

Agatha Streicher (1520-1581): Schwenkfelder, Networker, and Physician in Ulm

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It is well known that women played key roles as leaders and networkers in the community of Schwenkfelders in southern Germany in the sixteenth century. Significant scholarly attention has been paid to Sibilla Eiselin (Sybilla Eisler), wife of Augsburg councilman Stephan Eiselin.¹ She received more letters from Caspar Schwenckfeld than any other person and played a major role in preserving his correspondence.²

In this essay, I focus on Agatha Streicher (1520-81) in Ulm, the youngest child in a family devoted to the reforming ideas of Caspar Schwenckfeld. Agatha's mother, Helena Streicher (d. 1549), was a central figure in the south German network of Schwenkfelders, receiving letters and questions that she passed on to Schwenckfeld. A noted physician, Agatha Streicher was present at Schwenckfeld's death in her family's home in 1561, and wrote an account of the last weeks of his life.³ Agatha became the leader of the Ulm Schwenkfelders after her sister Katharina's death in 1564.

In this study, I highlight the challenges faced in researching Agatha's life and career in Ulm, her family's involvement in the network of Schwenkfelders in southern Germany, and Agatha's reflections on Schwenckfeld's last days. I argue that Agatha illustrates the empowerment that women experienced in Schwenkfelder conventicles in the sixteenth century and the affirmation they found in Schwenckfeld's reforming ideas. I also show that Agatha illustrates the problems historians face in researching even prominent women in the early modern period.

First, I want to reflect on what sparked my interest in Agatha Streicher. My interest in Agatha Streicher was preceded by an interest in Caspar Schwenckfeld (1489-1561) and the sixteenth century “Spiritualist” Reformation when I was a graduate student at the University of Waterloo. My dissertation, completed in 1986, focused on Schwenckfeld’s humanist colleague, Valentin Crautwald (ca. 1465-1545). In 1526 Crautwald authored three of the earliest Reformation catechisms: the *Catechesis*, the *Canon Generalis*, and the *Institutiuncula de Signis*.⁴ Crautwald advocated a program of popular instruction and renewal as the necessary precondition for institutional church reform. He and Schwenckfeld called for *Stillstand*, a cessation of all sacramental observance until the age of the Spirit arrived, with a church of ‘new men’ and properly administered sacraments. For Schwenckfelders, the fundamental act of piety was the direct inward partaking of Christ’s deified body and blood; this partaking took place spiritually through faith, not through material sacraments.

Several things about Agatha Streicher and the city of Ulm caught my attention. First, she came from a prominent family in Ulm. The family had a large house and servants. Agatha’s father, Hans, was a physician in Ulm and died in 1522, when she was just two years old. Her brother, Augustin, was also a physician. Second, Ulm was a centre for disciples of Caspar Schwenckfeld in southern Germany. This is not surprising, for Ulm was a free imperial city in Swabia, on the Danube, and a major centre of trade and textile production. It was located on one of the main European trade routes, extending from the Netherlands to Tirol and to northern Italy. Third, Agatha and her sister Katharina headed the network of Schwenckfelders in Ulm. They illustrate the prominent, unofficial role that women played in promoting reform in early modern Europe. Finally, Agatha gained fame and honour as a physician in Ulm, and cared for Schwenckfeld in his last days. In March 1561 she took the oath required of physicians to practice in the city of Ulm, making her an officially licensed physician, and the first woman to gain this recognition in early modern Germany. Agatha is still honoured for this distinction in Germany today. In Ulm a street is named for her, and a hospice bears her name – the Hospiz Agathe Streicher, a place that helps people die with dignity. Each year the German Association for Wound Care awards the Agathe-Streicher-Preis for outstanding work in this field. At a time when scholars are pursuing questions about gender dynamics in early modern church and society, Agatha Streicher is an obvious research choice.

Agatha Streicher as a Research Challenge for Historians and Novelists

Agatha's life and career raise some questions for modern historians. How did she gain her medical knowledge at a time when women could not yet attend university or practice medicine? How was she able to break gender stereotypes and pursue her medical practice, and gain fame and recognition for her medical learning? How competitive and/or cooperative was her relationship with her physician brother? How much did she owe to Paracelsus and his ideas? What exactly were her views on religious matters? How close was her relationship with Caspar Schwenckfeld?

Unfortunately, there is surprisingly little by way of historical source material to help us answer these questions. The nineteen-volume *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, the modern source edition of works by Schwenckfeld and his associates, includes only two sources by Agatha Streicher: her account of Schwenckfeld's last days and a hymn.⁵ While there are many letters from Schwenckfeld to Agatha's mother Helena and her sister Katharina, there is only one surviving letter to Agatha. We have no samples of her handwriting and there is no portrait of Agatha Streicher.

Studies of Agatha Streicher's life and career are few and far between, with only a handful of journal articles devoted to her. Lore Sporhan-Krempel has produced three articles on Agatha Streicher, most recently in 1999 in *Baden-Württemberg Portraits*. Sporhan-Krempel reproduces the oath that Agatha took in Ulm on 15 March 1561 in order to practice medicine in the city: she promised that when attending to the illness of someone, whether a citizen or resident of Ulm, whether rich or poor, she would advise and help the sick faithfully and to the best of her knowledge. Sporhan-Krempel recounts the story of Agatha's most famous patient, the German Emperor Maximilian II. When the Emperor took ill at the Reichstag in Regensburg, in September 1576, the Landvogt von Schwaben recommended that he consult Agatha Streicher on account of her healing skills. A count likewise offered words of praise for Agatha, noting that she had cured him of the gout. The Emperor sent to Ulm, requesting that Agatha come to his sick bed in Regensburg. Agatha travelled by ship on the Danube to that city to attend to the Emperor. One of the Emperor's ministers reported concerning her visit: "The Emperor's pain was relieved thanks to the compresses and medicines prepared by a woman from Ulm, who was called to his bedside on account of her reputation for great medical knowledge."⁶ The Emperor died on 12 October 1576, with Agatha Streicher in attendance. Sporhan-Krempel

concludes that Agatha Streicher was “without doubt one of the most astounding women of the 16th century.” “Her success in healing so many was based not only on her practical knowledge, but also on the strength of her personality.” Agatha’s life and faith “shine through the few testimonies we have of her life.”⁷

In a short article in March 2008, Frank Raberg described the main features of Agatha’s life. He noted speculation that there may have been more than a religious bond between Agatha and Schwenckfeld: “It was rumoured that Schwenckfeld and Agatha were in love.”⁸

This past winter I discovered a novel based on the life of Agatha Streicher, published in 2014: *Die Stadt-Ärztin (The Town Physician)* by Ursula Niehaus.⁹ It is Niehaus’s fourth historical novel, all dealing with women figures from German history. The author has done impressive historical research, consulting with scholars in the history of medicine, visiting the city archive in Ulm, and obtaining primary sources relating to Schwenckfeld, to the Streichers, and to current events, such as the desecration of the Ulm Cathedral in 1531. I agree with reviewers who observe: “Ursula Niehaus has done careful research, gathering facts and evidence concerning Agatha Streicher, the time of the Reformation, the preachers of the day, the knowledge of the day concerning medicine and illnesses, and the treatments offered by physicians.”¹⁰

And again:

Much in this story of Agathe Streicher could have been just as Ursula Niehaus describes it. Agathe Streicher was eleven years old when the Reformation iconoclasm took place in Ulm, destroying the artwork of the Ulm Cathedral. Her encounter with the reformer Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig, her comprehensive medical knowledge despite the prohibition of women studying medicine, and Agatha’s efforts on behalf of renowned personalities of the day – all this is historically true.¹¹

The novel does provide an accurate description of Agatha’s experience in sixteenth-century Ulm. Niehaus offers insightful portrayals of prominent figures who passed through Ulm in Agatha’s lifetime, including the radical reformers Sebastian Franck (1499-1542) and Caspar Schwenckfeld (1489-1561), and the controversial physician Paracelsus (1493-1541). She describes the conflicts between Ulm’s Lutheran Cathedral preacher Martin Frecht (1494-1556) and Caspar Schwenckfeld.

By 1526, Schwenckfeld was disillusioned with the lack of moral improvement among the Lutherans. He challenged Lutheran views concerning the sacraments as means of grace and Christ's real presence at the Lord's Table.¹² For Schwenckfeld, the outer word of Scripture had to be complemented by the inner Word of the Holy Spirit. True religion was a matter of the soul's direct dealing with God, and requires neither church, nor clergy, nor sacraments.¹³ Niehaus shows the sympathy that Ulm's mayor Bernhard Besserer (1471-1542) had for Schwenckfeld. From 1514 to 1539 Besserer was the leading political figure in Ulm and a strong supporter of Schwenckfeld and Sebastian Franck.

Niehaus notes the innovations that Paracelsus brought to the study of medicine in the sixteenth century, earning him a reputation as *Lutherus medicorum*, the Luther of the physicians.¹⁴ Niehaus accurately describes Paracelsus' success as a city physician in Basel, treating and saving the leg of the printer Johannes Froben when other physicians advised amputation. Paracelsus based his treatments on experience and observation rather than on the authoritative books of Hippocrates and Galen. Paracelsus found that applying mercury worked wonders in curing syphilis.¹⁵

Niehaus also portrays contemporary events in Ulm, such as the acts of iconoclasm in the Ulm Cathedral in June 1531.¹⁶ In November 1530, Ulm's citizens voted by a large majority to join the Reformation. Martin Bucer (1491–1551) from Straßburg, Johannes Oekolampad (1482-1531) from Basel, and Ambrosius Blarer (1492-1564) from Konstanz arrived in Ulm in May 1531. The three Reformers assisted the Ulm city council in establishing new church ordinances. In June 1531 the Catholic Latin Mass was abolished and replaced with the Lutheran liturgy in the German language.¹⁷ The city also removed the large church organ. On 19 June, the city witnessed a day of uncontrolled popular acts of iconoclasm, "Götzentag," as throngs poured into the Ulm Cathedral and smashed the images to pieces, and tore out sixty altars.¹⁸ The event is powerfully described by Niehaus, who suggests that eleven-year-old Agatha felt a notable lack of sympathy with the iconoclasts. "The mob was plundering the cathedral, her beautiful cathedral, of which Ulm's citizens were so proud."¹⁹

One of the main threads in the novel is the way Agatha overcomes a series of obstacles to win entry to a highly gendered profession and to realize her dream of becoming a physician. She faced opposition from family, from male physicians, including her brother, and from city authorities. When Paracelsus visited Ulm, he challenged the city's physicians to set aside ancient medical authorities and to use observation

to determine proper cures and therapies. Agatha managed to attend Paracelsus's lecture by donning her brother's cloak and presenting herself as a man. Much of Agatha's own medical learning came from observation, and trial and error, rather than just books. She gained valuable experience by offering her services to the nuns who ran a clinic for Ulm's poor.

Ursula Niehaus's imaginative telling of Agatha Streicher's life story contains several unproven speculations, such as Agatha's supposed sympathy for Paracelsus' innovative approach to medicine. Evidence does not support the suspicion of Niehaus and others that Paracelsus influenced Agatha.²⁰ Also unproven is Niehaus's suggestion that a book by Agatha's brother Augustin was actually authored by her: *Ivdicivm Vrinarvm: Ein gueter bericht von erkandtñiß der kranckheiten aus des menschen harn (Consideration of the Urine: A Good Report Concerning Our Knowledge of Illnesses Based on Human Urine)*. The book's author is given as D. E. Augustinj Streichers Medicj. The treatise has three parts: general instructions on urine analysis; a list of nineteen different shades of urine, from white to black, and their significance in medical diagnosis; and a detailed discussion of the shades of urine. In the late middle ages, urine analysis was considered an important means of medical diagnosis and prognosis.²¹ The principle at work here is the conviction that, "the physician should consider the condition of the liver, for on this basis many other illnesses can be diagnosed."²²

Most controversial is Niehaus's portrayal of Agatha's love affair with Caspar Schwenckfeld, which leaves little to the imagination:

They made love, not knowing if another opportunity would be granted them. They held each other, lingering, chatting and enjoying each other's company until the sun was high in the sky. Finally, they each had to go their own way, to heal the world of its sickness – he from spiritual illness, she from bodily.²³

Adding to Niehaus's dramatic account is a scene in which Agatha's sister Katharina catches the two lovers in the act. Katharina is also in love with Schwenckfeld, so a deep rift develops between the sisters. Niehaus suggests that Agatha and Schwenckfeld were engaged to be married, but that Agatha broke it off when she realized it would mean giving up her medical practice. Agatha explained to Schwenckfeld: "I love you, but I cannot sit around a castle and do embroidery while sick people need my help. Just as you devote yourself to humanity's salvation, so it is my calling to care for the health of the poor. They have no one but me."²⁴

Schwenckfeld said he understood. Of course, there is no evidence to back up any of this.

The Streicher Family and the Network of Schwenckfelders in Southern Germany

Between 1533 and 1536, Caspar Schwenckfeld traveled widely throughout southern Germany. He successfully built up circles of supporters in Protestant free imperial cities and small principalities. As a nobleman, his strategy was to win over the ruling elites. Schwenckfeld's practice was to engage in theological conversation with members of prominent families and their friends and neighbours over a meal in a home. His strategy was successful. Indeed, "the first generation of Schwenckfelders arose less from reception of Schwenckfeld's writings than from personal contact."²⁵ Schwenckfeld's theological ideas and writings also proved popular among the urban middle class, including merchants and craftsmen.

Leading civic and church officials often kept secret their Schwenckfeldian inclinations, demonstrating an outward conformity to Lutheranism while inwardly adhering to Schwenckfeld's notions of spiritual religion. Schwenckfeld never demanded that his disciples withdraw from their social and professional activities and obligations. In contrast to the Anabaptists, he offered no social agenda that demanded separation from the world. His supporters should be attentive to Christ's inner teaching and seek to be faithful to Christ in everyday life. The Schwenckfelders engaged in no program of missionizing; they were content to share Schwenckfeld's writings with close relations and friends.²⁶

Disciples of Schwenckfeld often met in conventicles, or home gatherings. These scattered meetings had no firm structure, liturgy, or sacraments. They typically consisted of communal prayer and Bible reading, sharing letters and tracts they had received from Caspar Schwenckfeld, and group discussion. News and letters from other groups of Schwenckfelders were read and exchanged.²⁷

While there was no hierarchy of authority among the Schwenckfelders, some members took on roles of leadership and coordination. In Ulm, between the 1530s and 1581, women members of the Streicher family assumed these roles. Helena Streicher (d. 1549) became an enthusiastic supporter of Caspar Schwenckfeld in the 1530s, corresponding with him and entertaining him in her home. After Helena's death in

1549, Katharina took on the leadership; when Katharina died in 1564, Agatha acted in this role until her own death in 1581. The Streicher home became the main meeting place for Schwenkfelder gatherings and discussions in the region. One scholar observes that “Agatha was recognized as the main force in the movement by Ulm authorities, so that sometimes they spoke *not* of the Schwenkfelders but rather of the Streicher Sect.”²⁸ Because of Agatha’s prominence as a physician, the city council chose not to persecute her or her friends for their religious leanings.

In 1545 Caspar Schwenckfeld referred to “a widow in Ulm named Helena Streicher, who along with her house faithfully serves me in the things of the Lord, and who with her five daughters calls upon and honours the Lord Jesus Christ along with us in a common faith, love, and hope.”²⁹ The *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* contains a host of letters from Schwenckfeld addressed to Helena Streicher and her daughters.

Agatha Streicher’s 1552 Hymn and her 1561 Account of Schwenckfeld’s Last Days: What we Learn about Agatha as Schwenckfelder, Physician, and Woman³⁰

In Agatha Streicher’s hymn, “Of the Love of Christ” (“Von der Lieb Christi,” ca. 1552), she writes,

Awake my soul,
With psalms, prayers, and hymns;
Thou shalt love above all things
The true and most high God,
And Jesus his beloved Son,
Reigning on the throne
With equal power and glory,
Who died on the cross for me.

In verse four, Agatha reflects a physician’s perspective in praying for Christ’s healing touch:

There is neither rest nor peace for even an hour,
Until you make me healthy and whole,
In conscience, heart, and soul;
In my suffering
May I not depart from you,
But follow after you

And endure with patience.³¹

In the nine-page account of Schwenckfeld's last days, Agatha describes how Schwenckfeld came to be in Ulm at the end of his life, and his condition when he arrived. Agatha describes his worsening health, his daily habits, and especially the last week of his life. Her report offers extensive quotations of Schwenckfeld's words during his final days and hours.

Schwenckfeld began to feel unwell during the summer of 1561. He became weak and had trouble eating and drinking. In September, after some improvement, he made his way from Memmingen to Ulm. But then he began to suffer from headaches and dizziness. The Streicher family pled with him to cut back on his speaking, writing, meditating, and praying, and to take care of himself, but to no avail. He lost his appetite for food and drink. Schwenckfeld prayed: "Help me to get better, so that by the grace of my Lord Jesus Christ I might continue to serve him. But I am content with whatever happens, and not afraid to die when my time comes."³² In the fall of 1561, Schwenckfeld became weaker.

It was Schwenckfeld's custom each morning, after rising from bed, to pray, commending himself and the whole household to Jesus Christ, to thank him for the night's rest, and to ask that God might give him strength to serve Him that day. At night he committed himself to Christ's care, and prayed that Christ might protect him and the whole household from evil.

As one might expect of a physician, Agatha describes in detail Schwenckfeld's changing bodily condition. She describes his bowel movements and the colour of his urine. She noted that he continued to have a strong heart and a strong pulse. On 7 November, Schwenckfeld prayed: "Lord Jesus, if it is your will that I continue to serve you, then restore me to health, which you are able to do. If you no longer require my service, then take me to your rest . . . I know that my name is written in the book of life." He reflected, "There is no greater joy in the whole world than serving the Lord Christ."³³

On 5 December, a friend visited Schwenckfeld. He thanked God that he had been able to serve Schwenckfeld to his glory for such a long time. Schwenckfeld confessed, "I can think of nothing that I have taught that was in error."³⁴ The next day some brethren visited him, much to his delight, but, by evening, he was weak and spoke very little.³⁵

On the morning of Sunday, 7 December, Schwenckfeld asked Agatha to give a message to her brother. Schwenckfeld admonished

Augustin that he should remember to return good for evil. That evening, a large number of friends stood around Schwenckfeld's bed; he blessed them all, and then gave a special word of instruction to each one. On 8 December, all his friends gathered by his bedside, including some preachers. Schwenckfeld explained that he had come to Ulm because of Agatha. "She has traveled far and wide, for God has given her the gift of healing." "She has spared no effort to assist me, but because it is not God's will, she cannot help me."³⁶

Among his last words, Schwenckfeld reflected, "If I have done harm to anyone, I ask him forgiveness." He confessed, "I have taught only on the foundation of my Lord Jesus Christ. It may be that I have sometimes thought wrongly, but very rarely."³⁷ The account concludes: "On December 10th, about 5am at break of day, he fell asleep and entered God's rest. May our Lord Jesus Christ grant us also eternal rest with him and all the elect."³⁸ So ends Agatha's sensitive, heartfelt description of the reformer's passing.

The account confirms the respect in which Agatha was held, especially by Schwenckfeld. Agatha's own devotion to Schwenckfeld is evident from her care in recording his last words. It is clear that Agatha's brother, Augustin, was *not* one of Schwenckfeld's adherents; he was not present with his sisters when Schwenckfeld died.³⁹

Conclusion

Agatha's leadership role within the Ulm community of Schwenckfelders illustrates the empowerment that women experienced in Schwenckfelder conventicles in the sixteenth century and the affirmation they found in Schwenckfeld's reforming ideas. Agatha's account of Schwenckfeld's last days offers a glimpse of her sensitive nature, as well as her competence and devotion to detail as a physician. It is regrettable that, due to a lack of sources, we cannot learn more about this remarkable and talented sixteenth-century woman.

Endnotes

1. Hans-Jörg Künast, "Augsburg als Knotenpunkt des deutschen und europäischen Buchhandels (1480-1550)," in *Augsburg in der frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zu einem Forschungsprogramm* (Berlin 1995), 247.

2. We have 155 letters from Schwenckfeld to Eiselin. Caroline Gritschke, 'Via Media.' *Spiritualistische Lebenswelten und Konfessionalisierung. Das süddeutsche Schwenckfeldertum im 16. und 17. Jh* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 30 n. 36.
3. Gritschke, 'Via Media.' *Spiritualistische Lebenswelten und Konfessionalisierung*, 40, 42.
4. CLM 718, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. See Douglas H. Shantz, *Crautwald and Erasmus: A Study in Humanism and Radical Reform in Sixteenth Century Silesia* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1992), 59-100.
5. For the account of Schwenckfeld's last days see CS XVII, 1019-1027; for her hymn see CS XVIII, 258.
6. Lore Sporhan-Krempel, "Agatha Streicher (um. 1520-1581)," in *Baden-Württembergische Portraits*, ed. Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1999), 21.
7. Sporhan-Krempel, "Agatha Streicher (um. 1520-1581)," 22.
8. Frank Raberg, "Agathe Streicher (um. 1520 bis 1581)," *Momente* 3 (2008): 25.
9. Ursula Niehaus, *Die Stadt-Ärztin* (Ulm: Knauer Verlag, 2014).
10. Heike Sobotta, "Geschichte einer Stadtärztin," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26 November 2014.
11. "Auf den Spuren der ersten Ulmer Ärztin," *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 19 November 2014.
12. Niehaus, 116.
13. Niehaus, 140, 152.
14. Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2013), 22.
15. Niehaus, 186, 307.
16. Niehaus, 12-18.
17. Günther Sanwald, "Einführung der Reformation in Ulm," 26 January 2015.
18. Verena Schühly, "Reformation: Ulm und die Kirche," 17 July 2014, http://www.swp.de/ulm/lokales/ulm_neu_ulm/Reformation-Ulm-und-die-Kirche;art4329,2707243

19. Niehaus, 13.
20. "Eine Durchsicht einschlägiger Paracelsus-Traktate ergibt keine unmittelbaren Parallelen in der Fassung. Soweit beide auf älteren Quellen beruhen, sind Übereinstimmungen natürlich nicht aussagekräftig." See Hans J. Vermeer, "Ein *Iudicium Urinarum* des Dr. Augustin Streicher aus dem Cod. Wellc. 589," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 54, no. 1 (1970): 6 n. 42.
21. "Die hier zu besprechende Harnschau spielte in der mittelalterlichen Prognostik und Diagnostik eine große Rolle." See Vermeer, "Ein *Iudicium Urinarum* des Dr. Augustin Streicher," 1-19, especially 4.
22. Vermeer, "Ein *Iudicium Urinarum* des Dr. Augustin Streicher," 7.
23. Niehaus, 292.
24. Niehaus, 284-86.
25. Caroline Gritschke, *Via media: Spiritualist Lifeworlds and Confessionalization; South German Schwenckfelders in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 62.
26. Gritschke, *Via media*, 162-65, 168.
27. Gritschke, *Via media*, 153-55, 157.
28. Gritschke, *Via media*, 42, 170. "Nach [Katharina's] Tod um 1564, übernahm ihre Schwester Agatha die Leitung der Ulmer Gemeinde. Sie wurde von der Obrigkeit so sehr als Hauptantriebskraft der Bewegung gesehen, daß manchmal gar nicht vom Schwenckfeldertum die Rede war, sondern nur von der Streicherin Sect. Ihr Haus war zumeist Veranstaltungsort schwenckfeldischer Versammlungen und Besprechungen . . ."
29. The editor identifies the daughters as Katharina, Helena, Anna, Maria, and Agatha. CS IX, 271 n. 3.
30. *Kurtze Lebens-Beschreibung Des hoch-von Gott begnadeten und gelehrten Mannes Caspar Schwenckfelds, Nebst Dessen Abschied, So den 10. Decembris des 1562sten Jahres Christlich und seelig abgeschieden*, CS XVII, 1019-27.
31. Agatha Streicher's hymn, "Von der Lieb Christi" (ca. 1552), CS XVIII, 258.
32. CS XVII, 1019, 1020.
33. CS XVII, 1022.
34. CS XVII, 1023.

35. CS XVII, 1012. His visitors were Jacob Held von Tieffenau, Johann Heid von Daun, Abel Werner, and Bernhard Unsinn.
36. CS XVII, 1024.
37. CS XVII, 1025, 1027. "In Soma mein gewissen stet also das ich ihn gar nichts gethon hab, sonder das ich alain auff den grund hab gewiset auff mein heren jesum christum Es mag wol sein das ich etwan ir gedacht aber gar selten."
38. CS XVII, 1027.
39. CS IX, 340-48. Schwenckfeld wrote a letter to Hans Augustin Streicher on Helena's behalf. The purpose of the letter was to respond to Augustin's concerns about Helena's Schwenckfeldian beliefs.

