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The Petitions of 'a Supposed Prophetesse.' The Lübeck Letters of Anna Walker and their Significance for the Synod of Dordt. A Linguistic and Contextual Analysis*

Wolfgang Mayer,¹ one of the Swiss delegates to the Synod of Dordt, mentions in his notes a strange incident that occurred on 18 November 1618, that is to say, at the very beginning of the event: "This day came to Dordt a woman of Danish origin who lives in England, where her husband had died. She said that the Holy Spirit had ordered her to attend the Synod in order to give a true account of predestination, the conversion of the Jews and the Last Judgment. She was well-dressed and spoke sensibly."²

Two days later he mentions the woman again in a letter to the Mayor and the Town Council of Basle: "In other news, around this same time a woman, who claims to be a prophetess, arrived from England, although she is of Danish origin. She pretends the Holy Spirit has sent her here to iron out the disagreements in the Low Countries, and to give to the world a thorough account of predestination, of the conversion (*Berüffung*) of the Jews, and of the Last Judgment. She goes from one gentleman to another, demands to be heard by the Synod, and has even submitted a

* The original paper was delivered at the Dordt conference by Jürgen Beyer. Already at this stage, Leigh Penman had contributed many a piece of good advice to the manuscript. As work continued, we decided to write the article jointly, hopefully to be followed by a monograph on Anna Walker, including an edition of her writings. We are grateful to Fred van Lieburg (Amsterdam) for drawing our attention to the appearance of the prophetess at Dordt and for supplying us with copies of literature on this detail of the Synod. We would also like to acknowledge the support of: the Estonian Science Foundation (grant no. 6211); the Targeted Financing Scheme SF0180040s08 of the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research; the Marga and Kurt Möllgaard Foundation, which funded a lengthy stay for Jürgen Beyer at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, and the Günther-Findel-Stiftung zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, which funded a research stay for Leigh Penman at the same institution.

¹ The name appears in many variants, "Wolfgang", "Wolffgangus" or "Wolfgang(us)" and "Maierus", "Mayer" or "Meyer(us)". On Mayer, who was pastor and professor in Basle and lived from 1577 to 1653, cf. Matthias Graf (ed.), *Beyträge zur Kenntniß der Geschichte der Synode von Dordrecht. Aus Doktor Wolfgang Meyer's und Antistes Johann Jakob Breitinger's Papieren gezogen* (Basle, 1825), pp. 193-196; Heinrich Türler et al. (eds.), *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (Neuchâtel, 1929), 5: 98; Hans Georg Wackernagel, Marc Sieber & Hans Sutter, *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel* (Basle, 1956), 2: 413.

² Graf, *Beyträge* (see above, n. 1), p. 55: "Item kam diesen Tag ein Weib aus Dännemark bürtig und in England wohnhaft, da ihr der Mann gestorben, gen Dordrecht, mit Vermelden, der heilige Geist hab ihr befohlen, auf den Synodum zu ziehen, und von der Prädestination, von der Bekehrung der Juden und dem jüngsten Gericht eigentlichen Bericht zu geben; war wohl bekleidet und redete vernünftig."

petition to this end. Otherwise she speaks rather sensibly of several things, but there is no doubt that she will be refused admittance.”³

The Synod itself does not seem to have discussed this woman’s petition, nor was the document archived. Although the prophetess went “from one gentleman to another,” somewhat remarkably, Mayer appears to have been the only delegate to mention her.⁴ Interestingly, another event of prophetic significance, the fiery and portentous comet of December 1618, was remarked upon not only by Mayer in another letter concerning the events of the Synod, but also by several different observers.⁵ Yet given that the Synod of Dordt is not really renowned for its tolerant attitude towards dissenting opinions, we should perhaps not be too surprised that the theologians showed little interest in this prophetess. In any case, it is rather difficult to write an essay about this female spectator of the Synod, since Mayer does not even mention her name.

The same woman, however, might have appeared in Copenhagen a short while later, in the year 1620. In his Danish church history of 1747, Erich Pontoppidan writes: “The anonymous author of a manuscript dealing with matters concerning Copenhagen, mentions that in this same year [1620], a woman by the name of Anna Brusck had predicted that the King would die within a few months, and, soon after that, the end of the world would follow. She had been in England for some time, and might have brought the prophetic spirit along with her from there. Since this poor woman had been so imprudent to specify an unusually early date for the fulfillment

³ H[endrik] Kaajan, *De pro-acta der Dordtsche Synode in 1618* [diss. VU Amsterdam] (Rotterdam, 1914), p. 14: “Sunst ist diser tagen ein weib, so sich fir ein Prophetin ausgibt, ausz Engelland herkommen, welche aber ausz Danmarck birtig, die gibt fir, der H. Geist habe sie hiehar gesendet, diese streittigkeitten in Niderland richtig zumachen und von der Gnadenwahl, von der Berüffung der Juden und von dem Jिंगsten Gericht gruntlichen bericht der welt zuthun. Sie geht von einem Herren zum andern, begehret vor dem Synodo angehoret zuwerden, hatt zu dem end ein Supplication ubergeben: Redet sunsten von allerhand sachen gantz vernünftig: wirt aber zweiffels ohn abgewisen werden.” The letter was written jointly with Sebastian Beck.

⁴ Some Dutch scholars have mentioned the Dordt prophetess but without providing any information beyond the passages already quoted from Mayer (Kaajan, *De pro-acta* (see above, n. 3), pp. 13-14; Idem, *De Grootte Synode van Dordrecht in 1618-1619* (Amsterdam, [1918]), p. 67; A[rie] Th[eodorus] van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen. Het kopergeld van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1991), p. 286; Fred van Lieburg, *De Dordtse Synode 1618-1619* [Verhalen van Dordrecht 1] (Papendrecht, 2004), p. 16). At the Dordt conference in 2006, some scholars mentioned manuscripts which had escaped Kaajan’s attention. We did not have an opportunity to consult this material while preparing the present article.

⁵ Kaajan, *De pro-acta* (see above, n. 3), pp. 13-14, with quotations from five different sources.

of her predictions, her reputation did not endure very long. Because she had mentioned the death of the King, she was put into prison, where she died.”⁶

Again, this glib account is not much to write an essay about, since we so far have not found any additional sources about this Anna Bruschi's stay in Copenhagen.⁷ Indeed, no records of Danish court activities from the year 1620 seem to have survived, which makes tracing her fate a difficult proposition.⁸ Provided that we are dealing with the same woman at all, her prophetic message might have changed in the period between the events of Dordt and Copenhagen. In Dordt, she preached about predestination, the conversion of the Jews and the Last Judgment. In Copenhagen, it is only the last of these aspects—the end of the world—that finds mention.

Yet the accounts of both Mayer and Pontoppidan contain valuable and suggestive clues that point to a connection between the two incidents that they describe. Both men, for example, mention that their respective prophetess had spent time in England. Also, Mayer states explicitly, and Pontoppidan relates by inference, that both women were either Danish, or had been born in Denmark.

Following these brief reports, we decided to look for any mention of a prophetess named Anne or Anna, who was active in England, the Low Countries, or Denmark in the period before 1620. While we have so far found nothing conclusive in either the Low Countries or Denmark, an investigation of English records produced some interesting results.

The church records of Westminster, for example, reveal that in 1617/18, a payment of five shillings was granted to a certain “Anne Walker[,] a supposed

⁶ Erich Pontoppidan, *ANNALES ECCLESIAE DANICAE DIPLOMATICI Oder nach Ordnung der Jahre abgefasset und mit Urkunden belegte Kirchen=Historie Des Reichs Dännemarck ...* (Copenhagen, 1747), 3: 724: “Imgleichen gedencket Auctor Anonymus eines M[anu]s[crip]ti von Kopenhagenschen Sachen, daß hieselbst in diesem Jahr eine Frau, Namens Anna Bruschi, welche eine Zeitlang in Engelland gewesen, und etwa von dannen den prophetischen Geist mitgebracht haben möchte, des Königs Todt innerhalb wenig Monathen, und bald darauf das Ende der Welt verkündiget. Da nun dieses arme Weib so unvorsichtig gewesen, den Terminum ungewöhnlich kurtz zu setzen, konte sie nicht lange im Credit bleiben, und ward, weil sie den Todt des Königs mit eingemischet, ins Zucht=Hauß gesetzt, woselbst sie ihr Leben beschlossen.” The marginal notation to this paragraph reads: “Eine Prophetin bestrafft.”

⁷ In an index to one of Pontoppidan's notebooks there is a mention under the year 1620 of “En Spaa-Kone” (‘a prophetess’), referring to p. 243 in the author's quarto “Codd. Hafn.” [i. e. *Codices Hafnienses*, ‘Copenhagen manuscripts’] (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 1579, 4°, not paginated). Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to trace this particular source.

⁸ Cf. *Danske Domme 1375-1662. De private domssamlinger*, 8 vols., ed. Erik Reitzel-Nielsen & Ole Fenger (Copenhagen, 1978-87); *Kongens retterting*, 2 vols., ed. Ditlev Tamm (Copenhagen, 2003).

Prophetesse at the vestry Table” in the parish church of St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster.⁹ While the surname of this prophetess differs dramatically from the expected ‘Brusch,’ that this Anne Walker evidently called herself a “Prophetesse” certainly accords with the behaviour of the confident but unnamed woman in Dordt in 1618, and indeed of Anna Brusck in Copenhagen in 1620.

While scouring catalogues for any further mentions of this Anne Walker, we found an additional manuscript that offered the key to this mystery. In London around 1607, the same woman, this time identifying herself as Anna Walker, sent a lavish devotional work entitled *A SWEETE SAVOR for Woman*, to the consort of king James I of England, the Danish-born queen Anne.¹⁰ On the final leaf of this manuscript, Walker provides crucial biographical information, declaring that she was “Daughter off geors busch, born in kopenhagen vpon the holm, in peter munckss houss, now ritsch amrall in denmarck.”¹¹ Anna Busch—or Brusck, as Pontoppidan mistakenly called her—was, therefore, none other than the prophetess Anna Walker.

The information contained in the London manuscript provides a few key insights into the familial background of the prophetess. Walker’s father, “geors busch”¹² is better known under the Danish variant of his name, Jørgen Busk. In contemporary records, Busk is mentioned as a naval commander in the service of the Danish royalty between 1563 and 1 August 1576, apparently the year of his death.¹³ He travelled repeatedly to Germany, seeking recruits

⁹ Westminster, Archives Centre, MS F2 vol. 2, fol. 289. The payment is mentioned in J[ulia] F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early-Modern Westminster. Abbey, Court and Community 1525-1640* (Manchester & New York, 2005), p. 331. We are grateful to the author for providing this information, as well as to Anthony Milton (Sheffield) for alerting us to this incident.

¹⁰ London, British Library, MS Egerton 1043: ‘A SWEETE SAVOR for Woman, composed of the flowers of the Holy Schriptide, for the most worthy amongst women, Anna the Queene, by hur handmaide A[nna] W[alker].’ This manuscript only came to our notice shortly before the present article was sent to press. We hope to include a detailed study of this exceptionally interesting work in the monograph announced in the first footnote. Note that while Jens Engberg, *Kilder til dansk historie i engelske arkiver* (Copenhagen, 1968), pp. 113-117, lists several Egerton manuscripts, he does not mention no. 1043.

¹¹ For the quotation see Suzanne Trill, ‘The First Sermon in English by a Woman Writer?’ *Notes and Queries* 47 (2000), 470-473, there 472; Idem., ‘A Feminist Critic in the Archives. Reading Anna Walker’s *A Sweete Savor for Woman* (c. 1606),’ *Women’s Writing* 9 (2002), 199-214, there 202. The two articles render the quotation here presented with significant variations. We follow the later article.

¹² The proper English version would of course be ‘George Bush.’ On early-modern namesakes of well-known politicians, cf. Jürgen Beyer, ‘Jürgen und der Ewige Jude. Ein lebender Heiliger wird unsterblich,’ *Arv. Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 64 (2008), 125-140, there 131.

¹³ *Kjøbenhavns Diplomatarium ...*, ed. O. Nielsen (Copenhagen, 1874), 2: 370; H[ans] D[aniel] Lind, *Fra Kong Frederik den Andens Tid. Bidrag til den dansk-norske Sømagts Historie 1559-1588* (Copenhagen, 1902), p. 299.

for the navy. We might speculate that Walker moved to Lübeck (see below) following her father's death, possibly in the company of her mother, who might have been of German origin.

The Holm (also Bremerholm), upon which Walker claimed to have been born, used to be an island in Copenhagen. Some decades earlier the waters separating it from the rest of the town had been filled in, and the area then served as naval base. The nobleman Peder Munk (1534-1623)¹⁴ became admiral of the realm ("ritsch amrall," Danish: *rigsadmiral*) in 1576, by which time he had already been commander-in-chief of the Danish navy for several years. Prior to 1576, the last year we have any record of Busk, Munk seems to have only owned one house on Bremerholm. He had apparently purchased it shortly after the former owner's death *c.* 1567, and retained the property until 16 January 1574.¹⁵ This suggests that Walker herself was born between 1567 and 1574. Amongst other duties, Munk commanded the squadron which was to bring the future queen Anne of England from Denmark to Scotland, but was ultimately driven to Norway by a storm. The following year he could deliver both her and her husband, king James VI, safely to Edinburgh. Anna Walker therefore had good reason to mention that she had been born in Peder Munk's house in her communication to queen Anne.

To return to the prophetess herself, Walker's surname—evidently inherited through marriage to an Englishman—can be taken to be epithetical. For this well-travelled woman not only left behind evidence of her extensive prophetic wanderings in the archives of England, at the events of Dordt and in Copenhagen. We have also discovered evidence of her travels elsewhere; namely in northern Germany in 1616.

The sources we have found concerning Walker's presence in Lübeck confirm, and in broad strokes expand upon, the biographical details already known to us from Mayer and Pontoppidan, and Walker's own *A SWEETE SAVOR*. They reveal, for example, that Walker was born in Denmark, had grown up in Lübeck, then moved back to Denmark, lived and married in England, and had also lived for some time in the Low Countries. Read in conjunction with the information provided in the account of Mayer, these sources confirm that the unnamed prophetess at the Synod of Dordt

¹⁴ Steffen Heiberg, 'Munk, Peder,' in *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 3rd ed. (Copenhagen, 1982), 10: 126-127.

¹⁵ H[olger] U[tke] Ramsing, *Københavns Egendomme 1377-1728 ...* (Copenhagen, 1943), 1: 109; cf. also pp. 79, 104-105, for houses Munk lived in at a later stage.

was Anna Walker: a woman of Danish extraction who had been sent from England by the Holy Spirit to attend the disputations.

The present essay is devoted to giving an account of Anna Walker's visit to Lübeck in 1616, and its implications for her appearance at the Synod of Dordt. It is roughly divided into three parts. The first comprises a lexical and orthographical analysis of the sources relevant to the incident; a series of letters written to local authorities by the prophetess herself. This analysis details the unusual nature of Walker's style, as well as her peculiar method of composition, a distinct product of the interlocking influence of several different linguistic cultures. The second part is devoted to an analysis of the teachings and ideas contained in Walker's Lübeck writings. In these texts, Walker propounded a radical chiliasm that, similar to her language, betrays the influence of several interlocking sources, as well as evidence of Walker's own fertile and creative prophetic imagination. Thirdly and finally, we shall address the question of whether or not the prophecies and opinions she made in Lübeck in 1616 had anything to do with those that she propagated at the Synod of Dordt, scarcely two years later.

The Lübeck Missives – Linguistic Observations

The evidence preserved concerning Walker's presence in Lübeck consists of three rather long letters written by the prophetess herself. Both in terms of their form and their content, these letters are of significant interest. The first is addressed to the Lübeck Town Council (dated 6 August 1616); the second to the governing body of the Lübeck Clergy, the *Geistliches Ministerium* (dated 7 and 8 August 1616); and the third to Georg Stampelius, *Superintendent* of the Lutheran church in Lübeck (dated 15 August 1616).¹⁶ The first of these letters is signed with the name "anna walcker," the other two simply with "A: W:" or "A W."

Concerning their present availability, all three of Walker's letters were printed in a complete form in a Lübeck church history that was edited and published in 1724 by Caspar Heinrich Starck.¹⁷ Starck's book carefully indicated the specific folios of the original manuscript acts of the Lübeck *Geistliches Ministerium* upon which the letters

¹⁶ This date is only given in Starck's account of the events (see below), not in the edition of the letter itself.

¹⁷ Caspar. Henric. Starck, *LUBECA LUTHERANO-EVANGELICA, das ist, der Kayserlichen / Freyen / und des Heil. Römischen Reichs Hanse= und Handel=Stadt Lübeck Kirchen=Historie ...* (Hamburg, 1724), pp. 593-595 (Starck's account of the events); p. 720-721 (letter to the Town Council); pp. 721-727 (letter to the *Geistliches Ministerium*); pp. 727-729 (letter to Stampelius).

might be found, but unfortunately, the volume in question has not yet been returned from the former Soviet lands, where it was taken sometime during or after World War II.¹⁸ We are therefore forced to rely on Starck's edition.¹⁹ When, in the following, we refer to Walker's letters, this should always be understood as meaning the texts as they were edited and printed in 1724.

All three of Walker's letters were written in Low German. This is an interesting choice, and indeed for several reasons. In Lübeck in 1616, Low German was rapidly falling into disuse, at least as an official written language. It was, however, still employed to some extent during church services, and otherwise was the spoken language of choice. The switch from Low German to High German occurred throughout northern Germany in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, albeit at varying rates. In most places, however, the movement began with social and educational elites who started to use High German in written communications. In order to be able to speak with the rest of the population, however, these elites maintained an active command of Low German until at least the nineteenth century.²⁰ Anna Walker probably had learnt Low German with the proficiency of a native speaker. She could have achieved this during her earlier

¹⁸ Information kindly provided to the authors by Ulrich Simon of the Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck on 13 March 2006.

¹⁹ Pre-war indices do, indeed, mention Walker's letters in vol. 1 of the records of the *Geistliches Ministerium* (Lübeck, Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Geistliches Ministerium, vol. VI^c: INDEX AD ACTA MINIS[terii] ANNO 1684, p. 123; Findbuch 6.0-1 Geistliches Ministerium, Indices, Tomus I, no. 66-68). Some years ago, when writing an article about another Lübeck prophet, Jürgen Beyer located manuscripts in vol. 4 of the *Geistliches Ministerium* at exactly the pages specified by Starck (Jürgen Beyer, 'A Lübeck Prophet in Local and Lutheran Context,' in *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400-1800*, ed. Bob Scribner & Trevor Johnson (Basingstoke & London, 1996), pp. 166-182, notes pp. 264-272. This article mentions our prophetess briefly on p. 179. A revised version will be published as chapter five in Jürgen Beyer, *Lay Prophets in Lutheran Europe (c. 1550-1700)* [Religious history and culture series 3] (Leiden, forthcoming)).

²⁰ Wilhelm Jannasch, *Geschichte des lutherischen Gottesdienstes in Lübeck. Von den Anfängen der Reformation bis zum Ende des Niedersächsischen als gottesdienstlicher Sprache (1522-1633)* (Gotha, 1928), pp. 137-154; Wilhelm Heinsohn, *Das Eindringen der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache in Lübeck während des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* [Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck 12] (Lübeck, 1933); Timothy Sodmann, 'Die Verdrängung des Mittelniederdeutschen als Schreib- und Druckersprache Norddeutschlands,' in *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*, Teilbd. 2, eds. Werner Besch et al., [Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 2,2] 2nd ed. (Berlin & New York, 2000), coll. 1505-1512; Jürgen Beyer, 'Der Beginn Dorpater Gelegenheitsdichtung in Volkssprachen. Mit einer Edition dreier niederdeutscher Gelegenheitsgedichte von Adrian Verginius aus dem Jahr 1638,' in *Innovationen im Schwedischen Großreich. Eine Darstellung anhand von Fallstudien*, ed. Christoph Schmelz & Jana Zimdars [Schriftenreihe der David-Mevius-Gesellschaft 3] (Hamburg, 2009), pp. 181-207. The final Low German document, apart from Walker's letters, that was edited by Starck dates from 1574 (Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), pp. 454-459, which contains a declaration of the Lübeck clergy concerning the Lord's Supper). In manuscript records from

residence at Lübeck, but also in Copenhagen. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about her mother. Her father, Jørgen Busk, might well have been a German Jürgen Busch. Additionally, Walker's family might have possessed German servants or neighbours, since Copenhagen at this time housed a sizeable population of Germans.²¹ As an employee of the navy, Walker's father could not do without Low German, which sailors on the Baltic Sea continued to use for centuries to come.

The orthography employed in Walker's letters is idiosyncratic and differs significantly from the standards otherwise adhered to in Lübeck and the Baltic Sea region during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Starck's edition must therefore have been based on Walker's original manuscript letters, or at least a relatively careful copy of them.

In the texts, Walker consistently indicates the length of a vowel by placing an *e* behind it. For example: "genaemen" (High German: *genommen*; English: 'taken'); "verloeser" (*Erlöser*: 'saviour' or 'redeemer'); "rieke" (*Reich*: 'empire'), and "füerig" (*feurig*: 'fiery'). Such a practice was common in Middle Low German,²² but the convention seems to have mostly lapsed in printed Northern Low German (*Nordalbingisch*, *Ostelbisch*) by the end of the sixteenth century.²³ From where did Walker adopt its usage? It occurs frequently in Dutch printed books of her day, but unusually, the prophetess doesn't systematically employ other orthographical conventions that normally distinguish Dutch from Low German, such as the letter combination *gh*. She therefore writes "genaede," instead of *ghenaede* (*Gnade*: 'grace'), as we might have been given to expect.²⁴ On the other hand, while contemporary Lübeckers would have used *y* to express the sound [i], Walker instead employs the Dutch *i*. She therefore uses "is," as opposed to the Low German *ys* (*ist*: 'is').²⁵

the Lübeck municipal archives, however, a few Low German documents can still be found dating from the period after 1616.

²¹ Cf. *Sankt Petri Kopenhagen 1575-2000. 425 Jahre Geschichte deutsch-dänischer Begegnung in Biographien ...*, ed. Jürgen Beyer & Johannes Jensen (Copenhagen, 2000).

²² Agathe Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*, 2nd ed. [Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte 9] (Tübingen, 1974), p. 24-25.

²³ Heino Lambëck, *Düedsche Orthographia. Lehred: De Wörde vnd Namen gründlyck Boeckstauerer ...* (Hamburg, 1633) (repr. Hildesheim, 2007), pp. 38-39, however, still mentions *e* as a possible method for indicating the length of the vowel.

²⁴ A similar, though not identical, mix of Dutch and Low German appears in some contemporary prints from Emden, where the influence of the Dutch language was strong. See Conrad Borchling & Bruno Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, 3 vols. (Neumünster, 1931-57), cf. the index s. v. Emden.

²⁵ Judging from the few passages from the London manuscript quoted in Trill's articles (see above, n. 11), Anna Walker's English spelling was idiosyncratic but largely consistent as well, though following other principles than in the Low German letters from Lübeck.

In lexical terms, a Dutch influence is also identifiable. This is particularly evident when Walker quotes scripture, apparently from memory. In most cases, she appears to rely on a Dutch translation, primarily the so-called *Deux-Aes Bible* of 1562, which was the received translation in Reformed circles until the publication of the *Statenbijbel* in 1637.²⁶

Strangely, in instances where Walker cites the Dutch Bible verbatim, she does not use the Dutch spelling, but instead adopts a Low German spelling consistent with the rest of her letters. In the case of some well-known passages, however, the prophetess follows the so-called Bugenhagen Bible (1534), a Low German version of Luther's translation.²⁷ Walker might have committed to her memory the Low German passages during her youth in Lübeck and Copenhagen. In her letters, though, she very often indicated the relevant chapter and verse, but this she might also have done from memory, which might explain why some of the references are incorrect. The division of the Bible into numbered verses had been introduced in the 1550s by the Geneva printer Robert Estienne.²⁸ The first English Bible to adopt this innovation was the so-called Geneva Bible of 1560.²⁹ Lutheran and Dutch Bibles followed suit at the conclusion of the sixteenth century.

Further Dutch lexical influences can be identified. For example, Walker employs the Dutch "huecksteen" (*hoeksteen*) instead of the Low German *eggestēn* (English: 'cornerstone').³⁰ Walker spells this word with an *u*, which is consistent with the Dutch pronunciation [hu:kste:n]. However, in accordance with her idiosyncratic

²⁶ *BIBLIA: Dat is / De gantsche Heylighe Schriftuere / grondelick ende trouwelick verduytschet / Met verclaeringhe duysterer woorden ...* (Leiden, 1597); *BIBLIA SACRA Des Ouden ende Nieuwen Testaments Ofte DE GANTSCHE HEYLIGE SCHRIFT ...* overgeset door ABRAHAMUM Å DORESLAER (Amsterdam, 1614); cf. C. C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers* (Leiden, 1937), pp. 238-245.

²⁷ *Biblia Dat ys: De gantze hillige Schrift / Sassisch / D. Mart. Luth. Vppet nye mit flyte dörchgesehen / vnde vmmehrer richticheit willen in Versicul vnderscheiden: Ock na den Misnischen Exemplaren / so D. Luther 1545. sülvest corrigeret ...* (Wittenberg, 1599[-1600]), e. g. Luke 2,14 (cf. Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 727: "ehre si godt in der hoegede / frede vp erden / vnde den minschen einen wollgefallen"); cf. also Ingrid Schröder, *Die Bugenhagenbibel. Untersuchungen zur Übersetzung und Textgeschichte des Pentateuchs* [diss. Goettingen 1989] [Mitteldeutsche Forschungen 105] (Cologne, 1991); Dieter Andresen, 'Fremdsprache des Glaubens. Der Wechsel zur hochdeutschen Kirchensprache im 17. Jahrhundert,' in *Kirchliches Leben in Schleswig-Holstein im 17. Jahrhundert*, eds. Marion Bejchowetz-Iserhoht & Reimer Witt [Veröffentlichungen des Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesarchivs 78] (Schleswig, 2003), pp. 21-40, there pp. 32-34.

²⁸ Elizabeth Armstrong, 'Estienne, Robert I,' in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York, 1996), 2: 69-70, there p. 70.

²⁹ Lloyd E. Berry, 'Introduction,' in *The Geneva Bible. A facsimile of the 1560 edition* (Madison, 1969), pp. 1-24, there p. 12.

Low German orthography, Walker inserts an *e* following the *u* to indicate the length of the initial vowel. This example shows that Walker not only read Dutch; she also knew how it was pronounced.³¹

This being said, we should be careful not to draw any too far-reaching conclusions concerning the intended pronunciation of individual words in Walker's letters. This is a recurring problem in Low German philology, but it is especially notable when a written work contains hypercorrect forms like "israehel" ('Israel'). In the same vein, Walker consistently writes "ehinicheit" for a word probably pronounced [e:niçhe:t] (Standard Middle Low German: *ē'nichē't*; High German: *Einheit, Einigkeit*; English: 'unity,' 'concord').³²

Occasionally, some High German words also occur in Walker's letters.³³ Indeed, at one point, the text lapses entirely into High German for several lines.³⁴ In some places, the text of the letters appears to have been corrupted. Such anomalies might be explained had Walker employed a scribe to write the letters. However, given the idiosyncratic nature of the texts, and that Walker herself had personally written and presented her *A SWEETE SAVOR for Woman* to queen Anne of England, this is highly unlikely. How might we then account for these High German anomalies? We should note that when Starck's book was printed in 1724, High German had entirely replaced Low German as the written language in Lübeck. Since Walker seems to have never lived in an area in which High German was actually spoken, these High German corruptions must be attributed to the editor or the printer of 1724. They might have entered the text when Starck transcribed the original manuscript, or when the print itself was being typeset.

The manifold Dutch influences are a different matter entirely. While lexical influences are probably largely attributable to Walker's access to a Dutch Bible, and any time she may have spent living in the Low Countries, orthographic

³⁰ The spelling of standardised Low German words follows Agathe Lasch et al., *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1ff. (Hamburg & Neumünster, 1928-). Standardised words in living languages are given in the current official spelling.

³¹ Walker could have served as an illuminating example in the otherwise enlightening work by Willem Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid in de Gouden Eeuw. Een verkenning* [Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Mededelingen van de Afdeling Letterkunde, N. S. 73,2] (Amsterdam, 2010).

³² Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 721 et passim; cf. Agathe Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik* (see above, n. 22), p. 22.

³³ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), for instance p. 722 "prophetischer wise" and a few lines later "menschlicker wise"; p. 723: "bißher" and "bether", occasionally the ending "-inge" is replaced by "-unge."

³⁴ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 722.

idiosyncrasies in the letters are more difficult to explain. Starck and his printer must have been well acquainted with Lübeck Low German spelling conventions: the book also reprints several other Low German manuscripts. We are therefore inclined to conclude that all Dutch forms derive from Walker's original letters, and that at least some of the Low German spelling forms are 1724 substitutes for Dutch versions. This being said, we do not think that the text was written in plain Dutch and half-heartedly translated into Low German. The overall character of Walker's letters is, after all, Low German.

However, in addition to Dutch, the letters also evince an undeniable English lexical influence, which certainly cannot be attributed either to the Lübeck editor or printer. When citing 2 Cor. 11,14, for example, Walker records the verse "dat satan getransformet is in ein engell des lichts." None of the Dutch and Low German Bibles that we have consulted employs a word based on the Latin verb *transformare*. However, the contemporary English translations available to us, including the 1611 King James Version,³⁵ render the passage in the following manner: "for Sathan himselfe is transformed into an Angel of light."³⁶ Despite the Dutch or Low German prefix *ge-*, the rest of the word might just as well be the English past participle *transformed*, since we would rather expect to see the word rendered in Low German as *(ge)transformeret*.

Despite adopting this form of the Latin verb *transformare* through English, it is worth noting that Anna Walker apparently did not know a single word of Latin. In her letters, she spells words of Latin origin phonetically, not etymologically. *Person*, for instance, is spelled "parson," while *perfection* is rendered as "parfection." *Superintendent* is written "supereden[t],"³⁷ which probably reflects contemporary pronunciation.³⁸ Apparently, Walker thought the word "cap"—which appears in her

³⁵ For more information on competing translations into English, see Scott Mandelbrote, 'The Authority of the Word. Manuscript, Print, and the Text of the Bible in Seventeenth-Century England,' in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, eds. Julia Crick & Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 135-153 (with further references).

³⁶ *THE BIBLE AND HOLY SCRIPTVRES CONTEYNEED IN THE OLDE AND NEWE Testament. TRANSLATED ACCORDING to the Ebrue and Greke ...* (Geneva, 1560); *THE BIBLE: THAT IS, THE HOLY SCRIPTVRES CONTEINED IN THE OLDE AND NEWE TESTAMENT: TRANSLATED ACCORDING to the Ebrew and Greeke ...* (London, 15[93-]94); *THE BIBLE, THAT IS, THE HOLY SCRIPTVRES, contained in the Old and New Testament: Translated according to the Hebrew and Greeke ...* (London, 1608); *THE HOLY BIBLE, Conteyning the Old Testament, AND THE NEW: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues ... Appointed to be read in Churches* (London, 1611) (the quotation follows the spelling of the King James Version).

³⁷ The form occurs in the dative ("supereden[t]") (Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 727).

³⁸ After the word had been borrowed from Low or High German into Estonian, it occurred in the form "supperdent" (August Wilhelm Hupel, *Ehstnische Sprachlehre für beide Hauptdialekte*

biblical references in the marginal notes—meant *ibidem*, even though it actually signifies *capitulum*.³⁹

There are several more fascinating lexical examples of English influence. Walker quotes—albeit without reference—Luke 2, 10: “ich bringe iuw tidinge van groter frouwede.” The Dutch *Deux-Aes* Bible has: “ic euangelizere u lieden groote blijschap.”⁴⁰ The Low German Bugenhagen Bible states: “ick vorkündige yuw grote fröwde.”⁴¹ The King James translation provides a much better match: “I bring you good tidings of great ioy,” so too an earlier English translation printed in 1593-94: “I bring you glad tidings of great ioy.” Unfortunately, Walker omitted the adjective preceding *tidinge*, and therefore we cannot tell whether the Bible that she here recalls spoke of good or glad tidings. Additionally, the word *shepherds*—one central to Walker’s prophetic message—is rendered as “schaepherders,” instead of the Low German “Heerden,”⁴² thereby betraying its English background. When speaking about Christ’s future coming, the Dutch and the Low German Bibles employ “toecoemst(e)” and “thokumpst,” respectively, whereas the English Bibles use “comming”; a word that corresponds more closely to Walker’s “kumpste.”⁴³

There is little wonder that Starck saw fit to condemn Walker’s “many miserably garbled biblical verses.”⁴⁴ Indeed, many of Walker’s scriptural citations are only approximations, with one or several words altered, mangled, or omitted; probably indicating that she was quoting from memory. Some of her citations are even incorrect, a further indication of her reliance upon recall. Be that as it may, the origin of the “miserably garbled” verses condemned by Starck seems to have been Walker’s recall or reliance upon both Dutch and English translations of the Bible, transliterated verbatim into Walker’s native Low German. We might add, however, that we have

den revalschen und den dörptschen; nebst einem vollständigen Wörterbuch (Riga & Leipzig, 1780), p. 275; cf. also Otto Mensing, *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch* (Neumünster, 1933), 4: 939: “Supperdent”).

³⁹ At one point the word also appears in the text (“bi dem propheten malachia 4 cap,” Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 724) and here it seems to be used in the received sense. In one of the few marginal notes not consisting exclusively of biblical references, Anna Walker uses the abbreviation correctly as well: “in de prophecie in daniell / 9 cap werdt gesecht” (p. 728).

⁴⁰ *Biblia: Dat is / De gantsche Heylighe Schriftuere* (see above, n. 26).

⁴¹ *Biblia Dat ys: De gantze hillige Schrift / Sassisch* (see above, n. 27).

⁴² Cf. *Biblia Dat ys: De gantze hillige Schrift / Sassisch* (see above, n. 27), Luke 2,8 and 2,20.

⁴³ Cf. Matth. 24,3; 24,27 and 24,37.

⁴⁴ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 594: “vielen erbärmlich gerad=brechten Biblischen Sprüchen.”

not found any evidence that points to the influence of a Danish Bible translation on Walker's language.⁴⁵

Even though Anna Walker quotes the names of several biblical books in a somewhat distorted form, it is clear that she is most familiar with their Latin names. For example, she does not speak of 1 Moses, 5 Moses, etc., as Lutheran Bibles normally preferred, but instead of "genesis," "deuterono," etc. In the same vein she names Acts of the Apostles as "actorum," and Revelation as "apoclip." Starck made fun of these names, which to him sounded ridiculous: "ieramia / osachia / uphesien / ebrewen / apoclip."⁴⁶ Although three of these forms do indeed appear with this orthography in Walker's letters, the others appear in a modified form,⁴⁷ a fact that again calls into question the accuracy of Starck's edition. Some of Walker's names, however, such as "ebrewen," "ephesian," or "roman," are adopted directly from English Bibles. They have only shed the *s* at the end. Perhaps this also applies to "apoclip," which might derive from the pronunciation of *apoc'lypse*; the word has again lost its concluding *s*. Additionally, the biblical "salomons sanck"⁴⁸ cited by Walker is a direct translation of the English "Salomons song,"⁴⁹ and has not been adopted from the Lutheran "Dat Hogeleedt Salomo"⁵⁰ or similar Dutch forms.

The Lübeck Letters – Walker's Prophetic Mission

It is not easy to summarise Anna Walker's prophetic views as expressed in her Lübeck letters, and this is partially due to her unusual style. While, in itself, a flamboyant, difficult or idiosyncratic style is not untypical of many prophetic texts of the period—particularly those composed by religious ecstasies, or by prophets without extensive formal educations—it does not tally with the expectations engendered by Wolfgang Mayer's statement that Walker "spoke sensibly" while at the Synod of Dordt. In an oral conversation comprising questions and answers, Walker might indeed have left a favorable impression. Her Lübeck letters however, leave the reader with the impression of the prophetess sitting at a table and rapidly scribbling down her letters without ever taking the pen off the paper; and certainly

⁴⁵ The first Danish edition divided into verses was published in 1607: *BIBLIA, Paa Danske ...* (Copenhagen, 1607).

⁴⁶ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 594.

⁴⁷ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), pp. 722, 724-726: "osahia", "ephesian" and "ephesien". The first of these is probably a misprint for the frequently occurring "esahia" ('Isaiah').

⁴⁸ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 729.

⁴⁹ *The Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures ...* (1608) (see above, n. 36), header. *The Holy Bible ...* (1611) (see above, n. 36) has the header "Solomons song."

without reading them through afterwards. While Walker was evidently an extraordinarily perceptive reader, she was probably not formally trained in recording her thoughts in a coherent fashion on paper.

Nevertheless, Walker's letters are united by a common millenarian expectation, and do follow a kind of informal structure. As an itinerant prophet, it was important for Walker to establish an independent spiritual legitimacy at the outset of her sojourn in Lübeck, in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of her revelations and insights. In her first letter of 6 August 1616, addressed to the secular authority of the Lübeck Town Council, Walker briefly announced her arrival in Lübeck and her intentions while in the city. She explicitly states that she had just been in Hamburg, where she had also petitioned the town's secular and ecclesiastical authorities.⁵¹ In this letter, Walker makes abundantly clear the source of her weighty insights. The prophetess reveals that since some eight years prior, therefore since c. 1608, while she lived in both England and the Low Countries, she had been tormented by a series of godly revelations, in which God had "revealed his secret will" to her.⁵² The insights thus imparted granted Walker authority to speak on matters concerning the church as well as spiritual mysteries of the coming Judgment.⁵³

Walker was especially insistent that God had entrusted her with visions of "events shortly to come" that she must announce to the public at large.⁵⁴ In this manner, the prophetess saw herself as something of a shepherd for the unruly flock of the church. In a letter to the *Geistliches Ministerium*, sent on 8 August 1616, Walker hoped to further establish her prophetic legitimacy by making reference to women who played important rôles in the history of Christianity, including Eve, Sarah, Noah's wife, and others. She also compares herself to St. John the Baptist: just as he had announced the coming of Christ, she would announce his second coming.⁵⁵

This—publicizing her revelation of Christ's imminent second coming—was the primary object of Walker's mission in Lübeck. Yet according to the information

⁵⁰ *Biblia Dat ys: De gantze hillige Schrift / Sassisch* (see above, n. 27).

⁵¹ Unfortunately, no records of Walker's presence seem to remain in Hamburg. Information kindly provided by Peter Gabrielsson of the Staatsarchiv Hamburg on 21 March and 19 April 2006. Similarly, Walker is not mentioned in [Johann Gustav] Gallois, *Hamburgische Chronik von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Jetztzeit* (Hamburg, 1862), 2: 1338-1341 (year 1616).

⁵² Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 720: "sinen vorborgen willen geapenbaret".

⁵³ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 720.

⁵⁴ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 720: "dat godt hefft gespraken dorch mi van dingen / de vns balde nu werden gescheen."

⁵⁵ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), pp. 728sq.

granted Walker by God, Christ's second, "but not final coming"⁵⁶ was to occur in the year 1621. Christ's presence, Walker argued, was to comprise a spiritual return to the hearts of the faithful in an indwelling kingdom—ostensibly following Luke 17,21—which would create a period of peace and respite in which God would create a new covenant and land with his people (Ezekiel 34,24-27).⁵⁷ Given the worldly implications of this primarily spiritual anticipation, Walker's expectations comprise an expression of the heretical belief known amongst Lutheran theologians of the time as *chiliasmus subtilis*.⁵⁸

Walker's claim that Christ's second advent was not to be his last was based on a belief that Christ would visit humanity on no less than three separate occasions. The first occurred, naturally enough, at the time of his birth. The second coming would be the spiritual return anticipated for 1621. Christ's third and final "coming" would be at the Last Judgment, which Walker believed would occur "after seven years": that is to say, sometime during the year 1623.

There exist precedents for nearly all of Walker's expectations in contemporary chiliastic literature, a fact that suggests the prophetess maintained a keen awareness of the prophetic controversies that surrounded her. For example, Walker's division of time into three broad periods concluding with an "age of the spirit" –in Walker's case Christ's spiritual reign in our hearts— is a variant of Joachite expectation. The medieval abbot Joachim of Fiore, and countless imitators and followers, anticipated that the culminating age of humanity would be governed by the Holy Spirit.⁵⁹

Similarly, Walker's idea of Christ's triple advent was not original. It was first presented in the influential *In Apocalypsim commentarius et paraphrasis* (1580) of the

⁵⁶ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 720, 723: "vnde nich letzten kumpste."

⁵⁷ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 723: "...de ander kumpste christi werdt sin in dem geiste / vmme der fullenkamen vprichinge des fals / sünde dodt vnde düeuell herunder tho leggen de noch na gebleuen is wowoll enen ere krafft bi der ersten kumpste all genaemen is / vnde vmme de insettinge werdt idt sin des ewigen genaeden bundts vnde koeninckricke woruan gesecht / [marginal note: ezekiell / 37: 24: 26: /] welcker koeninckricke hebbe wi vnde sin darin na der genaede / wo gesecht / [marginal note: lukas / 17: 21: /] men na der glorie vnde herlicheit sinen wi minschen vp erden dar noch nich in."

⁵⁸ The term *chiliasmus subtilis* was originally coined by Daniel Cramer, *De Regno Jesu Christi Regis Regum & Domini Dominantium semper-invicti ...* (Stettin, 1614), p. 319, and was entrenched in the Lutheran heresiological taxonomy by Johann Affelmann (praes.) & M. Daniele Spalchavero (resp.), *Illustrium quaestionum theologiarum heptas ...* (Rostock, 1618). A concise history of the belief is presented by Johannes Wallmann, 'Zwischen Reformation und Pietismus. Reich Gottes und Chiliasmus in der lutherischen Orthodoxie.' In *Verifikationen: Festschrift für Gerhard Ebeling zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1982), pp. 187-205.

⁵⁹ Concerning Joachim of Fiore and popular Joachimism in seventeenth-century prophecy, see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969); Idem, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London, 1976).

Venetian dissident Jacopo Brocardo.⁶⁰ Brocardo's millenarian writings, which resonated strongly within nonconformist communities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries throughout Europe, were especially well-received in England. While we have already seen that Walker knew no Latin, Brocardo's *In Apocalypsim* was translated into English in 1582, which would have allowed Walker direct access to the text.⁶¹ It is important to note that Walker was not alone in taking up Brocardo's idea of a "first, myddle, and final commyng." In 1597, the Anhalt chiliast Julius Sperber employed the expectation in a Joachimite manuscript "Von dreyerley Seculis oder Hauptzeiten," which was widely read, copied, and distributed.⁶² In 1617, a New Prophet from Steyr in Austria, Wilhelm Eo Neuheuser, also adopted the expectation in his explication of the enigmatic statement of Christ in Luke 18,8.⁶³

The focusing of eschatological expectations on the period 1621-1623 was also popular during this period. As early as the 1580s, in the works of the Lutheran chiliast Eustachius Poysssel, expectations of the fall of the Pope and the defeat of Antichrist had been attached to the year 1623.⁶⁴ These expectations were supported by the calculations of millenarians like Tobias Hess and Simon Studion, both of whom authored manuscript tracts containing predictions of the beginning of a

⁶⁰ Iacobvs Brocardvs [Jacopo Brocardo], *In Apocalypsim commentarius et paraphrasis* (Leiden, 1580). On Brocardo see A. Rotondò, 'Brocardo, Jacopo,' *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1972), 14: 385-389; Jürgen Moltmann, 'Jacob Brocard als Vorläufer der Reich-Gottes-Theologie und der symbolischprophetischen Schriftauslegung des Johann Coccejus,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 71 (1960): 110-129.

⁶¹ James Brocard [Jacopo Brocardo], *THE REUELATION of S. Ihon reueled, OR A PARAPHRASE Opening by conference of time and place such things as are both necessary and profitable for the tyme present ...* (London, 1582), fol. 5r. In turn, Brocardo states that he adopted this idea from Savonarola.

⁶² Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Cod. Guelf. 772 Helmst, fols. 173r-287v. The reference also appears in a later printed edition: Julius Sperber, *Ein Geheimer Tractatus ... Von den dreyen Seculis oder Haupt-zeiten, von Anfang biß zum Ende der Welt ...* (Amsterdam, 1660), p. 93.

⁶³ Wilhelm Eo Neuheuser, *ÆNIGMATICUM CHRISTI Resolutio seu explicatio ... Erklerung über den Spruch Christi / Luce am 18. Capitel ...* (No Place, 1617), fols. A4v-B1v. An earlier version of this tract, *CHRISTVS OPTIMVS ÆNIGMATICVS EST ...* (Marburg, 1606), contained a very different explication of these crucial verses. On Eo, see Leigh T.I. Penman, 'Unanticipated Millenniums. The Chiliastic Underground and the Lutheran Experience of Millenarian Thought, 1600-1630.' Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Melbourne, 2008, pp. 144-166; Idem, "Ein Chiliast aus Steyr," *Antiquariat Wolfgang Mantler. Katalog* 28 (Vienna, 2008), p. 28.

⁶⁴ Eustachius Poysssel, *Eustachii Poysseles VII. Tractetlein ...* (No Place, 1594); Ioannis à Liptitz [pseud. of Poysssel], *Mysteria Apocalyptica, Das ist: Kurtze doch gewisse Demonstrationes, daß in Anno Christi 1623. die großmächtigste Enderung, mit ... deß Antichrists fewrigem Untergang eyubrechen werde* (No Place, 1621). On Poysssel, see Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis. Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, 1988), pp. 167-168, 173-174.

“Kingdom of Grace” in 1621.⁶⁵ Others, amongst them Paul Nagel of Torgau, Johannes Kärcher of Bern (a.k.a. Johann Plaustrarius) and Bartholomaeus Pitiscus, saw the period between 1620 and 1625 as one of dynamic, continuing change in anticipation of the millennium and the Last Judgment.⁶⁶ Under the astronomical doctrine of the great conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn, numerous dissidents and scientists alike, including Nagel, Paul Felgenhauer, Johann Kepler, and yet others, expected massive changes in the world-order, or indeed the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem itself, some impelled to this view by perilous political conditions.⁶⁷

Indeed, a general interest in the idea of a forthcoming millennium—spiritual or otherwise—and the idea of Christ establishing his kingdom in the heart of man, converged in the widespread debates concerning the mysterious Rosicrucian fraternity, which Walker may have encountered when the initial tract of the brotherhood was printed in Dutch in 1615.⁶⁸ These issues were also later raised in the polemic concerning the controversial devotional teachings of the Zschopau pastor Valentin Weigel—who like Walker declared, following Luke 17,21, that “the kingdom of God is in you”—and the Lutheran *Superintendent* of Celle, Johann Arndt,

⁶⁵ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Cod. HB XI 42, fols. 1-172, ‘Tobiae Hessi et Studionis Prophetica’; and MS Cod. theol. et philos. 4°. 23a-b, Simon Studion, ‘Naometria...’ [c. 1604].

⁶⁶ See for example Paulus Nagelius, *PROGNOSTICON ASTROLOGO-HARMONICUM Super tres vel plures etiam annos conscriptum. Ausführliches Prognosticon vber drey oder mehr Jahr beschrieben / von 1620. an zu rechnen [sic] ...* (Halle, [1620]); Johann Plaustrarius [Johann Kärcher], *Prognosticon, Oder Weissagung auff diese jetzige Zeit / darinn vermeldet / wie GOtt der Allmechtige die gantze Welt / ... daheim suchen wolle mit allerley Plagen vnd Straffen ... Vnd was alßdann auff diese Verstörung vor ein Herrschafft vnnnd Königreich erfolgen: Was man ins künfftig / von Anno 1620. 1621. 1622. 1623. 1624. biß zu ende des 1625. Jahrs / zugewarten habe* (No Place, 1620; another ed. 1621); [Bartholomaeus Pitiscus], *Vaticinium de imminente ecclesiastici et politici status mutatione multarum in Europe, praesertim Germaniae, provinciarum, ab anno 1604. in annum 1623. deductum* (Christopoli, 1612). On Nagel, see Leigh T.I. Penman, ‘Climbing Jacob’s Ladder. Crisis, Chiliasm and Transcendence in the Thought of Paul Nagel (†1624), a Lutheran Dissident during the Time of the Thirty Years’ War,’ *Intellectual History Review* 20 (2010), 201-226; on Plaustrarius, Penman, ‘Unanticipated Millenniums,’ (see above, n. 63), pp. 89-91.

⁶⁷ On the doctrine of the great conjunctions, see Howard Hotson, *Paradise Postponed. Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism* (Dordrecht, 2000), pp. 42-53 and the notes cited therein. Concerning astrology and political expectations, see Vladimír Urbánek, ‘The Comet of 1618: Eschatological Expectations and Political Prognostications During the Bohemian Revolt,’ in *Tycho Brahe and Prague: Crossroads of European Science*, ed. John Christian Laursen et al. (Frankfort, 2002), pp. 282-291.

⁶⁸ Concerning the international character of the contemporary Rosicrucian debate, see Carlos Gilly, ‘Rosenkreuz als europäisches Phänomen im 17. Jahrhundert,’ in *Rosenkreuz als europäisches Phänomen im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Frans A. Jansen (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 19-56. The Rosicrucian debate was already raging in the Low Countries during this period, where Walker may have heard about some of the millenarian ideas contained in the pamphlets. See *Fama Fraternitatis, Oft Ontdeckinge van de Broederschap des loflijcken Ordens des Roosen-Cruyces. Midtsgaders de Confessie ofte Bekentenisse des selfden Broederschaps / aen allen Geleerden ende Hoofden in Europa gheschreven ...* ([Amsterdam, 1615]). See also Govert Snoek, *De Rozenkruisers in Nederland* (Haarlem, 2007).

although both of these debates only reached their apex after 1619.⁶⁹ The prophetess was, however, probably aware of these controversies.

Despite the origins of her expectations in heterodox literature, Walker's major evidence for her chiliastic convictions was, in fact, biblical. Her letters contain no direct references to specific chiliastic works or authors. Instead, her copious marginal notes point exclusively to biblical verses, which she also mentions in the body of her letters. While Walker must have listened to and taken inspiration from popular debates concerning a coming millennium in 1623, the rather impressionistic expression of these ideas in her letters might indicate that she encountered many such ideas only indirectly. These she then carefully calibrated and documented with her own biblical researches. Much like her language, Walker's eschatology was highly syncretic, and Bible-centric.

An indication of this Bible-centric approach is that Walker's expectations were grounded in an idiosyncratic, thorough-going, and apparently purely biblical chronology. This chronology is "biblical" in two distinct senses: firstly, because it is based on the events of biblical history; secondly, because all of the prophetess's calculations appear to have derived from chronologies printed in certain editions of the Bible: not from other chronological works or sources.

Walker's reliance upon chronology features most prominently in her letter to the *Geistliches Ministerium*. In this unusual letter, Walker stated that 1,656 years had passed between the time of creation—that is to say from the birth of "the first Adam"—to the time of the Deluge. Walker then goes on—somewhat bafflingly—to subtract thirty-five years from this figure, thereby coming to 1621: the anticipated year of the second coming. It is slight proof, but proof—of a kind—it is nonetheless. The dating of the Deluge to 1656 was not only standard practice in contemporary

⁶⁹ Cf. Hermann Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit. Johann Arndts "Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum" als Programm einer spiritualistisch-hermetischen Theologie*, 3 vols. [Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 80, 1-3] (Berlin & New York, 2001); Carlos Gilly, 'Johann Arndt und die "dritte Reformation" im Zeichen des Paracelsus,' *Nova Acta Paracelsica*, n. s. 11 (1997), 60-77.

chronology,⁷⁰ the calculation also featured in the chronological appendices to several Bible editions.⁷¹

But from where did Walker adopt the unusual, and important, figure of 35? We have not seen it employed in any other chronological or heterodox work of the period. When Walker mentions the figure in her letter, she refers to the coming of “the last Adam” in 1621: a clear reference to Christ, the second Adam.⁷² Yet all contemporary chronologies that we checked agree that Christ died at the age of 33 or 34. Nowhere does the number 35 find mention in connection with his life.

We discovered, however, one important exception. The so-called Geneva Bible—an English translation of 1560—contains two chronological tables. The first tabulates events dating from the period “from Adam vnto Christ,” which, amongst other things, confirms that the Deluge occurred in *anno mundi* 1656. The second table, consisting of three parallel columns, is entitled “THE ORDER OF THE YEERES FROM PAVLS CONVERSION.” The third of these columns chronicles the years of office of Roman emperors; the second traces “The yeres [*sic*] of the conuersion of S. Paul”; and the first describes “The yeeres of the Natiuitie of Iesus Christ.” The chronology draws attention to the fact that the year of Paul’s conversion—and the first year of his ministry, therefore the first year of the church universal—occurs in the 35th year following Christ’s birth. This obscure tabulation, in an edition of the Bible known to Walker, probably provided her with the raw chronological data she presented to the Lübeck authorities in support of her divine revelations.⁷³

Despite the fact that all three of Walker’s letters temerarily promulgated an eschatological opinion that comprised the heresy of *chiliasmus subtilis*, this does not

⁷⁰ See for example Georgius Nicolas, *SYLLOGE HISTORICA, Oder Zeit vnd Geschichtbuch ...* (Leipzig, 1599), 1: pp. 1, 4; Nicolaus Mollerus, *CHRONOLOGIA Oder Zeit Rechnung / Darinnen Eigentlich dargethan vnd erwiesen wirdt / wie lang die Weltt biß auff das 1615. Jahr gestanden / vnd küfftig hinferner noch stehen werde ...* (Hamburg, 1615), p. 17; Paulus Felgenhauer, *Rechte / Warhafftige vnd gantz Richtige CHRONOLOGIA, Oder REchnung der Jare der Welt / Von der Welt vnd Adams Anfang an / biß zu diesem jetzigen Jahr Christi / M.DC,XX. Darinnen nochmals erweist wirdt / wie in gemeiner Rechnung vmb 265. Jahr / von den Chronologis sey zu wenig gezehlt worden ...*, 2nd ed. ([Prague], 1620), fol. A3r.

⁷¹ ‘Bibelscher Iaer-tijts Register,’ in *Biblia: Dat is / De gantsche Heylighe Schriftuere* (see above, n. 26), fols. *2r-**1r, there fol. *2r; ‘A perfite computation of the yeeres and times from Adam vnto Christ ...,’ in *The Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures ...* (1608) (see above, n. 36), fols. 355r-355v. The Deluge is dated to the year of the world 1[6]57 in ‘Chronologia edder Tydtregister,’ in *Biblia Dat ys: De gantze hillige Schrift / Sassisch* (see above, n. 27), fols. (a)1r-(a)5r, there fol. (a)1r.

⁷² Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 723. It is worth noting that Walker’s terminology of “the first” and “the last Adam” also appears to derive from Brocardo, *Reuelation* (see above, n. 61).

⁷³ *The Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures ...* (1608) (see above, n. 36), fols. 355r-355v, [450r]-[450v]. While some of the comments to the Geneva Bible changed in the course of its editing history, the calculations we are concerned with here were already found in the first edition of 1560 (see above, n. 36), New Testament, fols. LL13r- LL14r.

seem to have been of great concern for the Lübeck clergy. Walker was free to leave the city unhindered. There might have been several reasons for this. Firstly, in her letters, Walker made clear that she intended to travel from Lübeck to Denmark at the earliest opportunity. She clearly did not intend, therefore, to cause any longstanding unrest in the city with her proclamations. Secondly, the itinerant Walker clearly possessed no connections to the established heterodox circles in the city, which centered on learned personalities like Johann Staricius, and Joachim Morsius; the latter a manuscript collector, participant in the Rosicrucian debate, and a friend of the Görlitz theosopher Jakob Böhme.⁷⁴ Nor did Walker seem to know the likes of Nicolaus Teting and another prophetess and poet, Anna Owena Hoyers, both of whom resided in Husum and Flensburg in the nearby duchy of Schleswig.⁷⁵

Unfortunately, aside from confirming her Danish and northern-German Lutheran background, Walker's letters reveal very few details concerning the course of her life. In Dordt she was described as well-dressed. She might have been somewhat wealthy, at least since the time of her marriage, or highly successful in petitioning authorities for money: our research demonstrates that Walker seems to have owned no less than three Bibles, which could not have been very old, since they were divided into verses. She travelled widely between England, northern Germany, Denmark and the Low Countries. Nonetheless Walker asked for—and, according to her own testimony, received—a travelling-allowance in Hamburg, where she had passed through on her travels, and asked for another from the *Superintendent* Stampelius while in Lübeck.⁷⁶ She would later receive money from the Westminster parish in 1617/18 following her return to England. Requesting funds was evidently part of her standard practice.⁷⁷ While these grants were probably given to the

⁷⁴ See Helmut Möller, *Staricius und sein Heldenschatz. Episoden eines Akademikerlebens* (Göttingen, 2003); Heinrich Schneider, *Joachim Morsius und sein Kreis. Zur Geistesgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck, 1929); On Morsius and Böhme, see Leigh T.I. Penman, 'Ein Liebhaber des Mysterii, und ein großer Verwandter desselben. Toward the Life of Balthasar Walther, a Wandering Paracelsian Physician,' *Sudhoffs Archiv. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 94,1 (2010), 73-99.

⁷⁵ Concerning the group see Bjørn Kornerup, 'Teting, Nicolaus Knutzen,' in *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 3rd ed. (Copenhagen, 1983), 14: 420; Dieter Lohmeier, 'Teting, Nikolaus,' in *Schleswig-Holsteinisches biographisches Lexicon* (Neumünster, 1976), 4: 216-218; D.C. Carstens, 'Zur Geschichte der Sectirer Nicolaus Teting und Hartwig Lohmann,' *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Geschichte* 21 (1891), 374-383; Barbara Becker-Cantarino, 'Biographie,' in Anna Owena Hoyers, *Geistliche und weltliche Poemata* (Tübingen, 1986; original printing 1650), pp. 3*-200*.

⁷⁶ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 729.

⁷⁷ For another prophet who collected money for his visions from several authorities twenty to thirty years later, cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'George Reichard und Laurentius Matthæi: Schulmeister, Küster, Verfasser, Buchhändler und Verleger im letzten Jahrzehnt des Dreißigjährigen Krieges,' in *Lesen und Schreiben in Europa 1500-1900. Vergleichende Perspektiven - Perspectives*

prophetess in order to speed her on her way from the respective municipality, Walker's request for money was a good excuse for the Lübeck authorities—despite the alleged authoritative origin and significance of her news concerning the imminent Last Judgment—not to treat her revelations with any degree of seriousness.

Walker's Lübeck letters grant us a privileged insight into the mind of a seventeenth century prophet influenced by a variety of widespread prophetic traditions from a mixture of languages and cultures. Walker was a woman intimately familiar with the Bible, but not very interested in theological literature. Her most controversial eschatological ideas—in particular the triple advent of Christ and the prediction of significant events for the period between 1621 and 1623—were certainly influenced by heterodox sources, such as the works of Jacopo Brocardo. This being said, Walker's Lübeck letters, like her earlier London sermon, *A SWEETE SAVOR for Woman*, reflect a culture of intense Bible reading, but not necessarily one of more general reading or orality. However, in Walker's third and final Lübeck missive—that addressed to the *Superintendent* Stampelius—there is a passage in which eight words are arranged to form four sequential rhyming pairs.⁷⁸ The prophetess's earlier *A SWEETE SAVOR* also contains several poetic sequences and coupled verses.⁷⁹ Walker, despite—or possibly because of—her multilingual and multicultural background, perhaps possessed a highly developed appreciation for the aesthetics of the written and spoken word. Given the often confusing nature of her works, such an appreciation was, however, only sporadic.

Anna Walker at the Synod of Dordt

Having surveyed the unique features of Walker's Lübeck letters—both in terms of their form and their content—we are now in a position to return to the question posed at the outset: what implications does Walker's appearance in Lübeck in 1616 have for her later activities at the Synod of Dordt? Can we assume that she expressed the same views in both cities? While the glib nature of Wolfgang Mayer's report concerning the unnamed prophetess in Dordt stands in stark contrast to the relative

comparées - Perspective comparate, ed. Alfred Messerli & Roger Chartier (Basle, 2000), pp. 299-333 (additions in Beyer, *Lay Prophets* (see above, n. 19), ch. 6).

⁷⁸ Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 729: "springe ... gesinge ... spreken ... stecken ... swerdt ... vorferdt ... herunder ... wunder".

⁷⁹ Trill, 'The First Sermon in English' (see above, n. 11), 472.

richness of the Lübeck letters, some comparisons and conclusions remain nevertheless possible.

Walker's Lübeck letters of 1616 propounded an inherently chiliastic eschatology. The prophetess claimed godly inspiration for her views, and promised the imminent return of Christ: firstly for a spiritual reign in our hearts after 1621, and then finally for the Last Judgment in 1623. According to Mayer, in Dordt in 1618, Walker "said that the Holy Spirit had ordered her to attend" or otherwise made known to delegates that "the Holy Spirit has sent her." Whilst in attendance at the Synod, she spoke upon a diverse range of subjects, including "predestination, ... the conversion of the Jews, and ... the Last Judgment."

Aside from the issue of predestination, to which we will shortly return, it appears that Walker's central message in both Lübeck and Dordt revolved around the imminent Last Judgment, perhaps to be preceded by a chiliastic interval. There are, however, several curious differences that we must point out.

Firstly, the conversion of the Jews, mentioned by Mayer, was an important element in many chiliastic visions of the future of the church proposed by Lutherans, Calvinists, and dissidents alike, so it is not entirely surprising to see Walker speak on the subject in Dordt.⁸⁰ Yet this particular element was missing entirely from Walker's letters in Lübeck, and also from Pontoppidan's brief report concerning her sojourn in Copenhagen in 1620. Why might this be so? Perhaps Walker simply did not feel the need to emphasize this particular idea in Lübeck, given that the idea of the conversion was so intimately related to the events of the Last Judgment anyway. It might also be that Walker decided to adopt this universally appealing prophecy in Dordt as a strategy when broaching the topic of future events, and indeed the weightier issue of predestination, with melioristic Reformed theologians. It is similarly possible that Mayer mentioned the issue of the Jews simply because Walker

⁸⁰ See for example [Paul Felgenhauer], *Prodromus Evangelij Æterni seu CHILIAS SANCTA: Vortrab deß Ewigen Euangelij In welchem / auß Heyliger Göttlicher Schrift ... erwiesen werden / Die Heyligen Tausent Jahr / deß Sabbaths vnnnd Ruhe deß Volcks Gottes / im Reich Christi / neben einer Allgemeinen Bekehrung / aller Juden / vnd der Zehen verlohrnen Stäm[m] Israel ...* (n. p., 1625); [Christoph Besold], *DE HEBRÆORUM, AD CHRISTUM SALVATOREM NOSTRUM CONVERSIONE, Conjectanea* ([Tübingen,] 1622), which partly inspired the Calvinist chiliast Johannes Heinrich Alsted, *DIATRIBE De MILLE ANNIS APOCALYPTICIS, non illis Chiliastarum & Phantastarum, sed BB. Danielis & Iohannis* (Frankfort, 1627). The idea of a conversion before the Last Judgment, however, was stridently condemned by orthodox Lutheran authorities. See Johannes Gerhardus, *LOCORUM THEOLOGICORUM CUM PRO ADSTRUENDA VERITATE, TUM PRO DESTRUENDA quorumvis contradicentium falsitate, per theses nervosè, solidè & copiosè explicatorum* (Jena, 1622), 9: 166-167, 255-256 (ch. 7: De adjunctis extremi iudicii). Cf. Ernst Staehelin, *Die Verkündigung des Reiches Gottes in der Kirche Jesu Christi* (Basle, [1957]), 4: 121-122.

spoke on the events of the Last Judgment; even though she might not have specifically mentioned the issue of conversion herself.

Secondly, in Dordt, Walker spoke of being sent by the Holy Spirit. This is intriguing, for while the Lübeck letters mention godly inspiration on several occasions, the role of the Paraclete as the agent of revelation goes entirely unremarked. Perhaps Walker had, in the intervening years, caught wind of the teachings of some New Prophets and Rosicrucians, like Paul Nagel, Philipp Ziegler, Paul Felgenhauer, Nikolaus Teting and others, all of whom spoke of belonging to an invisible “School of the Holy Spirit.” That Walker indicated in Dordt that she was “sent by the Holy Spirit” might therefore suggest an increasing awareness of, and identification with, the burgeoning dissident movements of the heterodox underground. Later, in Copenhagen in 1620, Walker’s prophetic self-understanding had become yet further radicalized when she predicted the imminent death of the Danish King: a reckless—and ultimately fatal—declaration that supports the idea that her prophetic ideas migrated to a radical fringe.

Unique amongst the matters that Walker propounded in Dordt, however, was the issue of predestination. In England before 1620, Puritans, Arminians and Reformed Anglicans alike were mired in an intense, virulent and widespread debate concerning the true theology of grace, and thereby the soteriological necessities of achieving salvation.⁸¹ Predestination was therefore an issue of immense debate and topical interest in the country from which Walker travelled in order to address the Synod in 1618. Anna Walker could hardly have missed this debate: it is likely, although at the moment not possible to demonstrate, that she took active part in the controversies.

Of course, we can also appreciate that Walker’s personal experiences—as someone whose life was irrevocably changed after receiving messages directly from God—would influence her opinions on the rôle, impact, and extent of the divine will in the mundane world. Eschatologies, both personal in the form of soteriological questions, and collective in terms of chiliastic expectations, defined Walker’s worldview. She saw all of history on a divinely mandated path, yet the need for penance, humility, and reform that she expresses in her Lübeck letters indicates her subscription to a distinctly Lutheran conception of the importance of the individual.

⁸¹ Concerning the debates, see Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *Puritans and Predestination. Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525-1695* (Chapel Hill, 1982), pp. 79-112, with mention of the impact of the Synod of Dordt in England on pp. 56, 81, 90-94, etc.

While it is impossible to tell now, Walker was therefore probably opposed to the complete form of the predestination doctrine proposed by hardline Reformed theologians.

Walker thus travelled to Dordt in order to express her opinions on predestination: for she preached everywhere on the Last Judgment. She obviously possessed a high opinion of the value of the information she presented upon the issue, since she endeavoured “to iron out the disagreements in the Low Countries.”⁸² That, however, turned out to be a much more complicated affair than she could probably have ever imagined: none of those present, it seems, were prepared to accept her God-given insights on the matter. We can, however, take Anna Walker’s attendance at Dordt as sound evidence that the issues discussed at the Synod did indeed possess a broader appeal outside specific clerical, Calvinist circles.⁸³

In Lübeck, England, Denmark and Dordt, Walker was concerned about central questions that faced the Christian religion, seemingly without regard to confessional boundaries. Despite the fact that she was born in Lutheran Denmark and spent her childhood in Lübeck—a staunchly Lutheran town—she had lived in a mixed confessional environment in England, and also spent some time in the Low Countries, where Reformed doctrines officially dominated. She had probably visited Reformed services, thirsting after divine insight. Both her mission and her behaviour were in keeping with her office as a prophet of the divine will. As the second St. John, an agent of God and the Holy Spirit, Walker saw it as her duty to correct the path of all churches, to point out the common spiritual concordance necessary in the face of the events of the future: the coming Last Judgment would, after all, be passed simultaneously on Christians from all confessional backgrounds.

Despite her travels, Walker’s influence, however, was not great. While her ideas anticipated many of the heresies that would beset the Church only a few years later—especially after the outbreak of war in the Holy Roman Empire in 1618—one can hardly name her as an influence upon the numerous chiliasts and New Prophets

⁸² See above, n. 3.

⁸³ A more humorous indication of this can also be found in Mayer’s notes of 22 October 1618: “D. D^r. Altingus retulit nobis lepidam historiam, quæ his diebus Amstelodami accidit. Ein Fuhrmann führte mit einem Pferd etwas in der [*sic*] Stadt. Weil aber das Pferd stätig war und nicht ziehen wollte, so sagte er endlich: ‘Ich sehe wohl was dir brüstet, du bist auch arminianisch und willst deinen freyen Willen haben: ich aber will dir denselbigen mit guten Streichen vertreiben’: quo dicto horrendis ictibus equum percutere cœpit” (Graf, *Beyträge* (see above, n. 1), pp. 52-53).

of the Thirty Years' War. There is no indication whatsoever that these chiliasts adopted any ideas from her, or had even heard her name.⁸⁴

Walker's writings languished, forgotten in archives and libraries in Lübeck and England.⁸⁵ They resurfaced briefly in Starck's edition a hundred years later, but the printed version does not appear to have found many readers either: Low German had become obsolete, and Starck's choice of a minuscule font made it extraordinarily difficult to grasp the content of the prophetess's winding prose. For our own time, Walker is a somewhat more interesting figure. She is perhaps the author of the first English language sermon by a woman,⁸⁶ and is one of only a handful—perhaps only of two—female chiliasts of the early seventeenth century.⁸⁷

Walker's earliest known work, *A SWEETE SAVOR for Woman*, was a sermon based on the eschatological message of Colossians 4,5: "Walke wisely, towarde them that are without, and redeeme the Time." Anna Walker took the words of St. Paul literally. In the letters she left behind in Lübeck, the prophetess claimed to have informed several magistrates in different countries about the imminent second coming of Christ. Her appearance at the Synod of Dordt was one of several stops on a tour of Europe, intended to spread the word of His imminent return to rule in our hearts in 1621, and again to pass judgment on our souls in 1623. It is, therefore, entirely possible that one could find more of her petitions, remonstrations, and appeals in further archives in England, the Netherlands, northern Germany and Denmark. These might help us to acquire a clearer picture of the intricacies of her language, her life, and her extensive theological opinions. Such new discoveries might also provide more information about her activities at the Synod of Dordt.

⁸⁴ Regarding the New Prophets, see Leigh T.I. Penman, 'Apocalyptic Spirituality Between Church and State. Three "New Prophets" in Seventeenth-century Germany,' in *Interactions, Interventions and Interrelations* [University of Melbourne School of Languages Research Papers on Language and Literature 5] (Parkville, 2005), pp. 59-83; Idem., 'Unanticipated Millenniums' (see above, n. 63), pp. 71-174; Carlos Gilly, "'The 'Midnight Lion,' the "Eagle" and the "Antichrist." Political, religious and chiliastic propaganda in the pamphlets, illustrated broadsheets and ballads of the Thirty Years War,' *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 80 (2000), 46-77.

⁸⁵ An indication of her total oblivion is that she is not named in a work which appears to list every woman ever to be mentioned in print as a proponent of heterodox ideas (Io. Henr. Feustkingius, *GYNAECEUM HAERETICO FANATICUM, Oder Historie und Beschreibung Der falschen Prophetinnen / Qväckerinnen / Schwärmerinnen / und andern sectirischen und begeisterten Weibes=Personen / Durch welche die Kirche GOTTES verunruhiget worden ...* (Frankfort & Leipzig, 1704); cf. also Starck, *Lubeca* (see above, n. 17), p. 593). No trace of Anna Walker could be found in any of the standard biographical dictionaries.

⁸⁶ Cf. Trill, 'The First Sermon in English' (see above, n. 11).

⁸⁷ The other being Anna Owena Hoyers. See above, n. 75.