part, affirmed his citizen status but forever kept him at arm's length.³⁴

In the end Ziegler submitted to the *status quo*, even briefly collecting tithes to pay the reformed clergy and assist the poor,³⁵ but he never lost his concern for his fellow gardeners. Almost in competition with the official pastor, he providing them with pastoral care, especially during epidemics.³⁶ To the end of his life, while farming his rented land and serving his fellow gardeners, he monitored the welfare of his fellow Strasbourgers and attempted to communicate his concern to the rulers.

Ziegler's legacy is significant. One facet appeared during his lifetime in the 1540s in the social revolutionary and apocalyptic *Lichtseher* movement. The *Lichtseher* emerged in Strasbourg's Krutenau district, where Ziegler lived and where dissidence had long festered. Like Ziegler, their leader and prophet, a barrelmaker named Martin Steinbach, was an artisan, a charismatic preacher, and a visionary who sought to turn social structures on their head.³⁷ Although Steinbach claimed loyalty to the city, according to his biblical prooftexts, Strasbourg was Jerusalem, and he was the biblical Elijah called by God to overturn, destroy and renew the city, its social structures and its rulers.³⁸ By 1551 he was calling himself also the Holy Spirit.³⁹ To the alarm of Strasbourg's authorities, Steinbach attracted a large following, including gardeners, other artisans⁴⁰ and youth,⁴¹ some of whom became leaders in their own right.⁴² Even after Steinbach's death in 1564, the *Lichtseher* continued to grow.⁴³ In 1566 a church report named sixteen Steinbachians, eight men and eight women,⁴⁴ and two years later a gardener couple about to be married was warned to avoid the Steinbachians.⁴⁵ That the *Lichtseher* flourished for over thirty years points to deep desire for thoroughgoing change. Their outlook was more apocalyptic than Ziegler's, but in their association with gardeners and other commoners, their anger against the powerful, their visionary spiritualism, their challenge to the authorities, and their call for an overturned and renewed society, they followed Ziegler. Ziegler's social dissidence and nonviolent political action lived on long beyond his death.

Clemens Ziegler was Strasbourg's greatest local radical reformer. His ideas on the eucharist and baptism prepared the ground for the spiritualist and Anabaptist communities that lived on through the century.⁴⁶ At an even more foundational

level, without him and his fellow gardeners, whose grass roots pressure moved the rulers, the larger Strasbourg Reformation might not have taken place.⁴⁷ Although a religious reform did take place, the commoners' struggle for a social revolution collapsed, primarily because the city council, the ruling classes and the reformers rejected political or economic reversal even as they endorsed ecclesiastical change. They envisioned reform "within society's structures rather than the recasting of the structures themselves."⁴⁸ Ziegler's vision of change was deeper, "a gospel-based vision of a transformed society with justice and equality for the poor."⁴⁹ True to his principles, he left the revolutionary movement rather than admit violence.

Long before Gene Sharp, Ziegler used methods of nonviolent political action: public speaking, provocative language, dialogue and appeal to authorities, writing, symbols and banners, noncooperation, and solidarity with other dissidents. Long before Gandhi and King, he harnessed these methods to inveigh against social injustice. And like Gandhi and King, Ziegler's nonviolent political action touches all four of James Stayer's quadrants. His social revolutionary vision and religious language resemble the crusade. His association with others more violent than he and his call for the reins of political power suggest *Realpolitik*. His pastoral care and eventual submission to the *status quo* resemble moderate apoliticism. His anticlericalism and refusal to compromise on nonviolence resemble separatist nonresistance. Scholarly typologies on attitudes toward politics and the sword need a place for Ziegler's nonviolent political action.

III. Jörg Ziegler: Creative Nonviolent Activist

Clemens Ziegler's younger brother Jörg was also present during Strasbourg's reform and also strove for social and economic justice in nonviolent ways. By 1524 he was embroiled in the turmoil around the reform and the Peasants' War. When gardeners and other rioters dragged the Augustinian prior before the city council, he, or a fellow tailor,⁵⁰ was among them. The Peasants' War drove thousands of refugees, including Anabaptists and others, into Strasbourg.⁵¹ Quashed in their quest for social transformation, many radicals re-directed their ideals in sectarian, spiritualist, or apocalyptic directions. Ziegler joined the sectarian Anabaptists but did not abandon his social-revolutionary fire.

At personal risk, Ziegler took many radicals into his home. In 1526 he hosted the former priest and Anabaptist leader, Wilhelm Reublin, who had been expelled from Zurich and Waldshut.⁵² The city council, already anxious because of the Peasants' War, promptly investigated Reublin's whereabouts. When Reublin declined to debate baptism, Ziegler stepped in to debate with the clergy and condemned them for limiting the reform to half measures.⁵³ After Reublin came Augsburg's Anabaptist leader, Ulrich Trechsel;⁵⁴ the spiritualist Anabaptist Hans Denck, who was expelled after a controversial public debate;⁵⁵ and the former monk Michael Sattler, to name a few.⁵⁶ This behind-the-scenes networking landed Ziegler in prison. There he and others were interrogated about rebaptism, attitudes toward the Catholic church, and clandestine groups that might spark another revolt.

The men's testimonies revealed that Ziegler's home was one of two Anabaptist meeting places. Rebaptisms had taken place,

some witnessed by Clemens and Jörg Ziegler. Nearly all participants were artisans, including furriers, a barrelmaker, a gardener, a potter, a shoemaker, a tailor and a tanner.⁵⁷ Meetings, they claimed, were only for worship, not for criminal purposes. Strict adherence to New Testament precepts included baptism following faith, mutual ethical obligations and pacifism, and it excluded oath swearing and Peasants' War-type conspiracies. All were disappointed that the official reform did not issue in moral improvement among the people. To realize their dream of a community of neighborly love and moral integrity, they gladly shared material possessions and laid down their arms.⁵⁸ In the end, with the gardener riots and the Peasants' War fresh in their memories, the authorities expelled the non-citizens⁵⁹ but allowed the native Ziegler to remain at home even though they judged him a "suspicious and tumultuous" man. During the next twenty-five years he would also display gifts of hospitality,⁶⁰ pastoral care,⁶¹ industriousness and ingenuity.⁶²

The Church Synod of 1533 that muzzled Clemens Ziegler also issued in legislation that nonconformists who refused to affirm this doctrine and swear the civic oath were to be expelled. For the nonconformists this was catastrophic, and most fled into the countryside.⁶³ Jörg Ziegler decided to submit, remain at home and cooperate where he could. Although his pastor Wolfgang Schultheiss was a member of the clergy, he and the Anabaptist Ziegler agreed on enough that they could work together in their Schiltigheim church. Since 1518 Schultheiss had insisted that the reform not harden into a new tyranny. His defense of broad religious tolerance, freedom of conscience and the Anabaptists eventually cost him his job.⁶⁴ So when he was not able to care for his parishioners, Ziegler filled in to care for the sick and dying.⁶⁵

But cooperation with the clergy did not mean capitulation. Ziegler was acutely aware of the shortcomings of both church and government, and in creative, nonviolent ways he made his views known. From 1535 onward Europe was gearing up for war between the Protestant states and the Holy Roman Empire, and Strasbourg was caught in the middle. Internally, too, Strasbourg's church, schools and alms institutions suffered malaise. In response to this, in 1539 Ziegler issued a stinging pamphlet that lambasted the clergy, the schools and the city's poor relief program.⁶⁶ As punishment, the city council closed his tailoring business, allegedly to prevent overflowing the market, thus casting him into debt.⁶⁷

In 1543, soon after his pastor Schultheiss was dismissed, Ziegler pinned up a poster that portrayed the clergy as a large fool.⁶⁸ Six months later he was heard harassing the authorities and preaching sermons in competition with his village's new pastor. These actions earned him interrogations and reprimands by the city council.⁶⁹ In 1544, amid a broader upswing in radical activity, Ziegler again drew criticism for writing, publishing and distributing anticlerical songs and pamphlets.⁷⁰ In 1545 the city's three leading pastors petitioned the city council for more stringent enforcement of doctrinal and moral standards.⁷¹ The council committee formed to study the petition named Jörg Ziegler, his brother Clemens, and Wolfgang Schultheiss as persons responsible for seducing people into "evil, seductive and unchristlike" sects.⁷² While Ziegler agitated for economic justice and religious tolerance, the city and clergy sought political calm and religious conformity.

His words having fallen on deaf ears, some months later, like Gandhi, Ziegler escalated his protest:

"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."⁷³ 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, but rather threatened him with prison, even though he preached the truth and denounced vice."⁷⁴

Further, the clergy, barking about their incomes, were hypocrites and fakes, so he, with his honest manner and different message, must appear to them a fool.⁷⁵ Finally, since his fool-like image had cost him his job, Ziegler begged the clergy to receive his speaking and singing with forbearance and allow him to earn a living. He was supporting three of his relatives' children; if every wealthy person supported one such child, unauthorized begging would disappear.⁷⁶

The exasperated magistrates stuck Ziegler in prison, where he continued writing, expelled him from the city for two years⁷⁷ and then investigated those who had helped print, publish and distribute his booklet.⁷⁸ Ziegler, however, had support. A year later the Schiltigheim mayor and others appealed for his return, for both he and his business benefited the village community. The council, having endured twenty years of his criticisms, disagreed and left him outside the city.⁷⁹ In 1547, still feisty, Ziegler returned to the city. But the magistrates refused to protect him from his creditors and the spectre of debtor's prison. His creditors had their rights, they said, and he would have to settle with them on his own. Meanwhile, he should behave himself or expect more hardship.⁸⁰

That year the Protestant States, including Strasbourg, lost the Smalkaldic War against the Holy Roman Emperor, and in 1548 the Augsburg Interim reinstated Catholicism in Strasbourg. Passionately against the Interim arrangement,⁸¹ in 1549 Ziegler spoke out against the Catholic eucharist and, in the hearing of mercenaries, made critical statements, probably about the Interim and imperial soldiers.⁸² For such talk bordering on treason, the city's two highest officials scolded him thoroughly and warned of harsh treatment if he did not hold his tongue.⁸³ For a time Ziegler lay low, but in 1551, with vehement denunciations and cursing, "he created an uproar first in the cathedral where the Catholic mass was again being celebrated, and then in front of the pillory."⁸⁴ The council imprisoned him, found no grounds for his outburst, and banned him from Strasbourg a second time.⁸⁵

Neither the pleas of Jörg's brother Clemens nor the imminent threat of war between France and the emperor availed to bring him home to his family.⁸⁶ The council judged the situation too precarious for a critic like Ziegler to undermine the city's resolve. Only for his wife's funeral in 1552 did the city grant him one week's entry on condition that he hold his opinions to himself.⁸⁷ After this he appears no more.

Whereas nearly all Anabaptist leaders had to leave Strasbourg, Jörg Ziegler stayed, and more than any other, he provided continuity for Strasbourg's Anabaptists during their first twenty-five years. His critique was socio-economic and political, delivered to highlight poverty and resist religious oppression. But his framework was religious -- "a gospel-based vision of a transformed society with justice and equality for the poor"⁸⁸ -- and in his view the responsibility for social injustice

fell as much on the clergy as on the magistrates. An idealist, he pressed his demands from within the Anabaptist alternative community rather than stoop to political compromise and piecemeal progress in the established church.

Long before Gene Sharp, Ziegler used methods of nonviolent political action: behind the scenes community building, cooperative trustbuilding with authorities, dialogue and appeal to authorities, writing, public verbal criticism, dramatic parody, noncooperation, and solidarity with other dissidents. Long before Gandhi and King, he utilized these methods to insist on social justice for the poor. And like his brother Clemens, his nonviolent political action touches all four of Stayer's quadrants. His strident anticlericalism and revolutionary tendencies resemble the crusade. His creative tactics and association with others more violent than he suggest *realpolitik*. His pastoral care and cooperation with authorities resemble moderate apoliticism. His loyalty to the Anabaptists points to separatist nonresistance. The postures of Clemens and Jörg Ziegler toward politics and the sword do not fit easily among existing schematizations. Here is an invitation to make room for nonviolent political action when reviewing attitudes of the Reformation's nonconformists toward politics and the sword.

Endnotes

¹ James M. Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword*, 2nd ed. (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1976), xvi-xix, 3-4, 329-37.

² For example, Exodus 1:15-19 tells of Hebrew midwives who engaged in civil disobedience when ordered to kill baby boys. In 479 BCE the plebians of Rome refused to work for days until the Roman Consuls addressed their grievances. --The Albert Einstein Institution, Cambridge, MA.

³ For primary source collections on Gandhi, see Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Gandhi: Essential Writings* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1970); Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Penguin Gandhi Reader*, ed. by Rudrangshu Mukherjee (New Delhi: Penguin, 1993); Mohandas K. Gandhi, *All Men are Brothers: Autobiographical Reflections*, ed. by K. Kripalani (New York: Continuum, 2002). On King, see Martin Luther King, Jr., *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Harper Collins, 1986).

⁴ Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Vol. 2, *The Methods of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973), *passim*.

⁵ John Derksen, "Hans Adam and Jörg Ziegler: Strasbourg's Radical Tailors," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 15 (1997), 31-43.

⁶ Rodolphe Peter, "Le Maraicher Clement Ziegler, l'homme et son oeuvre," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 34 (1954), 280.

⁷ On Clemens Ziegler and the gardeners, see Peter, 267-80 and Stephen Boyd, "Anabaptism and Social Radicalism in Strasbourg, 1528-1532: Pilgram Marpeck on Christian Social Responsibility," *MQR* 63 (1989), 67.

⁸ Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation, 1520-1555* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 204; Miriam U. Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1967), 141-42, 146-47.

⁹ Peter, 267.

¹⁰ Jean Rott, "La Guerre des Paysans et la Ville de Strasbourg," *Investigationes Historicae. Eglises et Société au XVI siècle*, Vol. I (Strasbourg: Librairie Oberlin, 1986), 199.

¹¹ The most notable uprisings in Alsace occurred in 1493, 1502, 1511, 1514 and especially 1517 when Strasbourg was the focal point. Brady, 202; P. Dollinger, "Un aspect de la guerre des paysans en Alsace: l'organisation du soulèvement," *Paysans d'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1959), 70; Peter, 272; Bettina Berber, "Sebastian Lotzer: An Educated Layman in the Struggle for Divine Justice," *Profiles of Radical Reformers*, H.-J. Goertz, ed. (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1982), 74.

¹² Rott, 199; Dollinger, 70. In Strasbourg and gardeners and butchers were most sympathetic to Peasants' War ideals. Strasbourg's urban-rural relations corroborate the theses of Peter Blickle and James Stayer that certain urban groups did join with rural folk in the Peasants' War. Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1981); James M. Stayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens UP, 1991), 5.

¹³ 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. by M. Lienhard, S. F. Nelson, and H. G. Rott, all published by Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn. Henceforth they are cited as *TAE I, II, III* and *IV*.

¹⁴ *TAE I*, No. 6, p. 8, n. 1; Peter, 259, 275; Chrisman, 146.

¹⁵ 1) Von der vermehelung Marie vnd Josephs. 1524. On Mary's and Joseph's marriage, and Mary's perpetual virginity. 2) Ein kurtz Register vn auszugs der Bibel in welchem man findet was ab gotterey sey, vnd wo man yedes suchen sol. June. 1524. On idolatry. 3) Von der waren nyessung beyd leibs vnd bluts Christi. Summer, 1524. On eucharist and baptism. The best-known by Ziegler. 4) Ein fast schon büchlin in welche yederman findet ein hellen vnd claren verstandt von dem leib vnd blut Christi. 1524/1525. On the eucharist. The most important of Ziegler's works. 5) Ein fast schone vszlegug vnd betrachtung des Christenlichen gebetts, vff gesetzt vnd gelert von vnserem erloser Christo Jhesu Vatter vnser genant. Early 1525. On the Lord's Prayer. *TAE I*, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 24, 25; Peter, 255-57; William S. Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy: The Inception of the Reformation in Strasbourg 1522-1524* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 225.

¹⁶ Peter, 263, 266-67; Chrisman, 182; George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed. Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), 367-68.

¹⁷ In "Von der waren nyessung" (1524). *TAE I*, No. 8, pp. 11-17; Peter, 267-68; Williams, 367-68; Boyd, 61-62.

¹⁸ "Ein fast schon büchlin," *TAE I*, No. 24, pp. 33-34; Boyd, 61-62; Stafford, 226.

¹⁹ *Uuszlegung des Vater unser*, *TAE I*, No. 25, pp. 36-37; Stafford, 227-29; Williams, 368-69.

²⁰ Peter, 272; Dollinger, 75.

²¹ Lowell Zuck, *Christianity and Revolution: Radical Testimonies* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1975), doc. 1, 13-16; Williams, 153.

²² Williams, 368-69; Stafford, 225; Chrisman, 183.

²³ Peter, 271-72.

²⁴ Peter, 272-73; Chrisman, 146; Jean Rott, "Guerre des paysans et anabaptisme: le cas de Boersch en Basse-Alsace," *Bibliotheca Dissidentium. Scripta et Studia*, No. 3 (Baden-Baden and Bouxwiller: Editions Valentin Koerner, 1987), 103-8.

²⁵ *TAE I*, Nos. 32 and 33, pp. 45-46; Peter, 273; Dollinger, 70; Chrisman, 150.

²⁶ Dollinger, 74; Peter, 274; R. H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1971), 63; Chrisman, 150-51.

²⁷ Rott, "La Guerre des Paysans," 201-3; Chrisman, 151-52. Other cities and rulers were harsher. Dollinger, 70.

²⁸ Peter, 272.

²⁹ These views were expressed in five manuscripts which he dutifully submitted to the *Rat*: 1) Von der selickkeit aller menschen selen (1532). On universal salvation. 2) Ein mercklichen verstant iber das geschriben biechlin von der selickkeit aller menschen selen... (1532). On the salvation of all souls. 3) Von gesichden vnd erschinunge iber mich clementz ziegler. Eight visions between 1528 and 1533. 4) Dreim vnd gesicht. Fifteen visions between 1528 and 1551; a revised edition of "Von gesichden vnd erschinunge." Peter, 257-58, 273, 275; Klaus Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman. Social Unrest and Apocalyptic Visions in the Age of Reformation*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1987), 175.

³⁰ "Von der selickkeit aller menschen selen" ("Of the Eternal Salvation of All Souls"). Peter, 277-80.

³¹ Articles 14, 15 and 16. Peter, 276, 279-80; Williams, 417-18; Henry Krahn, "Martin Bucer's Strategy against Sectarian Dissent in Strasbourg," *MQR* 50 (1976), 163-80.

³² Peter, 277, 279-80.

³³ (*Von gesichden und erschinunge* [Of Visions and Apparitions]) (eight visions between 1528 and 1533), and in 1552 (*Dreim und gesicht* [Dreams and Visions]) (fifteen visions between 1528 and 1551). Peter, 258-59.

³⁴ Peter, 278-79.

³⁵ *TAE I*, No. 40, pp. 49-50; Peter, 259, 273-75; Deppermann, 175; Stafford, 225; Chrisman, 184.

³⁶ Peter, 275; Chrisman, 184.

³⁷ *TAE IV*, Nos. 1394, 1397, 1399, 1401, 1407, 1411.

³⁸ *TAE IV*, No. 1536, pp. 207-8; Johann Adam, *Evangelische Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg* (Strassburg: J. H. Ed. Hertz, 1922), 355.

³⁹ *TAE IV*, No. 1642, p. 273; No. 1690, p. 304; AMS, Kontrakt Stube, No. 70 III, f. 1r; *TAE IV*, *Beilage* to No. 1356, pp. 89-90, n. 1.

⁴⁰ *TAE IV*, Nos. 1536, 1748, 1751, 1680; *TAE IV, Beilage* to No. 1356, pp. 89-90; Rene Gerber, “Les Anabaptistes à Strasbourg entre 1536 et 1552,” *Bibliotheca Dissidentium: Scripta et Studia*, No. 3 (Baden-Baden: Editions Valentin Koerner, 1987), 321; W. Bellardi, *Die Geschichte der “Christlichen Gemeinschaften” in Strassburg, 1546-1550* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1934), 189.

⁴¹ *TAE IV*, Nos. 1680, 1748, 1750, 1751.

⁴² *TAE IV*, No. 1680, p. 298.

⁴³ AMS, Wiedertäuferherren, I, 14, f. 34v-38v; *TAE IV*, No. 1536, pp. 207-8, n. 3; *TAE IV, Beilage*, No. 1356, p. 89, n. 1; Gerber, “Anabaptistes,” 321.

⁴⁴ Renhardus Lutz, “Verzeichnus vn kurtzer begriff der Kätzerischen vn verdampften Leer Martin Steinbachs...” (Strassburg: Christian Müller, 1566), Ex. BNUS R 102 335.

⁴⁵ AMS, Wiedertäuferherren, I, 14, f. 40v-41r.

⁴⁶ His religious ideas resurfaced in other contexts: his spiritual eucharist in Strasbourg’s own official eucharistic doctrine, his universalism and religious tolerance among some Schwenckfeldians, and his celestial flesh christology in Melchior Hoffman and Menno Simons. John Derksen, “The Schwenckfeldians in Strasbourg, 1533-1562,” *MQR* 74 (2000), 272.

⁴⁷ Peter, 280.

⁴⁸ John Derksen, *From Radicals to Survivors* (Utrecht: HES & DeGraaf, 2002), 42.

⁴⁹ Derksen, *From Radicals to Survivors*, 188; Chrisman, 153-54; Brady, 199-203, 229-35.

⁵⁰ Hans Adam. *TAE I*, Nos. 46, 63, 67, 148; *TAE IV*, Nos. 1770, 1772.

⁵¹ On relief efforts in Strasbourg after the Peasants’ War, see Otto Winkelmann, *Das Fürsorgewesen der Stadt Strassbourg vor und nach der Reformation bis zum Ausgang der sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, Vol. 5. 2 vols. in one. (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1922.) On Anabaptists in the Peasants’ War, see Stayer, *German Peasant’s War*, 19-92, 165-67.

⁵² *TAE I*, Nos. 46, 63, 67; *TAE IV*, Nos. 1770, 1772; James 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.

⁵³ *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.” *MQR* 51 (1977): 92-93; Deppermann, 179; Boyd, 62; Abraham Hulshof, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgesinden te Straatsburg van 1525 tot 1557* (Amsterdam: J. Clausen, 1905), 10-11.

⁵⁴ *TAE I*, No. 67, p. 66; No. 104, p. 129, n. 8.

⁵⁵ *TAE I*, No. 46, p. 52; No. 67, p. 66; Müsing, 107, 111, 112; Stephen B. Boyd, *Pilgram Marpeck: His Life and Social Theology* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1992), 95.

⁵⁶ *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* (Goshen: Mennonite Quarterly Review, 1978), 93.

⁵⁷ *TAE I*, No. 67, pp. 62-67; Müsing, 107-8.

⁵⁸ *TAE I*, No. 67, p. 64; Müsing, 107-12.

⁵⁹ Müsing, 107, 110; Deppermann, 182-84.

⁶⁰ *TAE I*, No. 46, p. 52; No. 67, p. 66.

⁶¹ *TAE II*, No. 680, p. 467.

⁶² *TAE IV*, No. 1480, p. 165.

⁶³ Derksen, *From Radicals to Survivors*, chs. 3-6.

⁶⁴ 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 XVIIe Siècle* (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1981), 20-21.

⁶⁵ *TAE II*, No. 680, p. 467.

⁶⁶ *TAE III*, No. 896, p. 312.

⁶⁷ *TAE III*, No. 1031, p. 414.

⁶⁸ *TAE IV*, Nos. 1262, 1309, 1410.

⁶⁹ *TAE IV*, Nos. 1262, 1309, 1410.

⁷⁰ *TAE IV*, Nos. 1394, 1397, 1399, 1410, 1411.

⁷¹ Caspar Hedio, Martin Bucer and Matthew Zell. *TAE IV*, No. 1421, pp. 125-26.

⁷² A Schwenckfeldian named Wolfgang Weckinger was also named. *TAE IV*, No. 1439, pp. 135-36; No. 1488, pp. 173-74.

⁷³ *TAE IV*, Nos. 1480-1481, p. 165; No. 1486, p. 172.

⁷⁴ Derksen, *From Radicals to Survivors*, 186.

⁷⁵ He called them Dr. Griffel von Hohensinnen, a humanistic mock name for Thomas Aquinas and the Scholastics.

⁷⁶ *TAE IV*, Nos. 1480-1481, p. 165.

⁷⁷ *TAE IV*, Nos. 1480, 1481, 1486, 1514.

⁷⁸ *TAE IV*, No. 1493, pp. 176-77.

⁷⁹ *TAE IV*, No. 1514, p. 194.

⁸⁰ *TAE IV*, No. 1572, pp. 233-34.

⁸¹ *TAE IV*, No. 1758, p. 345.

⁸² *TAE IV*, No. 1600, p. 249.

⁸³ The *Ammeister* and the *Stettmeister* were Strasbourg's highest officials.

TAE IV, No. 1669, pp. 292-93.

⁸⁴ Derksen, *From Radicals to Survivors*, 187.

⁸⁵ *TAE IV*, No. 1758, p. 345; No. 1770, p. 350.

⁸⁶ *TAE IV*, No. 1770, p. 350; Rudolphe Reuss, *Histoire de Strasbourg depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1922), 147-49.

⁸⁷ *TAE IV*, No. 1772, p. 351.

⁸⁸ Derksen, *From Radicals to Survivors*, 188.