

TIMOTHY NYHOF, CAANS WINNIPEG
The elusive image of the martyr Anneke Janszdr. of Rotterdam

This article is a critical review and examination of the changing image of the 16th century Dutch Anabaptist martyr Anneke Janszdr., who was executed in Rotterdam on January 24th, 1539. While her influence in the Dutch Anabaptist movement¹ was enhanced by this martyrdom, her image continues to pose a challenging conundrum in Anabaptist historiography. The controversy centers on her song *Ick hoorde die Basuyne blasen* ‘I heard the trumpet blowing’² which is viewed as revolutionary. The song with its vivid imagery and violent apocalyptic message has proven to be out of step with the historical construction of an irenic Dutch Anabaptism. Indeed the Mennonite Encyclopedia characterized the images in the song as “an exception in Mennonite martyr literature in that we find here in no mistaken terms the thought of vengeance, especially in the eleventh and twelfth stanzas,”³ while historian Karel Vos described the “trumpet song” as the *Marseillaise* of Dutch Anabaptism.⁴

While Anneke Janszdr.’s “trumpet song” has been considered revolutionary, the document that begins *Testament dat Anneken Esajas haren Sone bestelt heeft, den 24. dach Januarij, Anno. 1539* (known in English as the ‘Testament to Isaiah’), which is reputed to have been written on the morning of her martyrdom by drowning, has proven much more difficult to interpret and categorize. Recent historical scholarship is divided on whether the testament is an example of irenic Christianity which

had coalesced around a robust pacifist Anabaptist stream, as the noted Anabaptist scholar Werner Packull suggests.⁵ George Huston Williams has put forward the alternative theory that Anneke Janszdr.’s writings must be seen as a continuation of a more chiliastic revolutionary stream.⁶ Regardless of the way in which her writings are interpreted, they did enjoy wide circulation within Anabaptist circles and were included in the early martyrology books such as *Het offer des Herren* ‘Sacrifice to the Lord’ and van Braght’s *Het Bloedigh Tooneel of Martelaers Spiegel* ‘The bloody theatre or Martyrs’ mirror’. Anneke’s story proved so popular within Anabaptist circles that it was set to music and published in the cherished Anabaptist hymnal, the *Ausbund*. The potentially inherent contradiction between these two documents has made the definition of her role in Dutch Anabaptism very difficult.

We will suggest that another image must be considered, which will show a consistency between the “trumpet song” and her ‘Testament to Isaiah’. The linch pin to the coherence between these two documents is a notion of martyrdom that must be seen in conjunction with the mainstream Melchiorite understanding of the mark of Thau, a concept derived from a vision recounted in Ezekiel chapter 9. This Melchiorite Anabaptism, with its emphasis on vengeance being wrought on the uncircumcised godless, may sound in tone like that of Münsterite Anabaptism, but there is a significant difference. The vengeance that was to be meted out was not

The elusive image of the martyr Anneke Janszdr. of Rotterdam

to be perpetrated by mortals, by those who had been marked with the sign of Thau, that is, saved from the wrath of God. The sources for the ideas in Anneke's writings are to be found in the scriptures, including the Apocrypha. This paper will further show that the lines deemed to be most controversial are direct quotations from the scriptures and are a warning *not* to pursue the revolutionary course of the Münsterites. The radicality in her writings must be seen as a "restoration of the primitive church". When Anneke's writings are seen through this interpretive lens, there emerges a more accurate image of her as being in the mainstream of Melchiorite thought.

The leadership of the Melchiorite Anabaptist movement in the northern Netherlands was left in disarray after the fall of the New Jerusalem in Münster in 1535. Not only was the shattered movement leaderless, but the direction that the movement was to take was also hotly contested. The direction ranged from the violent revolutionary Batenburgers, to the more pacifist Melchiorite movement gathered around Obbe Phillips, to the ecstatic spiritualism espoused by David Joris.⁷ Recent scholarship has examined Joris's influence in the initial period after the fall of Münster. In 1536 he played a pivotal role in bringing the various factions of post-Münster Dutch Anabaptism together in a colloquy in Bocholt. His leadership of the Dutch Anabaptist movement was further cemented in 1538 when the leader of the violent Anabaptist stream, Jan van Batenburg, was captured and executed. Batenburg had claimed that whoever perished first, whether himself or David Joris, would be shown to be a false prophet.⁸

Anneke Janszdr. was born in 1509 in the town of Brielle into an affluent family.⁹ She married Arent Jansz. van der Lint in 1534. In that same year Meindert van Emden, an Anabaptist bishop with a dubious reputation, baptized her and her husband in their house. For reasons not readily apparent, Arent Jansz. was in London in 1536 while Anneke Janszdr. and David Joris were together in Delft. Rumors concerning an improper relationship between Anneke and Joris prompted Arent to return to the Netherlands and confront Joris. Shortly after this visit Anneke left and Joris returned to his wife. While there is a great deal of speculation about a potential sexual relationship, it is clear that Anneke Janszdr. was a great supporter and admirer of David Joris.

George Huston Williams views Anneke Janszdr.'s image as the "last echo of the original Melchiorite gospel".¹⁰ Interestingly, Williams' image seems to be based exclusively on his reading of her 'Testament to Isaiah'. In Williams' estimation this testament represents an amalgam of Southern German Anabaptism with the "imminent vindication" of an ancient Jewish conception of vanquishing the "uncircumcised in spirit".¹¹ Williams may have intuitively captured the essence of Anneken Janszdr.'s theological impulse, but he does not provide a demonstrable or sustained critique to establish his claim.

While Williams does provide a rather lengthy excerpt from the *Testament to Isaiah*, he does not provide an extensive commentary on this work and moves immediately to his conclusions. Perhaps he felt that the *Testament's* revolutionary tone was self-evident. However, he also omits an important

passage in this document. In the 1562 publication of her testament in *Het offer des Herren* and its subsequent publication in *Het Bloedigh Tooneel*, there is a gloss of Revelation 6:9-11. In that New Testament book, John has a vision in which he is shown a scroll with seven seals, and as the seals are opened he sees future events.

When the fifth seal is broken, “I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slain because of the word of God and the testimony they had maintained. They called out in a loud voice, ‘How long, Sovereign Lord, holy and true, until you judge the inhabitants of the earth and avenge our blood?’ Then each of them was given a white robe, and they were told to wait a little longer, until the number of their fellow servants and brothers who were to be killed as they had been was completed.” (New International Version)

Williams only quotes the following from her testament: “This way was trodden by the dead under the altar, who cry “Lord Almighty God, when wilt Thou avenge the blood that has been shed?”¹² He omits a vital passage: “*Ende haer zijn blinckende rocken gegeuen, ende haer is geheantwoort: Beydet een weynich, tot dat het getal uwer broedern veruult is, die noch gedoot sullen worden om dat getuygenisse Jesu*”¹³ ‘And they were given beautiful robes, and they received the answer: Bide your time yet a little while, till the number of your brethren is complete, of those who are to die for their witness to Jesus.’¹⁴ He includes the passages before and after this excerpt. His footnote only indicates that his quotation is “slightly reduced” from the *Martyrs’ Mirror*, yet he does not indicate the edition that he is using, nor

his rationale in “reducing” the text. Despite this deficiency he concludes that Anneke Janszdr. was a “Dutch woman of means, a follower of Melchior Hoffman, still unshaken by the aberrations and destruction of Melchiorism in its Münsterite form, now inclined, however, towards David Joris’ more spiritual interpretation of scriptures.”¹⁵

The excluded excerpt from her testament offers a rich clue as to how she perceived her impending martyrdom. This passage based on Revelation 6:9-10 speaks of a special status conferred on martyrs to the faith. Their souls were to be placed under the altar and a “beautiful” robe was to be given to them as a visible sign of their status. They were also given the promise that the wrath was pending and that they needed to bide their time only a little while (*Beydet een weynich*), for the number of martyrs was almost complete. Williams does get very close to piercing the image of Anneke Janszdr., but to fully comprehend and recover her, we need to look at the arguments put forth by another scholar and, through a corrective of his research, arrive at a more conclusive and accurate image.

Werner Packull has also recently tried to tackle Anneke’s elusive image. He tackles the question in a journal article entitled “Anna Jansz of Rotterdam, A Historical Investigation of an Early Anabaptist Heroine.” Packull classifies her early apocalyptic ‘I Heard the Trumpet Blowing’ as being consistent with the Dutch Melchiorite movement, especially as it was formulated under the post-Münsterite leadership of David Joris.

Packull’s reading in this regard is well argued and eminently sustainable to a point. However, he notes

The elusive image of the martyr Anneke Janszdr. of Rotterdam

that there is a discernible shift in Anneke Jansz's writing in her *Testament to Isaiah*.¹⁶ Packull's assertion is that the text of the *Testament to Isaiah* is of such a nature that "only hearts of stone would fail to appreciate the Christian Spirit".¹⁷ Packull also notes that Anneke Janszdr's "development from a proto-Münsterite to a follower of Joris to a patient martyr personifies the evolution of much of Dutch Anabaptism".¹⁸ Yet this movement of her image from a composer of the *Marseillaise* of the post-Münsterite Dutch Melchiorites to that of an irenic heroine who compliantly accepts her role as a martyr to her faith, is fraught with challenges both historical and theological.

A major problem is that the rapid transformation of Anneke Janszdr. takes place in a period of only four to six weeks. We know from the historical record that she was arrested in December of 1538 for singing a "spiritual song" as she was travelling to Rotterdam. David Joris had published a book of spiritual songs (*Een Geestelijck Liedt-boecxken*) in 1537 that included her own "trumpet song,"¹⁹ set to a popular travelling song called *Na Oostlandt wil ick varen* (To the East will I travel). It is entirely plausible that this may have been the song that Anneke and her travel companion were singing and that betrayed them to the authorities. By January 24, 1539 Anneke was martyred and, according to Packull, had moved theologically from a radical Melchiorite to a passive martyr. At the same time as this miraculous transformation was occurring, a significant persecution was being unleashed on the followers of David Joris. In 1538-1539 over one hundred followers of Joris were martyred, including his own mother.

If the 'Testament to Isaiah' is indeed a fine example of an irenic Christian document, the real question remains how much of Anneke's original testament is contained in the printed version. Packull does raise the question as to whether the "document is genuine," an important question that he leaves unanswered. This question is further exacerbated by Packull's claim that there is a lack of congruency between these writings. It is difficult to know which version of the 'Testament to Isaiah' he uses for his historical analysis. While Packull is certainly aware of, and refers to, the 1562 publication of *Het Offer des Herren*, he seems to rely on the later *Martyrs' Mirror* for his conclusions. Additionally, Packull's premise that Anneke and her female companion could be arrested for singing a "spiritual song" in December and would write a passive testament a few weeks later seems dubious. Finally, this Testament needs to be contextualized within the historical circumstances of the Dutch Melchiorite movement at the time of her martyrdom.

Packull asserts that the apparent shift in theological impulse may be more attributable to editorial license than to any perceptible change on the part of the author. In his discussion of the "trumpet song" he points to a possible earlier attempt to edit a revolutionary line to make it more "innocuous".²⁰ Although there is no definitive consensus on the dating of the original song, there is a suggestion that it may have been composed as early as 1536. The only extant copy of the song is found in a 1570 reprint of David Joris's 1537 *Geestelijck Liedt-boecxken*. The innocuous line in the 1537 edition reads "Watch your foot in the spilled blood" (Wacht ghij u voeten te storten bloede).²¹ Packull points to two later editions which had stronger revolutionary

language. In a 1556 edition the line in question was replaced with “wash your feet in the godless blood” (*wascht u voeten in der godlosen bloede*).²² Interestingly, this edition was contained in a Reformed collection that included a number of other Anabaptist songs. A 1569 edition of *Lieder der Reformierten* (Songs of the Reformation) by Wackernagel presents the line as “The birds were sated on their blood” (*de Vogels werde versaet van hare bloede*).²³ Packull proposes that the biblical inspiration for the revolutionary line is based on the apocalyptic supper scene of Revelation 19:17-21.

“Die Heer sal alle Vogelen een maeltijt bereyden,
Te Bosra in Edom, so Ick las,
Van’t Vleysch der Coningen en Princen beyden,
Compt ghy Ghevoghelt’ versaemt u ras:
Wilt u van des Landts-Heeren vleysch voeden,
So sy deden, wert hen ghedaen,
Maer ghy oprechte Christen sijt vroom van moede,
Wacht ghij u voeten te storten bloede,
Want dit loon sullen onse Roovers ontfaen”.

“The Lord will prepare a feast for all birds
In Bosra in Edom, so I have read
from the flesh of both Kings and Princes
Come all you birds gather quickly:
Feed yourself with the flesh of lords
What they did will be done to them.
But You true Christians be of good cheer
Put off dipping your feet in blood
Because this is the reward which those who
robbed us will receive”.²⁴

Packull notes the importance that this small change makes in the tenor of the song. Rather than rejoicing

or reveling in the disaster that is about to befall the godless, Joris’s editing changes the message to one of caution. We do know that David Joris was arrested for his sacramentarian outburst against the procession of the monstrance in 1528. As a result of his actions he was banished from the city for two years and had his tongue bored through. As well, in 1534 Joris attended a meeting of Waterlander Anabaptists who were discussing whether to send aid to the besieged city of Münster. Joris was not personally supportive of providing the aid. It seems that he was worried by active participation in the destruction of the godless, and so he would surely not have inserted revolutionary Münsterite sentiments into this text.

Thus the text of 1537 may more likely be the original text and the subsequent editions may have been made more bloodthirsty to suit the changing political landscape in the Netherlands. In which case Packull’s argument needs to be reversed, so that the “innocuous” line from the 1537 edition is seen as the authentic line and the other Reformed groups altered it as they appropriated the “trumpet song”. The change in tone, becoming more strident and militant with each subsequent edition, was likely in response to the political situation in the Netherlands that was becoming increasingly fraught with revolutionary tension.

However, a much different picture emerges if we read the extant documents of Anneke Janszdr. as a collage of paraphrased scriptural texts, rather than as her own feelings. The text which Packull claims as being an attempt to make her song more innocuous can be read as a paraphrase of Proverbs 1:15-16, found in a variety of Bibles written in the

The elusive image of the martyr Anneke Janszdr. of Rotterdam

Dutch vernacular of that era. The quotation that he identifies from the “trumpet song” reads “Wacht ghij u voeten te storten bloede” (Watch your feet in spilled blood). The 1477 edition of the Delft Bible (*Delftse Bijbel*) renders the passage in Proverbs as

“[15] Sone mijn en ganc mit hem niet Verbiende dinen voet van haren paden

[16] Want haer voeten lopen ten quade: ende si haesten hem om bluet wt te storten”.²⁵

([15] My Son, go with them not, Forbid your feet from (entering) that path,

[16] Since their feet walk to evil, and they hasten to spill blood).

These two verses have been compressed and rendered into one line within a song to fulfill the artistic strictures of the song form. It does, however, capture the essence of these two verses. When seen against the backdrop of the Münster Kingdom of the New Jerusalem, it appears to be a warning. In the aftermath of Münster, the warnings of Proverbs 1:15-16 to avoid the company of hasty murderers and usurpers seems most appropriate. The first chapter of Proverbs must have been well known to Anneke Janszdr., for she opens her Testimony to Isaiah with another paraphrase of a son being admonished to listen to his mother. Packull suggests that this opening shows a great deal of “rhetorical skill” on Anneke’s part. In fact she may be simply passing on the wisdom of the biblical writer.

This alternative interpretation can be further sustained. We have seen the reference in the *Testimony to Isaiah* to the vision in Revelation 6:9-11. This reference must be seen in the context of the Jorists’ understanding of the marking of the faithful with the sign of Thau. I give below an

extensive citation of Ezekiel chapter 9, to illustrate the significance of the way in which Anneke Janszdr. used it:

“Then the LORD called to the man clothed in linen who had the writing kit at his side and said to him, ‘Go throughout the city of Jerusalem and put a mark on the foreheads of those who grieve and lament over all the detestable things that are done in it.’ As I listened, he said to the others, ‘Follow him through the city and kill, without showing pity or compassion. Slaughter old men, young men and maidens, women and children, but do not touch anyone who has the mark. Begin at my sanctuary.’”

God explains the reason for His order:

“The sin of the house of Israel and Judah is exceedingly great; the land is full of bloodshed and the city is full of injustice. They say, ‘The LORD has forsaken the land; the LORD does not see.’ So I will not look on them with pity or spare them, but I will bring down on their own heads what they have done.”

Then the man in linen with the writing kit at his side brought back word, saying, “I have done as you commanded.” (New International Version)

For the Melchiorite Anabaptists, those who had been set aside and given the mark of Thau were given spiritual insights which, says Williams, granted a “prophetic illumination imparting knowledge of the divine plan for the purification of Christendom”. And yet it was not only the illumination that was important. There was also recognition that in the eschatological expectation of the time, the

completion of the number of saints was imminent. This fortified and prepared the faithful for the persecutions and provided them with the strength to endure, knowing that justice and vindication as well as an exalted position awaited the martyrs. And that is why the text from Ezekiel 9 figured so prominently in Anneke Janszdr.'s "trumpet song" and her *Testament to Isaiah*.

This understanding of martyrdom can be seen in a letter purported to have been written by Anneke Janszdr. to David Joris. The dating of the letter has not been established, but two possible dates are 1536 and 1538. The dating of 1536 is suggested since Joris's biographer indicates that Joris received a letter from a female admirer during the Bocholt colloquy of that same year. The 1538 dating is suggested since we know that Anneke had returned in 1538 to consult with Joris. The content of the letter suggests that she and Joris are having a conversation about the implications and immediacy of martyrdom. Early in the letter Anneke describes Joris's own persecution in 1528 and says that "you have testified with your blood through the love of God, through whom you have obtained many gifts."²⁶

Anneke also reveals that she sees and takes great "delight" in the fact that the "conflict" is imminent and the "cross is revealed". In a passage which foreshadows her future martyrdom and testimony, she remarks: "I hope that the Lord will answer my prayer and deliver me from this earthly tabernacle I am dwelling in, so that I may put off the dress of mourning and that I may receive the glorious jewelry of triumph of my Lord and come to behold God." And while she surely looks with anticipation to the day of her potential martyrdom,

it is not without apprehension and soul searching as to her worthiness. Anneke confides to Joris that "Apparently I am not yet acceptable and pure enough; for this reason I labour day and night to prove myself pure before my Lord."²⁷

David Joris, in a letter on martyrdom which accompanied his publication of Anneke Janszdr.'s 'Testament to Isaiah', echoed her views. He "affirmed that such tribulations were another sign of the nearness to the end and acted as the baptism of fire."²⁸ He advised his followers

"not to keep his own life here, or that he run from or be frightened of death or his enemy, but he willingly come against it. Yes wake up, for this is the basis of the Spirit, for the Lord desires that we be submissive in this manner, completely trustworthy, and stand prepared accordingly to the will of God, ready to be delivered up a sheep to the slaughter. . . . For this reason, let us give praise to the Lord, and give up the vengeance to our Father [Rom. 12:19]. It is written therefore that vengeance belongs to me, I shall repay. In their time their feet shall slip, and their hope fail, and their future hastens".²⁹

Not only must the faithful submit willingly to their martyrdom but also such acts helped to bring about the final victory since "The number must be fulfilled, before the end is [Rev. 6:11]. The one who is last, God knows him, but it appears to me that he must be a faithful witness [cf. Rev. 11]. . . . It must end and cease, for there will a final accounting of the number [cf. Rev. 7]".³⁰

Anneke Janszdr.'s writings, the "trumpet song," her *Testament to Isaiah*, and her letter to David Joris clearly show that she held an important position in

The elusive image of the martyr Anneke Janszdr. of Rotterdam

the Melchiorite movement. Her theological insights and emphasis represented a continuation of the theology of Melchior Hoffman. Her relationship with David Joris, however, influenced her and added a more spiritual dimension to Hoffman's ideas. It must be remembered that despite this spiritualization, Anneke Janszdr. and David Joris did not abandon the idea of an "imminent vindication" that was to be released on the uncircumcised godless. The significant difference is that the wrath of God was not to be performed by those who had been marked with the sign of Thau. The wrath of God was to be His alone. This was the error of the Münsterites who mistakenly took up the sword. Anneke's "trumpet song" and her "*Testament to Isaiah*" and her use of Proverbs 1:15-16, all warn against a repetition of this evil act. Rather, those marked with Thau would be spared from the wrath of God, and those who had been martyred would be given special consideration in the New Jerusalem.

Extant letters by David Joris and Anneke Janszdr. provide us with additional insight into how martyrdom was viewed among the spiritual Jorists. Although the correspondence written by Anneke to David Joris cannot be conclusively dated, it does seem certain that it was written before Anneke's capture in 1538. This letter shows Anneke's longing for martyrdom and the preparation she is undergoing in anticipation of it. In a similar vein David Joris discusses his views of martyrdom. While there should be a willingness to submit to martyrdom like sheep to slaughter, there was also an exhilarating sense of tipping the scales and unleashing the wrath of God when the "one who is last" is put to death.

Anneke Janszdr. must therefore be seen as a model martyr within the Anabaptist tradition. The difficulty, it seems, may not be with her image as a martyr but rather an inability by modern evangelical Anabaptism to deal in an appropriate way with historical events like Münster and the Melchiorite Anabaptist streams of thought. The image that has been constructed of Anneke Janszdr. is unhistorical and unhelpful. Rather than attempt to understand her and her writings in her own milieu, she has been written off as a revolutionary even though her own contemporaries saw her works as legitimate expressions of Anabaptism. While she may be seen as an "exception" in Mennonite martyr literature, we hope to have shown that she is clearly an Anabaptist of the highest caliber. More precisely, her writings exhibit a consistent Melchiorite stream of Dutch Anabaptism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Het Offerdes Heeren 1570, ed. S. Cramer and F. Pijper.
http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_off001offe01_01/

Joris, David (tran. Garry Waite), *The Anabaptist Writings of David Joris*, Herald Press, Waterloo, 1993.

Simons, Menno, ed. J.C. Wenger, trans. L. Verduin, *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons c. 1496 – 1561*, Herald Press, Scottsdale.

Secondary Sources

Balke, Willem, *Calvin and the Anabaptist Radicals*, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1981.

Deppermann, Klaus, *Melchior Hoffman: Social Unrest and Apocalyptic Visions in the Age of Reformation*, T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1987.

Gregory, Brad S., *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*,

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Gregory, Brad S., *The Forgotten Writings of the Mennonite Martyrs*, Brill, Leiden, 2002.

Horst, Irvin, *Dutch Dissenters: A Critical Companion to Their History and Ideas With a Bibliographical Survey of Recent Research Pertaining to the Early Reformation*, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden, 1986.

Jelsma, Auke, *Frontiers of the Reformation: Dissidence and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth Century Europe*, Ashgate Publishing, Vermont 1998.

Kolb, Robert, "God's Gift of Martyrdom: The Early Reformation Understanding of Dying for the Faith," *Church History*, Vol. 64, No. 3. (Sept., 1995) 399 – 411.

Krahn, Cornelius, *Dutch Anabaptism: Origin, Spread, Life, and Thought*, Herald Press, Scottsdale, 1982.

Lowry, J.W., "Stierf Anna van Rotterdam als volgelingen van David Joris?", *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 18 (1992), 113-118.

Macek, Ellen, "The Emergence of a Feminine Spirituality in the Book of Martyrs," *Sixteenth Century Journal* XIX, No. 1 1988, 63-80

Packull, Werner O, "Anna Jansz of Rotterdam, a historical investigation of an early Anabaptist

heroine," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987), 147-173.

Snyder, C. Arnold, editor, and Huebert Hecht Linda A., editor, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers*, Wilfred Laurier Press, Waterloo, 1996.

Vos, K., "Anneken Jans," *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje* 2de reeks, 6 (1918), 14-28.

Waite, Garry K., *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism 1524-1543*, Waterloo, 1990.

NOTES

¹ The northern European Anabaptist movement formed around an itinerant preacher named Melchior Hoffmann in 1530, building on an existing movement, sacramentarianism (the belief that Christ is present in the Eucharist symbolically and not literally), which had a violent iconoclastic stream and a peaceful pietistic one. The former culminated in the seizure of the German city of Münster in 1533-35, which was marked by one-man rule, communism and polygamy. It took the lawful authorities an 18-month siege to retake the city. After this disastrous experience, a minority still followed a promoter of violence called Jan van Batenburg (the Batenburgers), but more people turned to the more peaceful teaching of Obbe Philips (the Obbenites).

² The earliest extant edition of her "trumpet song" is found in the 1537 edition of David Joris's *Een geestelijck liedt-boecxken* 'A spiritual song book' *Noch een ander Liedt gemaect by Anneken N. Op de Wyse, Na Oostlandt wil ick varen, &c.* 'Another

The elusive image of the martyr Anneke Janszdr. of Rotterdam

song by Anneken N. to the tune To the Eastland will I go.’ http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jori001gees01/jori001gees01_0028.htm accessed December 2, 2008.

³<http://www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/A5542.html> accessed on December 1, 2008.

⁴A.F. Mellink, *De Wederdopers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 1531 – 1544*, Groningen, Ut. Wolters, 1954, pp. 225-26.

⁵Werner O. Packull. “Anna Jansz of Rotterdam, a Historical Investigation of an Early Anabaptist Heroine,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987) 147-173.

⁶George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1962. A chiliast or millenarian believes that Christ will return to earth and establish a kingdom of perfect justice which will last for a thousand years. The Anabaptists believed for a while that that was about to happen.

⁷See for example David Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism 1524-1543*, Waterloo UP, 1990; and Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism: Origin, Spread, Life and Thought*, Scottsdale, Herald Press, 1982.

⁸L. Jansma, “Crime in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century: the Batenburg bands after 1540,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* vol. 62, July 1988, 221.

⁹See Packull, and *Digitaal Vrouwenlexikon van Nederland*.

¹⁰Williams, 386.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.* 384.

¹³Anneke Janszdr., ‘Testament to Isaiah’ http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_off001offe01_01/_off001offe01_01_0008.htm

¹⁴All translations are my own except where noted.

¹⁵Williams, 386.

¹⁶Packull, 166.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jori001gees01/jori001gees001_0028.htm

²⁰Packull, 159. See especially footnote 62.

²¹See note 19.

²²See note 20.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴See note 19.

²⁵Anoniem Bible in duytsche (Delftse bijbel 1477),

<http://www.dbnl.org/titels/titel.php?id=bib004bib101>

²⁶Packull, 171.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 172.

²⁸David Waite (see note 7), 265.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 266.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 267.