Université de Montréal

A Historical Case Study Analysis of the Establishment of Charismatic Leadership in a Protestant Reformation Cultic group and its Role in the Recourse to Violence

par David C. Hofmann

Université de Montréal
École de Criminologie

Mémoire présenté à la Faculté de Criminologie en vue de l'obtention du grade de M.Sc. en Criminologie

juillet 2011

© David Hofmann, 2011

Université de Montréal

Faculté de Criminologie

Ce mémoire intitulé :

A Historical Case Study Analysis of the Establishment of Charismatic Leadership in a Protestant Reformation Cultic group and its Role in the Recourse to Violence

présenté par : David C. Hofmann

a été évalué(e) par un jury composé des personnes suivantes :

Dianne Casoni, Ph.D.
directeur de recherche

Marion Vacheret, Ph.D
membre de jury

M.A. Pelland, Ph.D.
membre de jury

Résumé

La recherche sur les questions touchant aux leaders de groupes sectaires et à la violence sectaire a mené à l'étude du rôle joué par l'autorité charismatique, tel que défini par Weber (1922) et repris par Dawson (2010). À ce sujet, d'éminents spécialistes des études sur les sectes sont d'avis qu'un vide important dans la recherche sur l'autorité charismatique dans le contexte de groupes sectaires et de nouveaux mouvements religieux reste à combler (ajouter les références 'd'éminents spécialistes'). Ce mémoire vise à contribuer à l'étude cet aspect négligé, le rôle de l'autorité charismatique dans le recours è la violence dans les groupes sectaires, par une étude de cas historique d'un groupe de la Réformation protestante du XVIe siècle, le Royaume anabaptiste de Münster (AKA), sous l'influence d'un leader charismatique, Jan van Leiden. Cette recherche s'intéresse plus spécifiquement aux divers moyens utilisés par Jan van Leiden, pour asseoir son autorité charismatique et à ceux qui ont exercé une influence sur le recours à des actes de violence. L'étude de cas est basé sur le matériel provenant de deux comptes-rendus des faits relatés par des participants aux événements qui se sont déroulés à pendant le règne de Leiden à la tête du AKA. L'analyse du matériel recueilli a été réalisé à la lumière de trois concepts théoriques actuels concernant le comportement cultuel et le recours à la violence.. L'application de ces concepts théoriques a mené à l'identification de quatre principales stratégies utilisées par Jan van Leiden pour établir son autorité charismatique auprès de ses disciples, soit : 1) la menace du millénarisme, 2) l'exploitation d'une relation bilatérale parasitique avec ses disciples, 3) l'utilisation de l'extase religieuse et de la prophétie, 4) l'utilisation du désir de voir survenir des changements sociaux et religieux. En plus de ces quatre stratégies, trois autres dimensions ont été retenues comme signes que le recours à la violence dans le Royaume anabaptiste de Münster résultait de l'établissement de l'autorité charismatique de son leader, soit : 1) la violence liée au millénarisme, 2) la notion d'identité et de violence partagée, 3) des facteurs systémiques, physiques et culturels menant à la violence.

Mots-clés

Anabaptisme, violence, sectes, nouveaux mouvements religieux, charisme, autorité charismatique, leader charismatique, Jan van Leiden, millénarisme, apocalyptique, groupes sectaires.

Abstract

Research surrounding questions regarding cultic behaviors, leadership and issues of sectarian violence has lead to the study of charismatic leadership. Prominent cultic scholars have identified that there remains a rather large void in research when analyzing charismatic leadership within the context of sectarian groups and new religious movements. This thesis will attempt to bridge that gap through a historical case study analysis of a 16th century protestant reformation group, the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster (AKM), under the influence of a charismatic leader, Jan van Leiden. More specifically, this research will focus on the various means utilized by the group's leader, to establish charismatic leadership and how this affected the group's recourse to acts of violence. The case material was obtained through two primary source accounts from participants in the events that unfolded in Münster during Leiden's reign. The analysis of this material was made using three current theoretical concepts on cultic behavior and violence, that is Casoni (2000), Robbins (2002) and Dawson (2010). It appears that four major strategies were utilized by Jan van Leiden to establish his charismatic leadership over his followers: (1) the threat of millenarianism, (2) the exploitation of a bilateral parasitic relationship with his followers, (3) the use of religious ecstasy and prophecy, and (4) the use of their desire for social and religious change. By contrasting the results of the analyses undertaken in chapters three and four, three factors that have played a crucial role in Leiden's charismatic leadership, as it relates to the recourse to violence in the AKM, will be identified. These are: (1) millennial violence, (2) shared identity, and (3) macro-level dimensions.

Keywords:

Anabaptism, Violence, Cults, New Religious Movements, Charisma, Charismatic Authority, Charismatic Leadership, Jan van Leiden, Millenarianism, Apocalypticism

Table of Contents

Introduction p. 1

Chapter One: Definitions and Historical context

1.1 – Definitions

1.1.1 – Cults, Sects and New Religious Movements p. 5

1.1.2 – Millenarianism p. 10

1.1.3 – Anabaptism p. 13

1.1.4 – Charisma and Charismatic Leadership p. 14

1.2 – Historical Context

1.2.1 – Historical Background p. 19

1.2.2 – The Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster p. 21

1.3 - Theoretical References

1.3.1 – Groups that follow a Philosophy of Separation p. 30

1.3.2 – Endogenous Factors p. 33

1.3.3 – Breakdown of Charismatic Leadership as a Precursor to Violence p. 36

Chapter Two: Methodology

2.1 – Research Objectives p. 42

2.2 – Qualitative and Historical Perspectives p. 42

2.3 - Reasons for using a Case Study p. 43

2.4 – Choice of Cultic Group p. 44

2.5 – Description of Sources p. 45

2.6 – Method of Analyzing Data p. 49

2.7 – Research Limitations p. 50

Chapter Three: Analysis of the case material

3.1 – Analysis of the Leader: Jan van Leiden as a Charismatic Leader p. 52

3.1.1 – Analysis of Conditions Giving Rise to Leiden's Charismatic Leadership p. 53

3.1.2 – Analysis of Social Construction and Management of Charismatic Lead. p. 62

3.2 – Analysis of the Cultic Group: the AKM p. 71

3.2.1 – First Theoretical Concept: A Philosophy of Separation p. 74

3.2.2 – Second Theoretical Concept: Endogenous Factors p. 81

3.2.3 – Third Theoretical Concept: Breakdown of Charismatic Lead. p. 92

Chapter Four: Analysis of the role played by charismatic leadership

4.1 – Major Methods used to Establish Charismatic Leadership p. 98
    4.1.1 – The Threat of Millenarianism p. 99
    4.1.2 – The Exploitation of a Bilateral Parasitic Relationship… p. 101
    4.1.3 – Religious Ecstasy and Prophecy p. 104
    4.1.4 – The leaders using the followers desires for social and religious change p. 106
4.2 –Analysis of the Role of Charismatic Leadership in the Recourse to Violence p. 110
    4.2.1 – Millennial Violence p. 110
    4.2.2 – Collectivism and Shared Identity p. 112
    4.2.3 – Macro-level Dimensions p. 114

Chapter Five: Concluding remarks

5.1 – Discussion and Conclusion p. 118

Bibliography p. 125

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my friends and family for their support during the writing of this thesis. Your patience and encouragement was the fuel that kept me going. I would especially like to thank my wife, Michelle, for her support over the last two years. I couldn't have done it without you!

I would like to thank the guidance, mentorship and contributions of Dr. Dianne Casoni in the writing of this thesis. She went above and beyond the call of a typical supervisor, and I am indebted to her for her efforts and countless hours devoted to helping me become a better scholar.

List of Abbreviations

AKM – Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster

CSIS – Canadian Security Intelligence Service

NRM – New Religious Movement

Introduction

There is something both fascinating and terrifying about cultic groups that sparks the imagination and the fears of all those who read or hear about their clandestine or bizarre activities. Media fascination with high profile examples such as the Branch Davidians, Heaven's Gate and the Peoples Temple in Jonestown has indeed piqued the general public's interest in such behaviors. Research interest in these highly profiled cultic groups was also buoyed by the imminent approach of the millennium, which has spawned a number of millenarian concepts and doomsday groups vying for spiritual and physical purity before their perceived end of existence (CSIS, 1999). In addition to these high profile cases, a pervasive example of group religious fanaticism was witnessed in the terrorist attacks in the Eastern United States on September 11th, 2001. In response to these events and phenomena, bodies of empirical research have emerged aimed at better comprehending the motivations of religiously inspired acts of violence (Wallis, 2007: 498-499). For the last thirty years, researchers have been grappling with the question of what predisposes certain groups, and individuals within those groups, to commit acts of violence against themselves and others.

This quest for understanding how leaders, be they cultic leaders or not, can impose their influence on others has led some scholars to propose and develop the concept of charismatic leadership and, in particular, the methods with which leaders establish domination and control over their followers (Barnes, 1978; Bion, 1961; Conger et. al., 1992; Dawson, 1998, 2002, 2006 & 2010; Eichler, 1981; Finlay, 2002, Wallis, 1982). Charismatic leadership has manifested itself both in positive and negative ways over the course of human history. Great and charismatic leaders like W. Churchill and

Gandhi have emerged throughout history to fulfill great deeds. Conversely, charismatic leaders have manifested themselves in harmful fashions, such as witnessed with relatively recent historical examples such as J. Stalin and A. Hitler. Standing at the head of his group or nation, the charismatic leader is ascribed to have almost magical-like control over his followers, argues Dawson who summarizes the essence of charismatic leadership as: "great leaders [that] have the power to get things done by convincing us to do things we would never entertain normally, but are not quite sure why or how." (2010: 1). Whether moving a nation to do great or terrible things, or through illusionary promises of salvation and redemption, charismatic leadership remains an integral focus for research in explaining how certain individuals succeed in influencing others.

As discussed, there has been some scholarly interest in the subject of charismatic leadership, however it has only tentatively been applied to the specific context of violent cultic groups (Casoni, 2000; Dawson, 2002 & 2010; Robbins, 2002; Robbins & Dick, 1995). To this effect, there remains a rather large void in research when analyzing both charismatic leadership and cultic violence together. Dawson is of the opinion that current research into charisma tends to avoid analyzing charismatic leadership in a systematic way, such as how authority is "achieved, exercised, developed, sustained or lost…" (2010: 2). He also raised the question of how this scholarship is taken into account in the study of religious groups. When reviewing the relevant literature on charismatic leadership as well as on millenarian cultic violence, there are different theories from many different disciplines that attempt to understand this phenomenon. However, current theories on cultic violence generally are not being applied to the question of charismatic leadership and Dawson's point of the lack of systematic analysis of charismatic leadership is evident. Specifically, there is a lack of explicit application of current theories and literature on millennial cultic groups and to the question of charismatic leadership and violence.

To address some of these gaps in the current body of research, this thesis will attempt to explore the two critiques raised by Lorne Dawson (2010): the lack of systematic analysis of how charismatic leadership is achieved, maintained or lost, as well as an analysis of charismatic leadership in the specific context of cultic groups. In particular, this thesis will examine the tools with which charismatic leaders can achieve charismatic leadership over followers and, the case being, how this relationship can lead to acts of violence. To accomplish this, we will take a selection of current theories on cultic behaviors, mainly from sociology, and apply them towards a qualitative case study analysis of a particular historical charismatic cultic leader – Jan van Leiden.

Chapter one will focus on the relevant definitions concerning millennial cultic authority and present a comprehensive literature review of pertinent theories that will be used to analyze the case material. Chapter two will address the methodology used in this thesis. Notably, this chapter will focus on the justification for choosing Jan van Leiden as an illustration of a charismatic leader, the reasons for choosing the cultic group known as the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster (AKM) and for using historical and qualitative approaches. Chapter three will present the theoretical analysis of Leiden and his followers and apply the theories overviewed in chapter one to the particular case of the AKM. Chapter four will build upon the application of case material and examine the various means that Leiden used to establish charismatic leadership. Chapter four will then continue with an exploration of how these means were employed to establish charismatic leadership leading to the recourse to of violence. To conclude this thesis, chapter five will consist of a short discussion and suggestions for further research.

Chapter One: Definitions and Historical context

In this chapter, we will present the material that is crucial for understanding the analysis sections of this thesis. We will firstly address definitional issues concerning the concepts of charismatic leadership and of violence. In this particular case, we have chosen to focus on the definitions of the following: (1) cults, sects, and new religious movements, (2) millenarianism and millennial movements, (3) Anabaptism, (4) and charisma/charismatic leadership. In so doing, we will attempt to clarify ambiguous aspects as well as common misrepresentations of certain definitions. For example, in the case of the term 'cult', there is currently scholarly debate over the proper usage of the term, or whether it should be used at all. By defining and justifying the usage of the term 'cult', we hope to clarify our motivations and usage of the term in order to avoid definitional ambiguity or misunderstanding. The same can be argued for defining terms such as 'millenarianism', 'anabaptism' and 'charisma' – by taking the time to outline the definition with which this thesis will be utilizing these terms, we hope to be precise in our usage of the terminology and align ourselves with what we have deemed to be the most accurate description of the terms. .

Once definitional issues have been clarified, the second part of this chapter will be devoted to a description of the important historical events surrounding the AKM. Similarly to the definitions part of this chapter, the historical context section is present to give the reader a basic understanding of the time period wherein the AKM was active, as well as. The historical nature of this analysis necessitates a passing understanding of the socio-political and religious climate of 16th Frisia. Issues such as protestant reformation, the growth of anabaptism and the emergence of the AKM will be covered in order to situate the AKM within the social, political and religious landscape of the time period in question .. Finally, the last part of this chapter will be used to briefly introduce and explain the central ideas of the three theoretical concepts chosen for analysis of the AKM. This is to introduce the reader to the theoretical concepts that will be used heavily in the analysis sections of this thesis, and to allow the reader to understand our choices and usage of the theoretical concepts chosen for analysis.

Section 1.1 - Definitions

1.1.1 – Cults, Sects and New Religious Movements

Many scholars (Barker, 2008; Dawson, 1998; Palmer, 1993; Wallis, 1984) resort to the neologism *new religious movement* (NRM) to describe fringe, marginal or divergent religious groups. At first glance, it seems that the use of NRM would be reserved for groups that are of recent origin, rather than for those who have split off from mainstream religions of the world. However, this is not always the case. Because of the stigma associated to the use of the word *cult*, some authors, such as Barker (2008) for instance, prefer to use the expression NRM to designate even the groups that have developed from teachings related to the most ancient religions. However, in the case of a historical case study analysis, the use of NRM appears both inexact and incompatible with the nature of the group being analyzed in this thesis.

The other terms used to designate such religious groups are either *'cult'* or '*sect*'. These terms also present problems when they are used to describe some religious groups. In the case of '*sect'*, the term rarely comes up in the scientific literature, although it was once generally used in popular culture. As well, both the terms '*cult'* and *'sect'* are viewed pejoratively by popular culture and carry numerous negative associations

(Richardson, 1993). Although in sociological tradition these terms do not share the same negative label, the biases held by popular culture have trickled into the scientific field, as Zablocki and Robbins (2001) observed in their introduction to *Misunderstanding Cults*:

> "The use of either of these terms [NRM or cult] is a kind of shibboleth by which one has been able to know, with some degree of accuracy, how to classify a scholar in this field. "(2001: 5)

In an effort to be as comprehensive as possible, this selection will highlight the divergent opinions on the current usage of terminology, while presenting a spectrum of different opinions on what constitutes a *cult, a sect* or a *new religious movement*. These definitions will be followed by a review of an article by Casoni (2008) which explores the problems surrounding the terminology used to study *cults, sects* or *new religious movements*. To conclude this section, we will weigh in and clarify our own usage of terminology within this thesis.

To begin, we will now present examples of the definition of '*cult*' taken from academia, a popular dictionary and a cult-awareness organization. The purpose of choosing these three different sources is to highlight the contrast between these definitions that appear to be related to the orientation and background of its authors. Although there are many different choices in academic definitions of '*cult'*, we have chosen the one proposed by Casoni (2008) owing to the fact that it addresses the controversial issues surrounding the usage of the word, while maintaining a description that is easily relatable to other currently widely accepted definitions in the study of cults and New Religious Movements. Casoni's description was also chosen due to the comprehensive nature of the definition. Her definition encompasses the important major factors that comprise the description of the term ‘*cult*’: spiritual belief, control of members both physically and mentally, leadership, and how the group defines itself.

Casoni briefly describes *cult, sect* or *new religious movement* in the traditional Weberian sense as follows:

> “These groups, seen in a normative fashion, group together a vast number of people who, as outlined by Weber (1906), define themselves in opposition to the beliefs and practices if not of the majority then, at the very least, of a Mother-Church seen as having been corrupted by the modern world.” (2008: 3)[1]

This description is associated to a definition, held by many in the academic community, and that has been surmised by Casoni:

> “[Authors] implicitly agree upon a definition of the so-called cult that corresponds to a group that; a) is organized around a spiritual belief, new or ancient, b) exercises strong pressure, even a hold, on its members to c) think and act in the way prescribed by its leaders and d) has a tendency to exclude and to define itself as being in opposition to its proximal social environment and sometimes even to its distal social environment”. (2008: 4) [2]

In contrast to the academic definition put forth by Casoni (2008), we will present a definition of *cult* taken from The Oxford Dictionary of English (2010), the definition for the word ‘cult’ is:

> “…a relatively small group of people having religious beliefs or practices regarded by others as strange or as imposing excessive control over members: *a network of Satan-worshipping cults*.”

---

[1] Translated by author. The original French text is: « Ces groupes, d’emblée vus de façon normative, regroupent un nombre important de personnes qui, comme l’a souligné Weber (1906), se définissent comme étant en opposition aux croyances et aux pratiques sinon d’une majorité, du moins d’une Église-mère vue comme ayant été corrompue par le monde moderne. »

[2] Translated by author. The original French text is: « En effet, le lecteur pourra constater que ceux-ci, malgré la diversité de leur propos, se sont implicitement entendus sur une définition de ladite secte comme correspondant à un groupe qui : a) s’organise autour d’une croyance spirituelle nouvelle ou ancienne, b) exerce une pression forte, voire une emprise, sur ses membres pour c) penser et agir de la façon prescrite par ses leaders et d) a tendance à s’exclure et à se définir en opposition à son environnent social proximal et parfois même distal. »

Lastly, the definition put forth by a community-based organization that gathers information on cultic behavior is as follows:

> "The word "cult" can be used to describe: Individuals grouped around a common religious ideology or doctrine; a system of religious beliefs or rituals; groups that adopt behaviours or practices that appear strange or dangerous from the point of view of the observer. The current public utilization of the term "cult" has a pejorative connotation." (Info-Cult[3], 2006)

The three definitions presented above highlight differences in approach in defining *cults.* Each definition manages to bring a new aspect to defining *cult*, while also highlighting their respective strengths and weaknesses. The dictionary definition gives an outsiders' perspective on how cultic groups are viewed and understood. The key word within the dictionary definition that summarizes this outsider's view is the reference to "strange behaviors", which differentiates them from society at large. The notion of control over members and group structures, however, is more in line with more academic definitions (Barker, 2008; Dawson, 1998; Ellwood, 1986; Nelson, 1969; Richardson, 1993; Wallis, 1974). The dictionary definition also fails to remain neutral by referencing satanic cults as an illustration. It also lacks the comprehensive qualities of the academic definition, only referencing the broad and often misunderstood characteristics of cultic groups. The definition put forth by Info-Cult is somewhat similar to the generally accepted academic definition presented by Casoni (2008). The main difference is the terminology and language reflects the authors' aim which is to target this definition for a wide audience which does not normally have access to scholarly work.

In an article addressing definitional controversies, Casoni (2008) argues in favour of the expression, *cultic group*, or when more diplomacy is necessary, *group said to be a*

---

[3] Info-Cult describes itself on its website as "a non-profit charitable organization founded in 1980 based in Montreal that offers help and information about cults, new religious movements and related groups and subjects.". (http://infosect.freeshell.org/infocult/).

cult. Her reasoning is such that the previous designations to describe cultic groups all have fundamental problems. Tracing the usage of the word *sect* back to Weber, she argues that the term has been effectively tainted with negative connotations. This then lead to efforts in the 1980-1990's to switch to terms without semantic bias: *new religious movement* and *sectarian group*. However, like their predecessor, both of these terms have invariably been associated with negative or pejorative connotations and are seen to have lost a measure of academic neutrality. Subsequent attempts to find a neutral term failed because they were too biased, too long or "…too distanced from the object of study" (Casoni, 2008: 4). Therefore, the term *cultic group* or it's more diplomatic version of *groups said to be cults* encompasses both the viable scientific definitions surrounding the term while avoiding the more negative or pejorative uses surrounding the terminology.

The terminology and definitions for *cult* found in this thesis will coincide with the term and definition of '*cultic groups'* put forth by Casoni (2008) and agreed upon by many in the academic community, while taking into account the salient aspects presented by the other definitions covered earlier in this section. This term manages to encapsulate the essence of the definitions of *cults* in a relatively neutral manner. In addition, the definition put forth by Casoni also coincides or is compatible with a large portion of other definitions put forth by scholars of cultic groups (Barker, 2008; Dawson, 1998; Ellwood, 1986; Nelson, 1969; Richardson, 1993; Wallis, 1974). In comparison to other definitions of *cults, sects* and *new religious movements*, Casoni's definition also best addresses the major aspects found within the AKM: religious observance, the leadership's authority/control over his followers and the oppositional stance with which the group place themselves in contrast to society at large. Casoni's term and definition are also conducive to the historical nature of the group being analyzed. *Sect* retains the negative connotations surrounding the term and a historical group such as the AKM can hardly be classified as a '*new' religious movement*. For these reasons, the main designation which we will refer to the AKM will be *cultic group*, devoid of any of the negative or pejorative usages that may be associated with the term *cult*.

1.1.2 – Millenarianism and Millennial Movements

The term 'millenarian'[4] is an adjective derived from the word 'millennium', which itself is derived from the Greek word *chilias*, meaning 'one thousand' (Talmon, 1966: 159). This refers to the thousand-year reign of Christ upon his return to earth and the establishment of the messianic kingdom foretold in Christian scripture. Presented in this section are some of the more prevalent and agreed upon definitions of millenarianism and millennial groups.

One of the most widely used definitions for millenarianism was put forth by Talmon, who saw millenarianism "as the quest for total, imminent, ultimate, this-worldly, collective salvation." (1966: 166). By *total*, Talmon refers to a complete transformation of the world to a state of perfection. The *imminent* feature of salvation refers to the belief that the end of days is near and the faithful must prepare for the coming of the second age. By *ultimate*, he refers to the fact that salvation is deemed as irrevocable and coming at the end of time and history. *This-worldly* refers to the fact that millenarian belief holds that the messianic age will occur on earth and not in some far off heavenly kingdom.

---

[4] 'Millenarianism/millenarian' can be used interchangeably with the similar terms such as 'apocalypticism/apocalyptical', and 'millennialism/millennial'.

Lastly, collective *salvation* refers to the belief that the faithful will enjoy the benefits of the coming of the millennium as is deserving of the chosen people.

A second widely agreed upon definition of millenarianism comes from Norman Cohn (1970) and is outlined in his widely cited work, *The Pursuit of the Millennium.* In this book, Cohn studied the emergence of Christian millenarianism in Western Europe from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries. He defined millenarianism as a belief by certain Christian movements that the Book of Revelations foretells the Second Coming of Christ and involves a thousand year reign in a messianic kingdom before the Last Judgment and a general resurrection of the dead. Salvation is seen as being: (a) collective (enjoyed by all the faithful), (b) terrestrial (in the physical world), (c) imminent (soon and sudden), (d) total (complete transformation of life on earth) and (e) miraculous (via supernatural forces).

A more recent definition was put forth by Hamilton (2001), which added to the previous definitions by specifying that millenarian beliefs entail the necessary presence of a prophet or messiah whose revelations are central parts of the development of the millennial aspect of the group. Such a prophet or messiah is seen to act as a leader, often stimulating the sense of urgency in regards to the coming millennium, and thus propagating millennial ideas within the group. Hamilton (2001) also specifies that millenarian groups also tend to be characterized by intense emotions such as ecstasy. This is reflected in the rituals practiced within each group, coupled with a sense of personal fulfillment and the gratification of belonging to a group worthy of salvation. Lastly, there is an abandonment of previous ways of life, Hamilton specifies: “Millenarian expectations can be so strong that normal productive activities may be abandoned and even property and livestock destroyed since there will be no need for them once the millennium dawns." (2001: 13).

In addition to defining the terminology, there is an important distinction that must be addressed between the definitions of "millennial movements" and that of the concept of "millenarianism". Millenarianism is an enduring world-view that can manifest in fashions other than those seen in apocalyptical cultic groups. Examples can be seen in a widespread dissemination of millennial ideas through popular culture and on the Internet in recent years. Highly visible examples such as the year 2000 scare, the prophecies of Nostradamus and the Mayan apocalypse prediction for 2012 (which was adapted into a Hollywood film) permeate the general culture at large without materializing into a widespread creation of millennial groups bracing for an imminent apocalypse. Millenarianism is also a large component in current world religion, and both modern day Orthodox Judaism and Christianity contain strong overtones of millenarianism. A prime example of this manifestation of millenarianism would be the twelfth article of faith outlined by Maimonides and embraced by Orthodox Judaism: "I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah. No matter how long it takes, I await his coming day." (Kaplan, 1975: 89). Christian groups hold differing views on the Rapture, but there is almost universal belief in a second coming of Christ despite denominational differences. Christianity bases the return of Christ and the commencement of a messianic age on Thessalonians 4:15–17**:**

> "[16] For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first. [17] Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord".

While these religious groups are clearly millenarian, millennial cultic groups tend to embrace this doctrine with less metaphorical understanding than mainstream groups and with much more fervor and immediacy (Robbins, 1995 & 2002; Wallis, 2007). Certain cultic groups may also feel the need to hasten the coming of the messiah with acts of violence to precipitate the apocalypse (Casoni, 2001; Dawson, 2002; Hamilton, 2001). Although religious groups can espouse a millenarian doctrine without embracing dangerous practices, some millenarian groups tend to lean towards violence.

1.1.3 – Anabaptism

The origins of the word 'anabaptism' are derived from the ecclesiastical Latin and Greek term 'anabaptismos': *ana*- meaning 'over again' and *baptismos* meaning 'baptism'. Conrad Grebel first formulated the concept of Christian adult baptism in 1525, with the central tenet surrounding the idea that being born into a belief and having it imposed upon one by one's parents was not sufficient to express faith (Arthur, 2000; Lindberg, 1996). Adult baptism embraces the concepts of free-will and conscious choice in order to reach salvation. As Arthur described, Anabaptism is "…a voluntary community of believers who have freely entered it as responsible, thinking adults through the symbolic act of baptism." (2000: 9).

The motivation of the Anabaptist movement is seen by Lindberg (1996) as one of restoration to a state that the group attributed to 'True Christianity'. The Anabaptists associated the notion of "True Christianity' to the biblical communities that existed during the time of Christ, but which, according to their view, had subsequently been corrupted by Catholicism. In their reading of the Bible, they found no evidence of infant baptism. They furthermore found the practice of infant baptism repugnant, according to Lindberg, and viewed the Catholic version as the baptism of the Antichrist, whereas the Protestant version was deemed as "cheap grace" (1996: 207) because it did not adequately represent faith and the choice to be a believer. In turn, adult baptism was viewed as the act that cleansed the new believers from the sin of papal distortion of the Scripture. It was for these beliefs, among others, that the majority of both Catholic and Protestant Christendom saw Anabaptism as a threat to society and to their own religious beliefs and led to accusations of heresy and the subsequent strong social reaction against them (Arthur, 2000; Lindberg, 1996).

1.1.4 – Charisma and Charismatic Leadership

When attempting to explain the properties of charisma, Max Weber defined it as "a certain quality of an individual's personality by which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities" (1922: 48; Barnes, 1978). Weber defined charisma within the sociological tradition as one of three modes of authority: charismatic leadership, traditional leadership and rational-legal leadership (Bendix, 1961). *Charismatic leadership*, similar to Weber's description above, can refer to one of two situations: an individual who possesses or is perceived to possess exceptional qualities, or someone who possesses an object of exceptional qualities. These qualities set them apart from the ordinary in the eyes of their followers, who can attribute them supernatural, superhuman or divine qualities that allow the charismatic leader to exert a level of domination over others. *Traditional leadership* is defined as one that rules through custom (ex: monarchy), while *rational-legal leaders* are those who have been chosen to fill a certain office (ex: democracy).

According to Friedland (1964), while charisma is a vehicle of large-scale social change, it requires an individualistic level of affirmation and social validation in order to exist. Therefore, while an individual might possess the charismatic qualities outlined by Weber they remain dependant on a following of individuals who validate, propagate and embrace these qualities as followers. This concept of charisma requiring the affirmation of others is echoed in Wallis' (1982) article on the social construction of charisma. Charisma, Wallis argues, is a relationship "born out of interaction between a leader and his followers." (1982: 26). Therefore, the sociological concept of charisma is focused on the social relationship between the charismatic leader and his followers. This idea stipulates that the leader must obtain a source of constant affirmation of their charisma in order for it to exist (Barnes, 1978; Casoni, 2001; Dawson, 2002; Wallis, 1982).

In addition to the definition of charisma, there are a number of characteristics and exigencies that must be in place and met by a leader in order to obtain charismatic leadership over a following. In his historical analysis of charismatic leadership within religious groups, Barnes (1978) explores the social conditions in which charismatic leadership might emerge. In his theory on religious charismatic leadership, Barnes identified three major concerns that charismatic religious leaders must cope with in order to maintain authority: meaning, morality and suffering. The charismatic leader can address these concerns this by espousing an ideology or world-view that resonates among their followers and allows them to consciously engage these issues. Barnes also identifies four characteristics that must be present in society in order for charismatic leadership to exist: (1) the perception of objective symbols, meaning the intimate relationship between the charismatic leader and the divine, (2) a period of social change where a portion of society is disaffected or dissatisfied with society, (3) institutionalization and the leader's teachings, meaning organizational integrity and a body of teachings that can withhold against scrutiny after the leader's death, and (4) a relationship between charismatic leaders and traditional religion, which defines the charismatic leader's followers vis-à-vis or opposed to traditional religion.

In order to understand why certain charismatic leaders emerge during what Weber termed as "times of psychic, physical, economical, ethical, religious and political distress", Dawson argues that the social conditions surrounding these affected groups must be analyzed (2010: 10-11). Therefore, he identifies three foci surrounding this area of research that scholars should take note of when analyzing charismatic leadership within the cultic context: (1) conditions giving rise to charismatic leadership, (2) social construction and management of charismatic leadership, and (3) the institutionalization of charismatic leadership. The first two foci will be used in chapter three to analyze Jan van Leiden's mantle as a charismatic leader. As such, we will be identifying the factors important to both the conditions giving rise to this type of leadership and to its social construction and management in the following two paragraphs.

In his explanation of the conditions giving rise to charismatic leadership, Dawson (2010) identifies seven factors that play a prominent role in regards to the methods by which a leader establishes his leadership: **(1)** The presence of a crisis that is "acute" or "chronic" in nature, as well as "ultimate". Successful charismatic leaders often play up the "ultimate" nature of a crisis among their followers. **(2)** Charismatic leadership must be established before the emergence of a crisis. When this crisis emerges, the leader can then use it to either seize or strengthen his power over his followers. The establishment of charismatic leadership is typically generated in smaller groups. **(3)** The emergence of charismatic leaders is more significant in periods of cultural and economic unrest. A crisis which involves a breakdown of "existing forms of traditional and legal-rational authority" can lead to an 'ultimate' crisis and the opportunity for charismatic leaders to assume power. **(4)** Crises create 'a hunger for renewed order' which can heighten an individual's susceptibility to the charisma of a leader due to the presence of stresses and the inducement of group cohesion brought about by a crisis. **(5)** Societies that have traditional roots and support will encourage the emergence of charismatic leaders. A society which has a shared cultural heritage that involves miraculous symbols and omens are more likely to associate those ideas with a person. **(6)** Charismatic leaders must preach to their followers the message that they want to hear. In order to make a claim for authority, the doctrine of the leader must be an ideal that is widely shared among the population to which he is preaching. **(7)** The charismatic leader must convince his followers that he is the only individual capable of ending or addressing the crisis. Dawson (2010) focuses on two main points in his explanation of the social construction and management of charismatic leadership: why leaders are seen as charismatic by their followers and how the authority of a leader persists despite the common occurrence of little-to-no personal contact with his followers after a group is entrenched. With a view of addressing these questions, Dawson (2010: 19-22) highlights ten processes that he sees as pertaining to these two interrogations, they are the fact that:

(1) The leader is seen as an instrumental in the fulfillment and realization of the group’s eschatology and goals,

(2) The adepts are surrounding by a ‘cult of personality’, wherein the leader is prominently represented in songs, literature and images,

(3) The group tends to be small and authoritarian and thus directs the energies of its followers inwards thus magnifying the significance of anything that happens to an individual or the group

(4) The followers are indoctrinated into the group mythos surrounding the leader, such as their fantastical or extraordinary origin or birth,

(5) Any dissent is dealt with in a rapid manner in order to reduce what Dawson terms to be “normative dissonance” within the group (2010: 20),

(6) The leader makes efforts to gain legitimacy through other prominent social individuals in the fields of government, religion or the arts,

(7) The group creates a hidden or secretive body of teachings used to differentiate between true believers and others,

(8) The group utilizes rationalizations to downplay failures of the leader, transforming them into successes,

(9) Seclusion of the leader can be used to create an element of mystery, and prevent his human qualities from being shown to the followers,

(10) The inner circle surrounding the leader has a vested interested in promoting the leader’s charisma since its own authority is tied intimately to the leader’s power.

Section 1.2 – Historical Context

1.2.1 – General Historical Background

The 16th century was marked as one of the greatest schisms in Christendom with the emergence of the Protestant Reformation. As a result of Martin Luther's doctrine, advocating that everyone was capable of reading and interpreting the Holy Scriptures and of talking directly to God, a number of marginal religious movements emerged to forge their own spiritual destinies without the guidance of the Catholic Church in Rome. By severing the reliance of the common man on the Catholic priesthood for the understanding the Bible and the administration of the sacraments, Luther unleashed a wave of religious reformation in Christian Europe. Propelled by the ideas and writings of reformation scholars, the stage was set for the creation of marginal and dissident religious groups to emerge and thrive in a religiously unstable climate. Some of these groups seized upon apocryphal biblical writings predicting the end of times to predict the apocalypse during their own lifetime.

In addition to the religious unrest caused by the Protestant Reformation, the political and economic consequences that ensued in most parts of Europe gave way to a great deal of social unrest among the lower strata of society (Lindberg, 1996). The Protestant Reformation thus helped fuel the dissident feelings among the lower classes and led to a number of large-scale confrontations. Specifically in Germany, an example of the ripple effects of reformation ideals is seen in a cataclysmic period of unrest that unfolded from 1524 to 1526, which has come to be known as the German Peasant's War or *Bundschuch* movement. Lindberg (1996) writes that an enigmatic figure, Joss Fritz seized upon the Reformation writings of Ulrich Zwingli and Thomas Münzter and led the

Bundschuch movement against what they termed as "economic and social oppression." (1996: 159). Moving around and attacking the countryside in groups of 2,000 to 15,000 men, they wrecked havoc on both the nobility and general countryside. According to Lindberg (1996), anticlericalism and dissent towards the established Church were attributed to the movement as two of the more prevalent causes of the Peasant's War. Such anticlerical and anti-church sentiments were a facet of European life that was intimately tied with moral, religious, economic and social issues leading up to the Reformation itself, and the revolutionary ideas surrounding the radical reformations acted as tinder for the fires of unrest that had already been lying in wait for some time.[5]

Historical Background of Anabaptism

The history and founding of Anabaptism can be tied to the Swiss scholar Conrad Grebel (1498-1526). Influenced by the humanist Flexi Mantz and by the Protestant reformer Ulrich Zwingli, Grebel advocated in 1523 for a return to a Church of "only true believers, a voluntary Church independent of the state" (Lindberg, 1996: 213). His 'free Church movement' advocated ideals that would later be championed in the Anabaptist movement: scriptural orthodoxy, Mass as a symbolic covenant with God, children not being baptized as infants and a return to the model of the early Church after the death of Jesus. Grebel also administered the first recorded adult baptism in 1529. The refusal to baptize a child had long been deemed a heretical capital offence by mainstream Christianity since the days of Theodosius and Justinian, and the second Diet of Speyer[6] was convened in 1529 to reaffirm this code in reaction to the growth of adult baptism and fears of that Anabaptism would reignite the fires of the German Peasant's War (Lindberg, 1996).

---

[5] For a more complete description of the social, political and economic implications of the Protestant Reformation, please see: (Cohn, 1970; Goertz, 1982 and 1982a; Lindberg, 1996; Stayer, 1991).

[6] The second Diet of Speyer was convened to address what some prominent Catholic figures viewed as an overly tolerant stance taken in the previous Diet of Speyer in 1526.

While this short background touched on but a few minute facets of the complex tapestry of events surrounding the consequences and ideas that came from the Reformation, according to this author, it is important to consider two major factors surrounding the emergence of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster. The first is that uncertainty and unrest characterized the religious climate within which it was formed. The second factor to consider is that due to the great amount of unrest affecting European life, the established authorities, whether Catholic or Protestant, depending on the inclinations of the nobility of the varying areas were intimately aware of new religious movements that were forming and thus were reactive to stamping out religious heresy (Goertz, 1982; Lindberg, 1996). Some of these newly formed movements were indeed perceived as heretical cults and, hence, faced armed and violent oppression from the authorities. Such a social reaction must have contributed to the development of apocalyptic beliefs due to their persecution at the hands of 'unbelievers' and in turn to some groups reacting with even greater violence (Cohn, 1970; Lindberg, 1996). In this sense, the social climate is to be considered when analyzing the behaviors, doctrines and choices made by the group under study.

1.2.2 – The Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster (AKM)

There is a great deal of information and scholarly interest in the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster (AKM) among historians and other academics (Arthur, 2000;

Brady, 1985; Brecht, 1985; Cohn, 1970; De Bakker, 2009; Hsia, 1984; Kerssenbrock, 2007; Lucas, 2003). The subject matter is immense, the details of which require books and numerous publications to encompass all of the various intertwining religious, political and social impacts that the AKM had on European life at the time. Although it would not be feasible to present this scholarly work, it is nonetheless important that the reader gets a sense of the particular history of the AKM in order to better understand the multiple reasons that might have played a role in their recourse to violence. More precisely, the issues and elements related to the leadership exercised in the AKM will be a focus of attention since this specific aspect is directly related to our research objectives.

In order to present the development of the Anabaptist movement and the evolution of the AKM, the following timeframe will be divided into temporal 'periods' describing the pertinent events related to the AKM. The important milestones in the development and the evolution of the AKM will be presented, these are: The rise of Anabaptism, the arrival of its first leaders in Münster, the commencement of the siege of Münster, the actual establishment of the AKM, the leader's coronation, the fall of the AKM and the Aftermath of the dissolution of the AKM. The timeline outlined below is mainly adapted from the work of Arthur (2000), with supplemental details taken from Kerssenbrock (2007), Gresbeck, (2010), Cohn (1970), Hsia (1984) and Stayer (1972).

- *The rise of Anabaptism and the emergence of Jan Matthias (1531-1533)*

As highlighted in the section on the general historical context, the period surrounding the rise of the AKM was one of social and religious unrest, which was in no small part due to the emergence of the Protestant Reformation of 1517 with Luther's dissenting writings in Wittenberg. According to Lindberg (1996), the Diet of Speyer (1529) and the fear of another Peasant's War led to the widespread persecution of Anabaptists by both Protestant and Catholic authorities. This persecution gave birth to a feeling of apocalyptic fervor among the Anabaptist movements which predicted and anticipated the second coming of Christ in their times according to Arthur (2000), Cohn (1970) and Lindberg (1996). Seizing upon these prophecies, a prophet by the name of Melchior Hoffmann joined the Anabaptist movement in 1529 and began travelling around the Netherlands as a preacher (Depperman, 2005). In his sermons, Hoffmann stated that the Millennium was to occur on the anniversary of the fifteenth century of Christ's death in Strasbourg in 1533 (Cohn, 1970). Cohn (1970) and Depperman (2005) add that his apocalyptic fervor was embraced by his followers and especially by the lower classes in the towns he visited. This led the authorities to fear Hoffmann's teachings and he was subsequently imprisoned in Strasbourg and lived the rest of his life in captivity. As a result of his imprisonment, the prophetic mantle was passed from Hoffmann to the Dutch Anabaptist Jan Matthias (also spelled Matthys or Matthyszoon). Cohn (1970) describes this event as a turning point in the Dutch Anabaptist movement:

> "Hoffmann was a man of peace who had taught his followers to await the coming of the Millennium in quiet confidence, avoiding all violence. Matthys on the other hand was a revolutionary leader who taught that the righteous must themselves take up the sword and actively prepare the way for the Millennium by wielding it against the unrighteous (…) he and his followers were called to cleanse the earth of the ungodly." (1970: 260)

Concurrently in Münster, Protestantism and Anabaptist sympathies were on the rise. Arthur (2000) describes that in 1531 a former priest by the name of Bernard Rothmann converted to radical Protestantism and proceeded to destroy all of the 'idols' in Münster's church. Upon the imprisonment of Hoffmann in Strasbourg, the location of the Second Coming was changed by his followers from Strasbourg to a city of nine thousand people called Münster in the north of Frisia, close to the Dutch border. Inevitably, this caused an influx of Anabaptists to the city between June to September of 1533 in anticipation of the coming apocalypse, according to historians such as Lindberg (1996) and Arthur (2000).

- *Arrival of Matthias and Leiden in Münster*
  (Fall of 1533 - Early Winter of 1534)

From the Netherlands, Matthias sent out emissaries to baptize as many followers as possible and spread the Anabaptist dogma (Cohn, 1970). In the city of Münster itself, mass conversions and re-baptisms began in the Fall of 1533 (Arthur, 2000; Kerssenbrock, 2007; Gresbeck, 2010). Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007) both describe how two apostles came to the city of Münster in 1534 and were greeted by Bernard Rothmann who would later become a chief lieutenant under Jan van Leiden's reign. Within a week of being in Münster, the two apostles had baptized over 1,400 adults and Anabaptist fervor had taken over the spirit of the town (Cohn, 1970). Shortly thereafter in the early Winter of 1534, the newly baptized Dutch convert Jan van Leiden[7] arrived in the city, to prepare the town of Münster for the arrival of the prophet Matthias and so, Cohn states, gave the city: "a fierce militancy" (1970: 261).

- *The beginnings of the Prince-Bishop's siege and the rise of Jan van Leiden*
  (Winter 1534 – Spring 1534)

---

[7] Similarly to the multiple spellings of Jan Matthias' name, there are multiple spelling variations for Jan van Leiden across the historical sources that mention him. Among some of the different spellings are John of Leyden, Jan Bockelson, Jan Bockelszoon or Jan Beukelsz.

With the help of local figure and former priest Bernard Rothmann, Matthias and Leiden began to strengthen their influence over the town of Münster. According to Arthur (2000), upon his arrival in Münster, Leiden began a campaign of preaching and re-baptizing with the aid of lieutenants such as Bernard Knipperdolling, Bernard Rothmann and other prominent local Münsterites such as Mayor Hermann Tilbeck. In early February of 1534, Matthias finally arrived in Münster (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). This led to tensions and violence between the Anabaptists and the Catholics and Protestants, which led to the eventual expulsion of non-Anabaptists from Münster (Arthur, 2000; 40). At this point, the Prince-Bishop who was responsible for the area, Franz von Waldeck, initiated a blockade of the AKM, now entrenched within the city walls of Münster, out of fear of the growth of the Anabaptist movement (Arthur, 2000; Cohn, 1970, Hsia, 1984). According to Arthur (2000), urged by both ecclesiastical and secular authorities to deal with the growing problem in Münster, the Prince-Bishop prepared to attack the city to wrest control from Matthias and Leiden. In early Spring of 1534, Matthias seized control of all property in the city of Münster out of fear of the upcoming attack (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Matthias' reign as leader was to come to an abrupt end however, as on April 5th of 1534, Matthias revealed that he was given a vision by God that commanded him to single-handedly attack the Prince-Bishop's army (Arthur, 2000; Hsia, 1984; Gresbeck, 2010, Kerssenbrock, 2007). Upon his sortie, the besieging army subsequently killed Matthias. At this point, Arthur (2000) states, that Leiden assumed full leadership of the Anabaptists in Münster.

- *The establishment of the AKM*
  (Spring 1534 – Summer 1534)

With the death of Jan Matthias, Arthur (2000) writes Leiden used the ensuing turmoil to establish authority over the besieged Münsterites. At Leiden's behest, the former city council was abolished and a council of Twelve Elders modeled after the biblical tribes were established with Leiden at the head (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). The Twelve Elders instituted rules forcing strict obedience and biblical orthodoxy, where transgressors were punished harshly and often with death. At this point, all of Leiden's opponents and detractors were executed or imprisoned (Arthur, 2000; Hsia, 1984).

Both Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007) recount that in May of 1534, the Prince-Bishop's forces attacked the city but were summarily repulsed by the AKM defenders, who were ensconced behind Münster's walls. Arthur (2000) describes this event as an important factor which buoyed Leiden's support and strengthened his authority over his followers. In the wake of his victory over the Prince-Bishop's forces, Leiden then enacted a number of policies meant to strengthen his control over his followers. By Mid-July of 1534, Arthur explains that Leiden forced the Twelve Elders to declare that polygamy was "both legal and desirable" and took for himself Matthias' widow and fourteen other women to be his wives (2000: 95). In response to the enactment of polygamy, a counterrevolution against Leiden was lead by a local blacksmith and former Anabaptist supporter by the name of Henry Mollenhecke (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). During the violence that ensued dozens of people were executed by Leiden and his loyal supporters, among them Mollenhecke and the bulk of his followers. In the aftermath of the Mollenhecke's rebellion, women who refused to engage in polygamy were beheaded (Arthur, 2000; Hsia, 1984; Stayer, 1972).

In August of 1534, the Prince-Bishop attempted a second attack upon Münster and was summarily repulsed by the van Leiden's followers once again (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). At this point, Arthur (2000) describes that the Prince-Bishop became resigned to starve the city into submission rather than risk further losses by attacking it. The siege of Münster was tightened as a result, with a strong cordon of soldiers and blockades preventing traffic and support from reaching the city.

- *Leiden's coronation and escalating violence (Autumn 1534)*

On September 1st 1534, some eight months after the siege of the city by the AKM and its blockade by the Prince-Bishop, Jan van Leiden declared himself King and established his court according to Stayer (1972), Hsia (1984) and Arthur (2000). Supporters like Rothmann, Tilbeck and Knipperdoling were given important positions within his court (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Leiden then decreed that his followers should maintain a strict vow of poverty, from which he and his court were exempted (Arthur, 2000). Regularly during his reign, Leiden would hold public court where he would pass judgment on sinners and execute or imprison dissenters (Gresbeck, 2010; Hsia, 1984; Kerssenbrock, 2007).

Shortly after the establishment of Leiden's court, Knipperdolling attempted to challenge Leiden's power in a bout of public behavior, described as being bizarre and insane by Arthur (2000), where he ridiculed Leiden publically during a session where he was passing judgment over sinners. Arthur (2000) describes this event as an enigma of sorts, with explanations for Knipperdolling's behavior being attributed to either a calculated risk to seize power or medical issues. After a brief imprisonment, Knipperdolling was pardoned by Leiden after he recanted his actions publically (Arthur, 2000).

During the period where Leiden had established himself as King, incidences of intra-group violence and the institution of mechanisms of social control by Leiden and his lieutenants increased within the confines of Münster's city walls (Arthur, 2000; Hsia, 1984). In addition to the regular execution of dissidents, Leiden enacted policies meant to strengthen his control over his followers: forced naming of children, acts of iconoclasm, mock masses ridiculing other forms of Christianity, food rationing for his followers, as well as confiscation and sharing of property (Hsia, 1984; Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Arthur describes this period of Leiden's reign as a regime that was "based on intimidation and terror" (2000: 113).

- *The fall of the AKM*
  (Early Winter 1535 – Autumn 1536)

While the siege outside the city intensified and with the growing unrest and violence within the city itself threatening stability, problems such as hunger, defection and rebellion became the norm within Münster, explains Arthur (2000). Leiden's efforts to raise support for Münster among Anabaptist sympathizers outside the city failed when groups of outside supporters attempting to enter the city were captured and executed by the Prince-Bishop's forces, state both Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007). As a result of the growing hopelessness of the situation, Leiden tightened his control over his followers and attempted to garner loyalty by providing titles, land grants and other honors to his inner circle (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010). Despite his efforts to maintain control and loyalty, thousands of Münsterites fled the city due to “starvation and terror” (Arthur, 2000: 208) and were turned away by the Prince-Bishop’s blockade. Arthur (2000) adds that three close collaborators to Leiden, including Henry Gresbeck, also defected to the Prince-Bishop’s forces, revealing weaknesses in the city’s defenses to the besieging force. As a result, on June 22nd, 1535 the Prince-Bishop’s forces successfully attacked and captured the city of Münster, close to 17 months after the beginning of the blockade (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Among the Anabaptists leaders taken were Jan van Leiden and some of his closest advisors. After a period of questioning and imprisonment, Leiden and his inner circle were executed in Münster in January of 1536, where their bodies were hung in steel cages from the church towers (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Hsia, 1984; Kerssenbrock, 2007).

- *The Aftermath*

Surprisingly, Jan Van Leiden managed to hold off for nearly a year and a half against a mercenary army raised by Prince-Bishop Franz von Waldeck. During this time, he instated a period of terror, violence, domination and control over the citizenry of Münster. His rule was characterized by despotism (beheadings, executions), megalomania (by declaring himself king), rebellions (Mollenhecke’s revolution), religious ecstasy (through the bizarre behaviors presented by Leiden and his lieutenants when they initially began preaching), mass hysteria, the persecution of women and the generally accepted unshakable belief that Leiden was going to bring about the Second Coming with the city of Münster as the New Jerusalem. The legacy of the AKM that remained after the fall of Leiden and the city of Münster is that of violence and death. Subsequent Anabaptists, no matter how peaceful or non-confrontational, were associated with the same level of violence and horror that was experienced in Münster (Lindberg, 1996). Despite the negative branding of Anabaptists due to the violent acts of the AKM, Anabaptism persists to the present day. The Anabaptist movement started by Menno Simons, a contemporary of Matthias and Leiden, exists in modern day society under the name of Mennonites. Adult baptism is also currently practiced by many religious groups such as Evangelical Christians, Calvinists, Baptists and Pentecostalists, among others.

Section 1.3 – Theoretical References

This section will address and briefly summarize the three main theoretical concepts chosen for the analysis of the AKM. Keeping in mind that the goal of this thesis is to address the question of how charismatic leadership is achieved, maintained and/or lost, as well as issues with how charismatic leadership can catalyze acts of violence among followers, the theories chosen reflect these research goals. Out of the theories chosen for analyzing the AKM and Leiden, the first is Casoni's (2000) theory on groups that follow a philosophy of separation. The second focuses upon endogenous factors found within cultic groups, as put forth by Robbins (2002). The third is concerned with Dawson's (2002) research into the breakdown of charismatic leadership. These theories were chosen for a number of reasons, notably because they deal explicitly with the composition and social conduct of cultic groups; they are applicable to the recourse to violence within such groups; finally because each theoretical concept chosen has a measure of compatibility with the others, making comparative analysis between concepts possible.

1.3.1 Groups that follow a philosophy of separation

In her article on the relation of different group philosophies to dangerous conduct within cultic groups, Casoni (2000) identifies four types of group philosophical functioning: separation, purity, survival and indulgence. By group philosophy, Casoni (2000) refers to the group's world-view or ***'Weltanschauung'***. In order to describe these different world-views, she examines the way groups, from each of the four philosophies she proposes, relate to seven elements that are inherent to group life: type of leadership, type of membership, how children are treated, group rituals, evolution of doctrine, spatial organization and social organization. Casoni identifies each philosophy in terms of a simple credo which distills the essence of their world-view into a simple and easy to understand manner. For example, a group that espouses a philosophy of separation can be defined, according to Casoni: "by three simple words: *Us and Them*" (2000: 144), a group that espouses a philosophy of survival would: "exemplify the following aphorism: *if you're not with us, you're against us.*" (2000: 154), and a group concerned with purity could be understood as focused on a maxim such as "*our only goal is attaining purity*" (2000: 149), whereas a group following a philosophy of indulgence would function under a concept of "*be and let be"* (2000: 159). While the AKM might fit under the description of a group that follows a mix of philosophies of separation, survival and/or purity, Anabaptism in all of its iterations (Mennonites, Amish etc.) is at heart a movement that follows a philosophy of separation. A counter-argument to this could be that Matthias and Leiden both had violent tendencies that they transmitted to their particular Anabaptist group, therefore it would be correct to analyze and classify the AKM as a group following a philosophy of survival. While this argument may be justified in certain analytical situations, the description of a group following a philosophy of separation is more conducive to understanding the early motivations of Matthias and Leiden before the unfolding of the harsher acts of violence during Leiden's reign. As such, the choice was taken to analyze and classify the AKM as a group that espouses a philosophy of separation.

According to Casoni (2000), the members of a group that follows of a philosophy of separation live with a sense that they belong to a privileged or special group while the rest of the world remains in ignorance or spiritual un-enlightenment. Obedience to orthodoxy, rituals, and precise dress codes as well as the sharing of buzz words reinforce the divide between "us" and "them" and allow for group members to evaluate and discern those among themselves who lack conviction, are deemed less orthodox, or who seem to question the authority of the leaders within the group. Leadership "is most often exercised by a small elite" (Casoni, 2000: 145-146), where they act as the social control agents; following a leader is a method with which members of a group achieve cohesion through obedience to their leaders. In terms of membership, there is a constant demarcation between group members and all 'others' outside of the group, and efforts are made to keep the outside world at bay through methods such as conduct and dress. While this vigilance increases group cohesion, it also leads to group tension and sentiments of vulnerability vis-à-vis peer judgment. Since there is a constant demarcation between 'us' and 'them', the rearing of children is paramount in such groups since they are the sole method of transmitting the teachings of the group. Within these types of groups, rituals "are used to evaluate members' faith and orthodoxy" and are used to judge conformity and group cohesion (Casoni, 2000: 147). In a doctrinal sense, group members must completely adhere to the group's dogma and to their scriptural texts, since there is an emphasis in "keeping group beliefs and traditions intact, unaltered, and timeless…" (2000: 148). However, when the group's leadership puts a doctrinal change forth, it is expected that the entire group adhere to the details as if there was no novelty to the doctrine. This has been evidenced, for example, in the AKM when Leiden assumed leadership of the AKM in the wake of Jan Matthias' death and established strict roles of conduct and behavior within the city (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Further application of this theory will be presented in chapters three and four.

Amongst the modern day illustrations of religious or cultic groups that can be classified as following a philosophy of separation would be certain groups of Ultra-Orthodox Jews or the Amish.

1.3.2 Endogenous factors

The second theory helps explain the *endogenous factors* that may have played a role in Leiden's establishment of charismatic leadership and the recourse to violence among his followers. Taken mainly from a book chapter written by Robbins (2002), this section specifically examines the three endogenous factors identified by Robbins as precursors or catalysts to the escalation of violence among cultic groups: (1) millennialism, (2) systemic/totalitarian factors, and (3) charismatic leadership/authority. This work will be summarized because it explicitly deals with the process and genesis of violence among cultic groups, which remains one of the main foci for analysis within this thesis.

Examining the sources of volatility in religious movements, Robbins (2002) categorized factors that could enhance the likelihood of violence among religious movements into two dimensions: social versus cultural dimension, and exogenous versus endogenous dimensions (2002). Although his views on the social and cultural factors will not be reviewed since these aspects have been addressed in the previous section, a review of his work on the role played by *endogenous* factors in cultic violence is deemed relevant.

Robbins' (2002) analysis of the endogenous dimensions that play a role in the volatility and violence among cultic groups that resort to violence consists of a literature review and five case study where he analyses and discusses endogenous dimensions as well as other factors that play important roles in how certain religious movements come to resort to acts of violence. We can classify Robbins' observations into the following two important categories: millennialism, and systemic/totalitarian factors.

Groups that espouse an apocalyptic world-view tend to embrace the idea that the last days before the Apocalypse, or Second Coming, will involve violence and persecution against the 'Saints', who are seen as the beneficiaries of the imminent apocalypse, argues Robbins (2002). Using recent examples of recent millenarian violent cultic groups such as the Peoples Temple, the Branch Davidians, the Order of the Solar Temple, Aum Shinrikyo and Heaven's Gate, Robbins (2002) explains how millennial beliefs can lead to acts of violence and identifies a number of aspects that pushed these groups to acts of violence. The first example given is that these groups "view themselves as a spiritual vanguard of 'saints' or 'chosen people' whose will be assured a place in the world to come due to their sacrifice, persecution and suffering that they undergo before the millennium (2002: 981). If the members of the group are to survive this persecution and inherit the new world, Robbins (2002) observes they feel the need to take defensive measures such as arming and training themselves with weapons. They also view the outside world as a composition of the forces of evil, which requires them to actively take up violent resistance (Robbins, 2002). The author highlights and explains this point through an analysis of the events at Waco with the Branch Davidians. Another distinction that Robbins puts forth is a version of millennialism in which members are known as "catastrophic millennialists" (2002: 1002) and who view evil as something that needs to be destroyed in order to achieve earthly salvation. Among catastrophic millenialists, this distinction is especially present when the groups suffer from a form of persecution. Using the events that lead up to the Heaven's Gate suicide as an example, Robbins (2002) also identified that the disconfirmation of prophecy can lead to acts of violence. He also identifies a number of other factors in millennial violence such as the demonization of the state, as in the case of Aum Shinrikyo.

The second idea that Robbins (2002) uses to identify factors affecting volatility and violence within cultic groups is defined as that of systemic totalitarian aspects within the cultic group itself. Robbins states that the nature of cultic groups is that of a total institution, in Goffman's sense (1976), which: "*encapsulate[s]* their members through various institutional and social psychological mechanisms that comprehensively regulate members' lives and insulate them from the normative expectations of conventional society" (2002: 1068). The view of a cultic group as a 'total institution' is central to Robbins' argument according to Scott & Marshall (2005: 665). Using Heaven's Gate and other cultic groups as examples, Robbins (2002) identifies four aspects within a totalitarian cultic group that may lead it to acts of violence. The first involves the lowering of inhibitions against extreme behaviors within the group. Robbins (2002) posits that within a totalitarian cult, the group encourages participants to identify solely with the group, its leader and its teachings, in doing so they lose critical judgment as well as their reference points as to their habitual modes of social and moral judgment. Essentially, the participants are expected to conform to multiple aspects exhibited by the group - a phenomenon that can predispose an individual to acts of violence due to "an erosion of prior inhibitions against extreme behavior" (Robins, 2002:1075), more precisely "when the leader or the group is threatened (2002:1079). Additionally, within a totalitarian system, a leader may encourage group members to commit risky, illegal or violent acts in order to entrench commitment to the leader or the movement. Lastly there is also the bonding aspect of shared risk and the inherent internal surveillance mechanisms built within a group under the influence of totalitarianism.

1.3.3 Breakdown of charismatic leadership as a precursor to violence

Lastly, the third theoretical concept used in analyzing the AKM has been proposed by Dawson (2002) and examines the role of *the breakdown of charismatic leadership* in the development of violence in cultic groups. Similarly to the section on endogenous factors, this concept deals with the factors and precursors to cultic violence. Dawson (2002) has identified four major challenges faced by charismatic leaders when attempting to maintain charismatic leadership over their followers. The first challenge faced by a charismatic leader that Dawson identified is maintaining their image among their followers. The second is the challenge of moderating the psychological identification between the followers and the leader. The third challenge is negotiation the routinization of charisma, while the last and achieving new successes. Dawson argues that it is when cultic leaders fail to maintain and address these challenges that instances of cultic violence can occur. These four major challenges, according to Dawson (2002) and additional supplemental authors, are presented and elaborated below:

- Maintaining the leader's persona/image:

According to Dawson (2002), charismatic leadership is dependent on the illusion that the leader has a personal relationship with his followers. The leader must be visible to his flock and have a personal presence among them to maintain his image. This presence must be carefully managed because, if there is too much exposure, it diminishes the image of the leader as 'super-human'. The leader's inner circle will also seek to isolate him from the general group out of jealousy for his attention. The inner circle's sycophantic nature and inability to properly criticize the cultic leader can cause a disjunction between the leader and the realities of the world, which can result in the leader engaging in more extreme policies and actions in order to gain assurances of loyalty.

- Moderating the effects of psychological identification of the followers with the leader:

As the followers within a cultic group fuse their own egos and identification with that of the group leader, any attack on the leader is perceived as an attack on the members themselves. This leads to exaggerated demonization of apostates and detractors of the cult and the exploitation of tensions by the group leader, which may lead to an increase in authority and dominance over the group (Casoni, 2001; Casoni & Brunet, 2005; Dawson, 2002). This tension can act as a catalyst for violent acts, which direct repressed anger at an outward source or scapegoat. The leader might also involve his followers in illegal actions in order to ensure continuation of loyalty, which has also been identified, notably in the previous section, by Robbins (Casoni, 2001; Dawson, 2002). Other authors have described similar dynamics, whether the idealized identification of group members to the leader, and the latter's constant monitoring of the image he projects unto the group, or of the demonization of the outside world (Casoni, 2001, Casoni & Brunet 2005).

- Negotiating the routinization of charisma:

The routinization of charisma is built on the Weberian concept that when a group develops, it becomes increasingly bureaucratized. In cultic settings however that are characterized by charismatic leadership, the leader typically resists such routinization. The larger the group, the more tasks there are that need to be delegated to lieutenants, and this therein leads to less personal contact from the leader (Dawson, 2002; Stark, 1965). Stark adds that "no social group, sacred or secular, can exist for a length of time without some kind of organization." (1965: 206). Stark goes on to define the two main aspects of the routinization of charisma faced by charismatic leaders as:

> "…the growth of a canon law and the growth of a dogmatic theology. At the beginning, the relation between the religious leader and the religious follower is a highly personal one; they love each other… In the end both poles of the relationship are depersonalized…" (1965: 207).

In his study of the Weberian concept of the routinization of charisma among the Hassidim, Sharot (1980) explains that if a religious group is to survive past the beginning stages of charismatic leadership, which is based on transitory personal social relationships, it requires a bureaucratization and a more permanent and stable structure. This is particularly evident when a charismatic leader dies and there are problems of succession.

Dawson explains the problem of the routinization of charisma as a "shift toward a more rational-legal mode of authority [that] often is experienced by charismatic leaders as an unacceptable diminution of their own power" (2002: 1364). This causes a shift of loyalty among the followers from the leader to the institution or group. Out of a fear of this loss of power, a charismatic leader may use tactics to destabilize the group intentionally, such as policy shifts, increased demands, demonization of the outside world, controlling information being fed to the group, testing the loyalty of followers and even moving the cultic group to another location (Casoni, 1997; Dawson, 2002).

- Achieving new successes:

The continuation of charismatic leadership relies on the appearance of successes by the leader. These successes can be demonstrated through activities such as the recruitment of new members, but also through spiritual elements (Dawson, 2002). Dawson (2002) goes on to state that the failure to recruit new members or failed apocalyptical predictions can precipitate acts of violence as a group turns its social focus inward and alienates itself from its social surroundings. Perhaps the most salient example of the failure to achieve new successes within a cultic group is the phenomenon of failed prophecies (Bader, 1999; Casoni, 2000; Dawson, 1999; Festinger et. al., 1956), which is by its very definition a failure to achieve a primary goal central to a cultic group's doctrine.

This fundamental failure in a cultic group's dogma is discussed in length by Bader (1999), who analyzed four case studies of cultic groups meant to "illustrate the relationship between tension, commitment and decreased morale and defection" after a failed prophecy (1999: 119-120). Bader (1999) built his concepts upon the renowned work of Festinger *et. al*. (1956) on the failure of prophecy within UFO groups and the 'disillusionment' faced by the members when experiencing a failed prophecy. From these cases studies, Bader (1999) observes that the levels of commitment of members have a direct link with their reaction after the failure of prophecy. He argues that in groups where the levels of commitment are extremely low, the members ignore the failed prophecy, while in groups where levels of commitment are extremely high, the members are far too integrated in the group to effectively leave it. Among the groups analyzed in Bader's study, reactions to failed prophecy ranged from mild disappointment to negative morale within the group. Within groups under the control of a charismatic leader, the groups that exhibited lower levels of commitment, the effect was minimal whereas within groups showing high levels of commitment, the effects of a failed prophecy tended to be defection and group suicide.

This chapter addressed and presented the three main theoretical concepts which will be utilized in the analysis presented in chapters three and four: Casoni's notion of groups that follow a philosophy of separation, Robbins's concept of ideological and cultural tendencies, and Dawson's views on endogenous factors and the breakdown of charismatic leadership. The next chapter will deal with the methodology utilized throughout the research presented in this thesis. More specifically, it will address issues such as the rationale behind the historical and qualitative perspectives used, the reasons behind the choices of the particular cultic group chosen for analysis, the choice and method of analyzing data, as well as research limitations and objectives.

This chapter addressed the definitional issues surrounding the key concepts related to our research objectives, as well it presented the essential historical background necessary to understand the birth and evolution of the AKM and the key concepts used to analyze the data under study. The information thus presented in this chapter constitutes the theoretical framework put in place to analyze the role played by charismatic leadership in its recourse to violence within the group which will be presented in chapters three and four after the presentation, in the next chapter, of the methodology used to pursue our research objectives

Chapter Two: Methodology

2.1 – Research Objectives

The general objective of this study is to better understand how charismatic leadership is related to the recourse to violence. It thus aims at better understanding the effect a leader's style of leadership has on the group and how aspects related to leadership might be associated to the recourse to violence by the AKM. More specifically, the theoretical context presented in the previous chapter will be used to identify the relevant social and psychological elements that might have contributed to the establishment and maintenance of Leiden's charismatic leadership and its relation to the recourse to violence among his followers.

2.2 – Historical and Qualitative Perspectives

There are a number of benefits inherent to the methodological choice of a historical approach. The time period that was chosen for this analysis was during a period of radical reformation within Christianity, providing a large number of possible foci for research. In addition to a dearth of choices of cults that are accessible for this type of study in the present day, there is the benefit of historical distance, which eliminates some researcher bias when the author is personally collecting qualitative data. It also ensures that a sufficient amount of time has passed to allow for a large body of varied scholarship to have emerged on the topic. A historical approach also eliminates the need for ethical considerations that cannot be assured in modern day studies and allows access to information on cultic groups that would be difficult to obtain with present day groups

(Neuman et. al., 2004). Very few millenarian groups would readily accept outside scrutiny without reservation and a historical approach bypasses this important hurdle.

The choice of a qualitative perspective for research is due to the nature of the relationship being explored by the central thesis of this paper. Firstly, a historical approach precludes the use of quantitative methods as access to numerical data is often not available, which is the case for the data concerning the AKM. In addition, any data collected by the Church or other sources during this time cannot be seen as empirically sound and accurate according to modern day standards. Qualitative analysis, and in particular, documentary analysis, is much more applicable to this particular genre of research (Neuman, et. al., 2004). In place of interviews, primary source accounts of the leaders, their groups and the events that surrounded them will be used. These accounts, since they are personal memoirs, are devoid of any researcher bias that may occur during an interview process however they contain the biases of their authors that the researcher must sort through in the process of analyzing the data (Neuman et. al., 2004).

2.3 – Reasons for Using a Case Study

The choice of a case study as the method of analysis within this thesis is due to the historical nature of the research. Other qualitative methods of collecting data such as interviews and field-work are impossible when the main source of data is a group that has not existed for hundreds of years. Therefore, the most effective method of analyzing the effects of charismatic leadership on a historical group is the case study (Neuman, et. al., 2004).

In addition, the choice of using a case study is hinged on the comprehensive nature of case study analysis. That is, a case study offers the best vantage point when analyzing encompassing dimensions such as charismatic leadership and violence. A more broad, macro-level of analysis is offered en lieu of a more specific, participant driven analysis that could be researched through the use of one-on-one interviews or participant analysis, etc.

2.4 – Choice of Cultic Group

Among the millenarian groups that emerged during the Protestant Reformation, there were few as controversial as the AKM (Cohn, 1970; Lindberg, 1996, De Bakker, 2009). According to Lindberg (1996), as practitioners of adult baptism, they were simultaneously vilified by both the Catholic Church and by the newly reformed Protestant Church. Lindberg (1996) further states that both state and religious repression of Anabaptist groups were widespread and greatly affected the development and eschatology of their movement. This repression by both state and religious authorities created an ideal environment within which groups like the AKM might experience a development wrought with violence (Arthur, 2000; Lindberg, 1996). The determination of the Catholic church in eliminating the Anabaptists which were seen as heretic, had a relatively important effect of favouring the writing of a number of accounts of their existence, such as the works of Kerssenbrock (2007) written in the 1550's and first published in 1730, and that of Gresbeck (2010), first written shortly after the fall of Münster, but published only in the late 19th century. These accounts are considered as valuable reflections of the personae of Leiden and of the Münsterites (Arthur, 2000; De Bakker, 2009; Hsia, 1984; Stark, 1972).

2.5 – **Description of Sources**

The main body of knowledge on Jan van Leiden and the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster group is drawn from two primary sources, Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007), who were both eyewitnesses to the events surrounding the rise and fall of Leiden. While both Gresbeck and Kerssenbrock's works were written shortly after the dissolution of the AKM, their work is dated in 2007 and 2010 because of the translations that were used throughout this research.

The first source consists of the account of Hermann von Kerssenbrock, a German teacher and historian, who wrote his account of the rise and fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster in Latin some 25 years after he had witnessed the events. As a follower of Van Leiden, his account is written in third person, establishing his work as a historic account of what he had witnessed. Kerssenbrock prefaces his account of the events during the AKM with a detailed description of the physical aspects of the country during the time of the AKM, the social make-up of its citizens and the socio-political situation prior to the rise of the AKM. As an eyewitness, Kerssenbrock wrote in detail of the events before, during and after the rise of Matthias, Leiden and of the AKM. His book is extremely detailed, with records of conversations, transcripts of certain letters and documents, as well as his opinion on the events that unfolded around him during the establishment and fall of the AKM. The particular translation used is a two-tome work by Christopher Mackay that was published in 2007, and is the only reliable academic translation of Kerssenbrock's book into English.

The second eyewitness account is by a cabinet maker and part-time mercenary, Heinreich (Henry) Gresbeck who was one of the two Anabaptist soldiers who defected and revealed the weaknesses in the fortifications of the city of Münster to Bishop von Waldeck. His actions led to the successful attack by the Prince-Bishop's forces. He described his stay in the besieged city of Münster under Jan van Leiden in a dialect of low German entitled "*Bericht von der Widertaufe in Münster*". Gresbeck's work is less nuanced than Kerssenbrock's, he describes the events that occurred during the reign of the AKM in Münster , but does not include detailed accounts of conversation or refer to other documents than his own experience of the events. His manner of writing and the style he employs resemble the narration of "the story". He is particularly interested in the Prince-Bishop's forces and presents the events after the fall of the AKM. His account is precious notably because his experience of both the life inside Munster and of the actions of the Prince-Bishop's forces. A typical chapter of his book consists of a chronological heading regarding a certain topic, for example polygamy, along with his opinion on the events he himself saw or experienced. It is structured much like an interview, but written in prose form. While there is no published English translation of Gresbeck's account, we are indebted to Christopher Mackay, a Professor of History and Classics at the University of Alberta, who provided us with his unpublished translation of Gresbeck's work.

It will be Kerssenbrock and Gresbeck's accounts that will be drawn upon primarily for analysis of Jan Van Leiden and of the AKM. Supplementing these two primary sources will be a number of written sources by the Münsterites themselves, as transcribed in Kerssenbrock's account. These will be used to analyze the AKM community in terms of beliefs, religion and culture. Both of the main sources bring a unique take on the events that occurred during the brief reign of Leiden and the AKM. Of the two sources, this analysis tends to lean more heavily on Gresbeck account due to a number of historical and literary reasons. Although Kerssenbrock's version is by far richer in detail than Gresbeck, including multiple accounts of written letters, speeches, conversations, it was written decades after the event (Kerssenbrock, 2007). This brings into question whether or not he took some literary license with some of the details. There is also a clear and obvious bias within Kerssenbrock's account, which becomes evident when acquainted with his biography and his purported dislike of the AKM. His personal observations throughout his account paint a clear and obvious picture that he held Leiden and the AKM in contempt. It is however possible that he may have been depicted them so in order to conform to the opinions held by his readers, who would have undoubtedly held anti-Anabaptist sentiments after the events at Münster. Keeping this bias in mind, Kerssenbrock's work on the AKM, is nonetheless very useful. Gresbeck's shorter, to-the-point account, however, is much easier to work with by the virtue that it refers principally to the important events that marked the existence of the AKM. This to-the-point approach presents a number of possibilities for bias as well, as it may have not included important aspects that are accounted for in Kerssenbrock's work. These biases and shortcomings are dealt with by cross-referencing both Gresbeck and Kerssenbrock's accounts and contrasting them about particular events. Then, the information gathered was triangulated with the data obtained through research by secondary sources written by historians who have analyzed the AKM. This procedure permitted us to obtain valid data from which the rise and fall of the group, in relation to the leader's role in the group's recourse to violence, could be analyzed.

These works will be supplemented with secondary source analysis from social historians in order to flesh out the events surrounding each group, and to give further insight into the character and nature of those being analyzed. Among the secondary sources used, the main one is Arthur's "The Tailor-King: The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster" (2000). Drawing upon numerous historical sources, Arthur (2000) wrote an accurate, properly cited depiction of the events that occurred before and during the AKM's rise and fall. Written in a manner meant to be accessible to non-historians, Arthur (200) outlined the events surrounding the rise and fall of the AKM in prose form, supplemented with commentary and references to historical sources such as Gresbeck's and Kerssenbrock's. General historical research has also been drawn from Hsia (1984), Lindberg (1996), Stayer (1972) and De Bakker (2009) who were consulted in order to gain additional insight and understanding of the events surrounding the AKM period. Hsia, Stayer and De Bakker are historians specialized in the period of the rise and fall of the AKM and their work are composed of scholarly essays. The work by Lindberg is a comprehensive historical account on the Reformation era, in which a lengthy section to the Anabaptists in Münster is dedicated. In the rare circumstances where there is an important source that lacks a translation, we used secondary source translations and paraphrasing in order to compliment the other primary source material. In the case of doubt concerning the validity of certain historical accounts, particular attention was paid to whether the current body of knowledge on the subject acknowledges that these were a reliable source of information before they were considered to be a part of this thesis.

2.6 – Method of Analyzing Data

A historical-comparative method will be used to analyze the data throughout this research. Such a historical-comparative method is well known in history and sociology and, according to Neuman et al. (2004), these research techniques are well suited for questions involving macro-level social change, which is the main focus of the present study.

The main method used is a case study that aims at analyzing the charismatic leadership of Jan van Leiden, with special attention being paid to how his charisma might have affected the recourse to violence within his follower base. Neuman et al. (2004) describe historical case studies as:

> "…an intensive examination of a limited number of cases in which social meaning and context are critical… H-C (sic) focuses on culture, tries to see through the eyes of those being studied, reconstructs the lives of the people studied, and examines particular individuals and groups (…) it combines a sensitivity to specific historical or cultural contexts with theoretical generalization." (2004:421-422)

In short, this research will be using a case study within a certain temporal and cultural context to analyze the effects of charismatic leadership on cultic group behavior with a particular interest in the recourse to violence within the cultic group. This research will accomplish this goal by applying four particular concepts, outlined in the literature review, to the actions of the leader of the AKM, Jan van Leiden, with a view of obtaining some theoretical understanding of his leadership.

Neuman et al. (2004) state that, to the detriment of the social sciences, the historical-comparative method is not used very often in research endeavors. Nonetheless, he is of the opinion that such a method possesses notable strengths, namely:

(1) It is well suited for macro-level questions,

(2) It expands the generalizability of criminological theory and helps get rid of persistent myths,

(3) It allows for the generation of new concepts and sheds new light on already established concepts,

(4) It establishes a temporal context for the research question by making it relative to time and place,

(5) It can use diverse methods of analysis, such as blending qualitative and quantitative methods,

(6) There are less ethical restraints due to the lack of direct contact with participants .

2.7 – Research Limitations

While a historical-comparative method offers a number of strengths, there are also some limitations that it imposes upon research. The results obtained through a historical approach are less accessible to the average reader since their intelligibility requires an in-depth understanding of the historical circumstances of the events taking place (Neuman, et. al., 2004). Some confusion over terminology is also a limitation of the usefulness of the results obtained since the meaning of words change through time, requiring explicit definitions. As well, any reconstruction of the past can be easily distorted or misunderstood since data being used is, de facto, obtained in a limited and indirect fashion.

Cultural bias, especially when analyzing a society that no longer exists in any pure form, is inevitable and can be very difficult to avoid entirely, especially for cultures that are foreign to the researcher. The issue of religious cultural bias must also be raised, as the religious climate under study differs greatly from present day norms. These cultural and religious biases require interpretation on behalf of the researcher, which can lead to divergent or differing conclusions than those of the individuals who experienced them.

Since the groups chosen are either Germanic or from the Netherlands, the sources used are written in German, Dutch or Latin. Despite some passing knowledge of German, it was not feasible to use the original German sources without a translation because they are of a different dialect than modern day German.[8] This produces a reliance on translations, which can bring up issues of validity, mistranslation and misinterpretation of data.

The fact that this research is based on a singular case study brings up limitations as to the general application of the results found. While conclusions will be drawn at the end of research, it must be stressed that this research is exploratory in nature and, thus may only provide preliminary results that only further research attempting to bridge the gap between charismatic leadership and the recourse to violence in a cultic setting. Further research examining the relationship between charismatic leadership in cultic settings must be pursued in order to better understand the weight of cultural and historical aspects in the recourse to violence and so that more general applications can be drawn.

---

[8] For example, Gresbeck's account of the events that occurred at Münster is written in a particular form of low German that is, at times, difficult to comprehend even by modern German speakers.

Chapter Three: Analysis of the Case Material

The first part of this chapter is devoted to the analysis of the leader Jan van Leiden, more specifically, to his charismatic leadership and to his influence on the recourse to violence within the AKM. After establishing the fact that Jan van Leiden meets the criteria of a charismatic leader, according to Dawson (2010), in the first part of this chapter, the second part will analyze the AKM as a group in relation to the three theoretical concepts outlined in the chapter one. The concepts used for analysis of the data were presented in the review of the literature and are taken from Casoni (2000), Robbins (2002) and Dawson (2002, 2010) and concern group philosophy in the first instance, endogenous factors in the second and the breakdown of charismatic leadership in the third.

This chapter has the dual purpose of analyzing the case material concerning the AKM and the charismatic leadership of Jan van Leiden with the help of the chosen theoretical framework, as well as highlighting, for the purpose of analysis, the important events and interplay between Leiden and his followers. Keeping in mind the historical-comparative methodology being used as the main structure for analysis, this chapter will outline and delineate the motivations and experiences of the Münsterites within their historical context, while simultaneously linking the chosen theories to the data (Neuman et. al., 2004).

3.1 – Jan van Leiden as a Charismatic Leader

Before the application of any of the above theoretical concepts can be made to Jan van Leiden, it needs to be established that he was indeed a charismatic leader. To this end, the knowledge reviewed in chapter one concerning charisma and charismatic leadership will be applied to the case study material. Notably, the seven factors outlined by Dawson (2010) as giving rise to charismatic leadership and the ten factors he identified as constituting the social construction and management of charisma will be used. The primary source material found in both Kerssenbrock and Gresbeck's accounts of the events at Münster constitute the principal data. The goal of this section is to better understand Leiden's actions through the lens of the theories about charismatic leadership while he attempts to establish his authority over a group of followers.

3.1.1 - Analysis of conditions giving rise to Leiden's charismatic leadership

As previously stated in the section in chapter one, the period during which the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster emerged was characterized by great unrest (Lindberg, 1996). There was a combination of religious upheaval due to the emergence of the Protestant Reformation, social unrest in Germany due to the Peasant's War, and underlying fears that Anabaptism was 'a common man's religion' that might precipitate another Peasant's War (Lindberg, 1996; Goertz, 1982). This era was thus rife with crises that seems to have catalyzed the emergence of religious charismatic leaders. As explored in each of the sub-sections below, many illustrations can be found in the primary source material that show how Leiden's leadership could conform to the typology proposed by Dawson (2010). Of the multiple examples of events and behaviors that substantiate his typology, the following six examples of Leiden's leadership show some of the characteristics Dawson (2010) suggest are typical of the conditions giving rise to charismatic leadership:

(1) The presence of an acute or ultimate crisis,

(2) Establishment of charismatic leadership prior to crisis,

(3) Cultural and economic periods of unrest prior to the establishment of charismatic leadership,

(4) Societies with traditional roots will encourage the development of charismatic leaders,

(5) Charismatic leaders that preach what their followers want to hear,

(6) Charismatic leader that convince their followers that they are the only individuals capable of ending or addressing the crisis.

In this sense, the data shows that Leiden worked deftly at creating an ultimate crisis within the city of Münster prior to his assumption of leadership, similar to Dawson's first characteristic condition. The crisis Leiden created indeed ultimately led him to assume an authoritative position. He was however already viewed as a leader to his followers, which gave him the authority to solve the very crisis he participated in creating, that which highlights Dawson's second condition. Leiden and his lieutenants were indeed frequently heard saying that Münster was to be the place where the faithful would be redeemed and the creation of a new world order would emerge, according to: Gresbeck‘s (2010) account:

> "They would see many things [visions] of this nature and informed the common people in the city of Münster that they had seen three cities in the air at night. The cities stood above Münster, and one was Münster, the second Strasburg and the third Deventer. They said God had selected these cities that I have named and wished to keep a holy folk in them. There God's word was to emerge anew. For His word had been obscured for so long. It would spread in the future over the entire world, but it would go forth from the three cities first." (Gresbeck, 2010: 21)

> "Holy is the Lord and you are his Folk. Now that the example is ready, it shall spread over the entire world, just as it began here in this holy city." - *Leiden preaching to the Münsterites after the death of Matthias* (Gresbeck, 2010: 40)

These two extracts illustrate how he seized upon fueled the 'ultimate' aspect of the crisis (Dawson, 2010), when affirming that the end of the world was near, and that only the faithful rebaptized in Münster would emerge unscathed as rulers of the world promised in the Second Coming. It must also be noted that, similarly to Talmon's (1966) definition of millenarianism, Leiden's preaching revolved around the *total*, *ultimate* and *imminent* nature of the coming apocalypse. Backing up Leiden's claims of the coming apocalypse were the prophecies of Matthias and Hoffmann that he used to substantiate his claim of a Second Coming, which predicted the end of the world within mere months of Leiden's arrival in Münster (Cohn, 1970; Depperman, 2005). A salient example of the fifth and sixth conditions described by Dawson (2010) is Leiden's pressing the 'ultimate' nature of the coming millennium is his appointment of his lieutenants to positions of high prestige, thus both preaching what his followers wished to hear and convincing them of their power and authority:

> "The king held a great banquet with the dukes, duchesses, councilors, viceroys and master of the court together with their wives, and with the masters of horse with their wives, holding a great court with dukes and nobles. Once everyone was gathered together there, they behaved as if they would carry out their rule for all their lives." (Gresbeck, 2010: 188)

It must also be noted that Leiden is here stressing that, in exchange for loyalty to the Anabaptist cause, his followers would to be rewarded for their faith via noble titles and swaths of land to rule in his name once his Kingdom had been established after the apocalypse (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007: 660). Another example are the policies enacted by Matthias and Leiden that confiscated private property in favour of communal ownership, because concerns about one's possessions, including land, were not only nothing in the face of the coming apocalypse, but also that thereafter Leiden's authority was absolute:

> "They had the folk come up to the market place together, and they gave a sermon there. John of Leiden said that it was God's will that each person should bring up his money, silver and gold. "This money, silver and gold is for our benefit in case we need it". They preached so fearsomely and imposed such a dire penalty that no one dare to retain anything. When they were informed of someone who had retained his money, silver and gold, they drove him from the community and imposed such a punishment on him (beheading some) that when another person thought of it, no one dared to retain anything." (Gresbeck, 2010: 31-32)

Hamilton (2001) argues, this reflects the Münsterites disregard for the physical in light of the imminent Second Coming, but it also shows how powerful Leiden had become.

While Leiden did not assume charismatic leadership of the AKM until after the death of Jan Matthias, he did sow the seeds of his future authority in Münster by attaching himself to Matthias in the role of trusted lieutenant. In his account of the initial wave of preaching that the Anabaptists conducted in Münster prior to assuming control, Matthias was rarely described without the presence of Leiden preaching beside him, as such his authority was established before the crisis that would lead to his absolute rule, as Dawson (2010) proposed as pre-conditions to the establishment of charismatic rule:

> "The two prophets, John Matthias and John of Leiden, had all the menfolk that were in the city gather together in the cathedral square with their weapons and armor, and they formed ranks seven deep. The prophets then started shouting in the square that the door to mercy was shut, there was no more mercy (…) There the prophets John of Leiden and John Matthias shouted that the door to mercy was shut, that there would never ever be mercy." (Gresbeck, 2010: 22, 27)

Gresbeck presents Matthias as having acknowledged Leiden's authority on the Anabaptists in Münster:

> "John Matthias and John of Leiden were both prophets, and were, along with the burgher masters and the council, the leading men in the city of Münster. The leading prophet in the beginning was John Matthias and not John of Leiden, but John Matthias said it was revealed to him that John of Leiden was to be raised high up in the world and become a great prophet." (Gresbeck, 2010: 21-22).

Matthias investment of Leiden as his heir was a condition that enabled to established Leiden's charisma prior to the Prince-Bishop's siege as Dawson (2010) suggests, His further prophecies of the Second Coming then set the stage for his crowning himself king. Eventually Matthias, saying he had received a vision from God that indicated that he was to go out and single-handedly attack and drive away the Bishop's forces, appears to have sacrificed himself, leaving Leiden as sole leader:

> "As they [Matthias, Leiden and their circle] were sitting around the table and were joyful with the groom and bride, when the roast was supposed to be dragged up, the spirit of the Baptist came upon John Matthias. He sat for a while clapping his hands together, nodding his head up and down and sighing greatly, just as if he were about to die (…) He stood up, gave everyone his hand and kissed them on the mouth. He said "God's peace be with you" and went on his way with his wife (…) The next day John Matthias went from the city to engage in an exchange of gunfire, taking ten or twenty men with him (…) He was hit along with his companions, and few escaped. He was pierced with a pike. The landsknechts cut off his head, chopped the body into one hundred pieces, and chucked them around. They stuck his head up in the air on a pole."(Gresbeck, 2010: 37)

Kerssenbrock (2007: 537-538) also described this incident. According to Arthur (2000), scholarly speculation has Leiden at the root of Matthias' ultimate demise, either having encouraged the man in his delusions or failing to stop him from going out alone to his death. By this argument, it can be said that Leiden had 'piggy-backed' on Matthias' charismatic leadership and used his death as the crisis with which to seize power. Both Gresbeck and Kerssenbrock detailed his preaching after the death of Matthias, which stressed that God had revealed to him a week prior in a vision that He had lost favor in

Matthias, and now He was to choose a new voice to lead the ‘chosen people’ – intimating that Leiden himself was the obvious choice as successor:

> “Dear brothers and sisters, you should not be despondent because our prophet John Matthias is dead. For God will raise up another one who will be even greater and higher than John Matthias was. For it is God’s will that he would die this way. His time had come. It was not without reason that God brought it about that he died this way. The purpose was that you should not believe in him so much that you would hold him above God. God is mightier than John Matthias was. What John Matthias did and prophesized, he did through God. He did not do it by himself. So God can certainly raise for us another prophet through whim He will reveal His will.” (Gresbeck, 2010: 39; also described similarly in Kerssenbrock, 2007: 539)

According to Lindberg (1996), during the 16th century, society and culture were intimately intertwined with that of religion. In fact, they were so closely intertwined that the Protestant Reformation inevitably caused more than religious unrest. Therefore, the cultural and economic unrest of the period were significant precursors to the establishment of charismatic leaders, such as was the case with Jan van Leiden, which illustrated Dawson’s (2010) third precondition to the establishment of charismatic leadership. There is scholarly consensus that the Protestant Reformation was not only a religious event, but that it also had deeply social, cultural and economic repercussions (Cohn, 1970; Goertz, 1982a; Lindberg, 1996; Stayer, 1991). As such, the cultural and economic conditions were ripe to encourage the growth of millennial and new religious movements with great efficacy, according to Dawson (2010). Among some notable examples of this is that Catholic Church law, which governed both economic and ecclesiastical matters such as tithing and other secular matters, were being challenged through the adoption of Protestantism by the European nobility (Lindberg, 1996). Lindberg (1996) also describes that Germanic nobility used Protestantism as a political tool with which to seize additional power or influence. The status quo and fabric of Christian Europe were literally being challenged and torn, paving the way for charismatic leaders such as Leiden to establish niches and followings.

According to descriptions by both Kerssenbrock (2007), Lindberg (1996) and Cohn (1970), the Münsterites can be classified as a society that had traditional roots tied to their culture and social identities, therefore had a greater propensity to create and follow charismatic leaders, as Dawson's (2010) fourth pre-conditions also specify. Both Anabaptism and German culture during this time period shared a collectivistic nature based on shared theological beliefs as well as shared cultural mythos and identity. In addition to the collectivistic nature of Anabaptism and shared culture, according to Lindberg (1996) and Cohn (1970), Germans had a long tradition of messianism centered around certain figures, such as Frederick II (1194-1250 AD), who were heralded as those meant to bring about the Second Coming.

As a result of this fixation on millenarian leaders heralded by prophecy, a number of charismatic individuals utilized these popular ideas with which to assume the mantle of 'reincarnations of Frederick II' in order to seize power and authority over "the urban poor who were still clinging to messianic expectations concerning the Emperor Frederick II." (Cohn, 1970: 115). Dawson's (2010) observation pertaining to traditional political and social roots as a pre-condition to the establishment of charismatic leadership is described notably by Kerssenbrock (2007) who stressed the fact that the Münsterites were a traditional populace. Pre-facing his description of the events that occurred during the reign of the AKM, he describes in detail the traits, behaviors and traditions of the Münsterites in a manner that indicates they espoused traditional and collective cultural ideals. Therefore, the emergence of a charismatic leader, such as Leiden who espoused millenarianism, was set in a cultural context that supported such ideas, as Dawson (2010) has suggested in his fourth and fifth pre-conditons. Indeed, millenarian ideas were encouraged by a long tradition within the Germanic culture, and the establishment of a charismatic leader was part of the collective traditionalistic tendencies (Dawson, 2010).

Leiden preaching to his followers the message that they wanted to hear is an important factor in how he assumed charismatic leadership, as suggested by Dawson (2010) in his sixth pre-condition. According to Lindberg (1996), the tumultuous religious schism that Christianity was enduring during the 16th century had brought many theological questions into the minds of Europeans. Eternal salvation and the status of the immortal soul were constant topics of discussion among reformers and theologians (Lindberg, 1996). The theme of repentance coupled with latent fears of imminent apocalypse arose in the general populace as a result of the Protestant Reformation. As such, historians such as Lindberg (1996), Cohn (1970) and Goertz (1982a) explain that the emergence of charismatic leaders who promised answers to questions of the soul, as well as the coming of a new millennium, essentially spoke directly to a number of pressing and worrisome issues for the non-clerical sections of the European population. Anabaptism presented an alternative to traditional religion through a focus on orthodoxy and scriptural precedence (Arthur, 2000; Cohn, 1970) that was nonetheless based on similar type of leadership (Dawson, 2010). Both Gresbeck and Kerssenbrock’s accounts show how Leiden and his lieutenants’ early preaching was rife with urgings to the populace to repent for their transgressions in view of the imminent arrival of the Second Coming (Gresbeck, 2010: 17-25; Kerssenbrock, 2007: 480-485). This message was embraced by a sufficiently large portion of the population to result in their rebaptism and affirmation of Leiden as their leader.

Lastly, the fact that Leiden convinced his followers that he was the only individual capable of ending the crises surrounding the AKM was integral in his establishment of authority, as described by Dawson (2010) in his fifth pre-condition. After the second attack at the hands of the Bishop's forces, Leiden crowned himself as a 'reluctant king', but a king nonetheless ordained by God, according to both Kerssenbrock (2007) and Gresbeck (2010). In the aftermath of such success against those who were besieging the city, Leiden quickly seized upon his victory as a chance to seize power formally. Leiden used this success as a method with which to convince the Münsterites that he, as King, was the only individual capable of solving the crisis. His justification, as with most prophets, evoked the divine nature of his ordination. Gresbeck, who was in the crowd when Leiden made this announcement, quoted Leiden as saying:

> "Now God has chosen me as king over the whole world. But I say to you, dear brothers and sisters, I would much rather be a swineherd and much rather hold the plow or dig than be such a king. What I do, I must do, for God has chosen me for this…" (Gresbeck, 2010: 83)

Gresbeck (2010) went on to explain that Leiden's crowning was also supplemented by assurances that God had told him through prophecy that the crisis was to end. One of the prophecies he uttered was that if the Münsterites were not freed from the oppression of the Bishop by Easter of 1535, he would be stripped of his crown and tried as a false prophet (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 659). By invoking God, acting as the mouth-piece of divine will and taking a pose as a reluctant ruler, Leiden convinced the Münsterites that he was the only one capable of ruling over them and leading them to glory. His assertions of his divine ordinance were subsequently backed up by his lieutenants and preachers who crowned him in the name of God (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). His prophetic role, as well as his 'divine' ordination, had convinced the populace that he was the vessel through which salvation would occur., as Dawson's (2010) model stipulates.

3.1.2 - Analysis of social construction and management of charismatic leadership

In the following section, the case of Jan van Leiden will be applied to the Dawson's (2010) ten processes faced by charismatic leaders when attempting to maintain their charismatic leadership over their followers, as outlined by in the section on charismatic leadership. There are many instances in the primary source material (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007) where it is evident that Leiden had an adequate system in place to manage the social construction of his charismatic leadership. Although, in his original article, Dawson (2010) uses relatively contemporary examples such as David Berg and Sun Myung Moon to highlight these ten processes, no indications prevent the use of his work in the analysis of historical groups. Indeed, Dawson's (2010) criteria transcend time periods and can easily be utilized in a historical context such as this case study. Charismatic leadership was equally, if not more, present in Leiden's time than it is in present day society. The immutability and presence of charismatic individuals throughout history is testament to that fact. Therefore, these ten processes suggested by Dawson (2010) as being characteristic of leaders attempting to manage their social construction of their charismatic leadership. adequately describe how Leiden constructed and managed his charisma among his followers in the city of Münster. In the following, each process described by Dawson in his 2010 article will be discussed in light of the source data and illustrated. The first process necessary to maintain charismatic leadership overlaps somewhat the seventh precondition Dawson (2010) maintains is more typical of charismatic leadership. That some additional overlap occur in the following processes is seen as quite inevitable since what is a typical pre-condition for the establishment of charismatic leadership, according to Dawson (2010) is also most likely also to be present in what he has determined helps the leader maintain the same type of hold over his followers. These processes are further discussed in the following paragraphs.

- The leader is instrumental to fulfillment of the group's goals:

This subsection overlaps with the seventh item in the previous section on the construction of charismatic leadership and related to the way a leader is instrumental as the voice of the group, specifically as relates to its objectives. When applied to the data set, it appears quite clearly that Leiden was perceived as the prophet, the voice of God and King of Münster. Furthermore Leiden had firmly entrenched himself as the 'key' with which salvation and the second coming was to occur.

- The leader figures prominently in group songs and imagery:

Complimentary to Dawson's (2010) observation that the leader figures prominently in the group's songs and imagery, Martin Brecht (1985) wrote a journal article specifically devoted to the hymns sung by the Anabaptists during their reign in Münster. He noted four "German psalms" and "songs of praise" that were recorded as having been sung by the Münsterites. While not specifically mentioning Leiden by name throughout the songs, Brecht noted that hymns such as "Glory to God on High" were sung at Leiden's coronation (1985: 364). This particular song made particular reference to being God's chosen people. This in turn can lead to the inference that the coronation of Leiden was seen as a precursor or necessary part of being part of those chosen for salvation. In terms of the imagery surrounding Jan van Leiden and his court, painstaking effort was made into the appearances of nobility and the trappings of royalty. He took up residence in the largest abode in Münster, established a court of a hundred functionaries, created a royal wardrobe, a private bodyguard corps, had a lavish throne created and ate well while the rest of the city starved around him:

> "(…) The king had a great chair covered on all sides with pieces of silk cloth placed up at the market place (…) He was magnificently decked out with velvet and silk garments and gold chains and gold rings on his fingers, and they held a sword before the king." (Gresbeck, 2010: 85).
>
> "Now he decked himself out magnificently along with his servants, and he had himself made a velvet coat, and a magnificent hose and doublet of magnificent silk work, and a magnificent golden cap, and a velvet bonnet with a crown, and a sword with a golden sheath, and an armor dagger with a golden sheath, and many golden chains which he wore around his neck. The king had a golden chain, and on this chain he had the world hung, just like his coat of arms, with a golden round orb (…) This stone was fastened in place with gold coins, just as the world is painted, and on top there was a golden cross, and there were two swords stuck through it." (Gresbeck, 2010: 87-88)
>
> "The king held the festivities with the dukes, having invited them as guests, and they ate and drank and were of good cheer. The other common folk were fleeing the city out of hunger, and some were beginning to starve." (Gresbeck, 2010: 188)

As evidenced through Gresbeck's descriptions, Leiden's image among the Münsterites was paramount, with painstaking detail given to his attire, his retinue and his court. His image and the trappings of power took precedence over the health and well-being of his followers, as Leiden wanted to embody the image of a kingly ruler, despite the hardship and famine surrounding him in the city of Münster.

- The group tends to be small/authoritarian:

This process, as described by Dawson (2010), relates to the fact that groups with charismatic leadership tend to remain small and authoritative. In the case of Münster, the Anabaptist group started out small, but then grew to encompass the whole city due to the forced expulsions of non-believers (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). In particular, it required a small, fanatical base with which to accomplish this task, designated by Leiden and Matthias and lieutenants like Knipperdolling, Tilbeck and Rothmann. With respect to their external influence in the Friesland, the Münsterites were small in comparison to the other doctrinal Christian beliefs found in their area (Lindberg, 1996). In terms of the authoritarian nature of the AKM, obedience was expected according to the description by Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007), especially among the more vulnerable members of the Münsterites such as women and children. In the case of the institution of polygamy, women who refused to marry were threatened or met with violence if they continued to disobey:

> "Now that they were in the midst of the matrimony and saw that no womanfolk could escape having to take husbands and that they had put the women under such great compulsion to get married that they had to do this, every female looked for a man (…) There remained among the men and women in the city many pious people who were good Christians and wished to have nothing to do with the business, and they were forced to it. May God be compassionate to those who died for this reason and were not guilty of it (…) John of Leiden and Knipperdolling beheaded and executed so many [people] (…)" (Gresbeck, 2010: 71-72)

The twelve elders also imposed strict laws of conduct and disobedience, which resulted in harsh forms of punishment, or even death when disobeyed (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 545-549). When Leiden was crowned king and the council of twelve elders was abolished as a result, the authoritarian reign continued, propped up by the prior edicts of the elders (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010: 84).

- Followers are indoctrinated into the mythos surrounding the leader:

Dawson (2010) describes this process as a steady indoctrination of members of a cultic group into the mythos surrounding their leader, often fed to them as exaggerated fables of the leader's past, accomplishments and accreditations. Although Leiden had emerged from the humble beginnings of being a tailor in the Netherlands, Arthur (2000) argues that he compensated for his humble origins with a flair for drama and the extravagant. Kerssenbrock (2007) devoted some description to Leiden's origins in his account. His descriptions are clearly biased and unkind, and the translator C. Mackay, notes that he falsely claimed that Leiden was a pimp back in the Netherlands. Despite this bias, Kerssenbrock notes that at least some of the common people in Münster knew of his origins (2007: 586-588). While certain cultic leaders, according to Lane and Kent (2008), attempt to cover their origins through claims of divinity, false accolades and claims of grandeur, others such as Leiden circumvent their humble past as through claims of divine ordinance. God had chosen him to establish the coming Kingdom of the Faithful, where all previous ties to the world before became meaningless; therefore any anger or disobedience was acting against the will of God:

> "(…) they proclaimed to the common folk in the preaching that no one should get angry with the king or queen or the councilors or the other servants, because God had selected them for this and set them in their estate (…)" (Gresbeck, 2010: 91)

Using his flair for the dramatic, Leiden worked very hard to establish royal airs of wealth, prominence and divine ordination around himself, despite the fact that the city was under siege. Although he had himself named as King, his followers were expected to buy into the mythos and allure of royalty in his presence through use of titles, genuflection, tithes and a willingness to let Leiden live a lavish life of royalty when the rest of the city suffered through deprivation (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Hsia, 1984; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Those followers who refused to buy into the mythos of prophet and King that surrounded Leiden were dealt with swiftly and harshly, as outlined below in the fifth factor below.

- Dissent is rapidly dealt with within the group:

Dawson (2010) notes that dissent within groups under the reign of a charismatic leader are often dealt with rapidly and desicively. Two of the more salient examples of how Leiden dealt with dissent can be found in the recounting of the execution of Hubert Smit and of Henry Mollenhecke's uprising. Hubert Smit was a burgher who spoke out against the preachers Matthias and Leiden, claiming "they must have a devil in their body" (Gresbeck, 2010: 26). As a consequence, he was thrown into a tower jail and accused of speaking against God and his prophets. When he refused to recant, Leiden himself tried to run him through twice with a halberd. When he was unable to kill him, Leiden shot him with a pistol. Hubert Smit finally succumbed to his wounds eight days after being shot (Gresbeck, 2010: 26-28). Similar accounts of executing dissidents are present in both Gresbeck and Kerssenbrock's accounts, sometimes with the 'guilty' party being executed, others with Leiden granting them 'mercy'. The second example of Leiden dealing rapidly with dissent is taken from Henry Mollenhecke' uprising against the polygamy laws established by Leiden. Arthur described Mollenhecke as "deeply devoted to his wife and the sacrament of marriage, yet a true believer in the Anabaptist cause, [who] was now forced to choose between them" (2000: 96). Mollenhecke and about two-hundred supporters manage to capture Leiden and a number of his lieutenants and locked them away. After a day of infighting, Mollenhecke was overrun by Leiden's supporters, who ended up capturing one hundred and twenty of Mollenhecke's followers (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 576-579). Gresbeck described the executions that followed:

> "Whoever could produce witnesses that he had arrived there in the morning [before the uprising] retained his life. The others had to die. Those whom they had killed they shot with demi harquebuses and they hacked them up with short daggers. They set [them] against the walls, and that's how they shot them. They beheaded some of them. Whoever desired to kill someone was allowed to take him and kill him. How they did them in was just foul. This killing lasted three or four days. Up at the cathedral square, they made two great pits in which they placed the dead. Every day they killed ten or twelve until they were all dead… After this time, no one dared say in opposition that the matrimony [of polygamy] was wrong…" (2010: 77)

Both these accounts show how dissent was dealt with during Leiden's reign in Münster – quick, violent and in a fashion that was meant to be served as an example against those who sought to contradict Leiden's edicts. It must be observed however that in that time period, crimes of disloyalty to ones king was sanctioned by torture and death (Lindberg, 1996). Since Leiden did consider himself the "king" of Munster, the treatment he reserved to those who acted in defiance of his laws was a common practice.

- The leader makes efforts to gain legitimacy through other prominent social individuals:

Dawson (2010) notes that charismatic leaders will often attempt to gain semblance of legitimacy by appealing to other prominent social individuals, such as artists, government officials and other cultural luminaries. Leiden and Matthias were

Hollanders who came to preach in the foreign city of Frisia. In order to gain legitimacy and credibility early on during their preaching, Arthur (2000) explains they utilized the support of local burghers, religious figures and other prominent citizens who supported them and validated their claims. In his account, Gresbeck listed the names of all the local burghers who legitimatized Matthias and Leiden, many of them prominent businessmen or men with influence in Münster prior to the AKM's occupation of the city (2010: 168). According to this author, without the aid of local figures like Tilbeck, Rothmann and Knipperdolling, xenophobia and the habitual distrust of foreigners would have more than likely stunted or completely prevented Matthias and Leiden from gaining any influence during their initial contact with the Münsterites.

- The group creates a hidden body of teachings to differentiate between believers and unbelievers:

Dawson (2010) mentions that cultic groups under the sway of a charismatic leader will often create a body of teachings, signs,, modes of dress and behaviors that allow them to differentiate between believers and unbelievers. The Anabaptists in Münster didn't have a hidden body of teachings per say, but did have a number of tokens and signs with which to differentiate between believers and unbelievers. The most evident and prominent marker was undergoing an adult baptism. Since adult baptism within Münster, as described by Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007), was a public event with witnesses, it was hard to refute if an individual did or did not receive a baptism. In addition, there were a number of smaller signs that the Münsterite Anabaptists used to discern true believers from the rest of the populace. There were ritualistic greetings between ‘brothers and sisters’ as well as a minted token which Anabaptists wore around their necks:

> “The rebaptizers had a secret token among themselves for men and women. They wishes to be very saintly and were unwilling to address the other burghers and women (…) When male rebaptizers met each other on street, they gave their hand and kissed on the mouth, saying “Dear Brother, God’s peace be with you”. The other answered “Amen”. The womenfolk who had been baptized also had a secret token among themselves. They would go around without any headscarf. They went around in a wimpel[9] [sic].” (Gresbeck, 2010: 10-11)

However, despite these signs and methods for differentiating between believer and non-believer, the AKM differs from other groups explored by Dawson’s ten processes in the fact it didn’t have an explicitly hidden body of teaching. This perhaps can be attributed to the fact that the group didn’t survive more than a few years before they were wiped out by the Prince-Bishop, whereas other groups illustrating this process in Dawson’s (2010) work were groups that had sufficient time to create bodies of secret teachings.

- Downplay of the failures of the leader:

According to Dawson (2010), charismatic leaders will often have their failures downplayed, ignored or repurposed by members of their group in order to maintain the leader’s image. One of Leiden’s most prominent “failures” during his reign in Münster was the failed ‘Easter Prophecy’ in 1535 when he had stated that relief would be coming for the Münsterites before Easter time. He proclaimed that, should relief not come by that time, he should be cast down and killed:

> “Now that the king said that the relief [of the siege] was to happen on Easter, he said “If it is the case that the relief does not take place on Easter, then do to me as I will do to this criminal who stands before me, and cut off my head too.” (…)

---

[9] A long linen sash. The modern-day usage of the word is currently known for the piece of cloth that binds Jewish Torah scrolls.

> The poor people all imagined that the relief would come on Easter." (Gresbeck, 2010: 122; also found similarly in Kerssenbrock, 2007: 659).

When Easter arrived and relief was not in sight, Kerssenbrock recounted how Leiden downplayed his failure:

> "The day of Easter, which was celebrated on March 28 in this year, was at hand, and since the king was beginning to despair of the liberation of the city which he had prophesied to the people, he pretended to be sick and kept indoors for six days, during this time planning how to escape his predicament and absolve himself before the people. At the end of this period of time, he quite confidently went out into a full assembly of the people, who were eager for liberation and had gathered in the marketplace. There, he announced that the Father had placed the sins of all Israelites upon his shoulders, and these had made him weak for some days. He had been weighed down by this heavy yoke for the sake of the people, but now his strength had been restored through the Father's mercy. The people had thus been liberated from the burden of sin, and he added that he meant the internal, spiritual liberation, which was the most important. This, he said, was the liberation which he had promised, and he told them to await external liberation with patience, since it was sure to happen if they did not relapse into sin…" (2007: 670).

Another similar failure that was downplayed and averted through rhetoric and twisted logic was Leiden's failure to kill the dissident Hubert Smit outright. Leiden required multiple attempts, stabbing Smit with a halberd and even resorting to shooting him with a pistol, yet he still failed to kill Smit. To downplay his failure, Leiden proclaimed "he is saved, he is saved" (Gresbeck, 2010: 27). Later on, "the prophets and preachers came to him [the wounded and dying Smit] in his house and said to him for God's sake that he should stay alive and not die. But the burgher died on the eighth day." (Gresbeck, 2010: 28). In this particular case, as well as others, Leiden and his circle evoked the divine will of God as justification for his failures – it wasn't Leiden's fault, but the will of God or the fault of the Münsterites for having sinned.

- Seclusion of the leader to create an element of mystery:

According to accounts in Arthur (2000), Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007), Leiden frequently used periods of seclusion that had the effect of creating suspense, drama and mystery surrounding his proclamations, prophecies or explanations for his failures. As mentioned in Kerssenbrock's (2007) description of the failed Easter prophecy it was only after six days of seclusion, reporting that he had been sick, that he appeared before his followers to make a proclaim concerning the "relief" he had promised for Easter. Another instance of seclusion that created an aura of mystery was a period of five or six days of mutism on the part of Leiden in response to the displeasure his followers had expressed over how he had handled two eight year old girls who acted as if possessed:

> "(…) there was a period of five or six days when the king was mute and did not speak. I can't write whether he had an evil spirit with him or what the situation was, but he was mute for a while" (Gresbeck, 2010: 101-102).

At the conclusion of his seclusion, he claimed that he had received a revelation from God in regards to his mismanagement of the situation with the two 'possessed' girls:

> "(…) [Leiden said that] God had been angry at him for not having done right by His affairs and not having carried out punishment as he should have. God had now granted him his mercy, and he was to make himself better (…) But the little girls had an evil spirit with them. This is what they said in the city" (Gresbeck, 2010: 102).

- The inner circle surrounding the leader has a vested interest in promoting his charismatic leadership:

According to Dawson (2010) the inner circle surrounding the charismatic leader will promote and encourage the leader's charisma due to the fact that their own power is intimately intertwined with the charismatic leader's image and power. Both Gresbeck and Kerssenbrock referenced multiple times the support of local burghers as well as 'preachers and prophets' who would go out among the Münsterites and either reinforce Leiden's proclamations or support his rule by preaching his divine ordination (Gresbeck, 2010: 20-21, 28, 32, 82, 125; Kerssenbrock, 2007: 660). The vast majority of his inner circle such as Tilbeck, Rothmann and Knipperdolling, were vaulted into positions of power despite the fact that they were burghers in the middle-classes (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Hsia, 1984; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Within the restrictive and class-based period of 16th century Europe, these men tasted power and authority over their peers in a manner that would not have been readily available to anyone not of noble birth. According to Dawson (2010), since this power was explicitly granted through Leiden's authority as charismatic leader, the continuation of the inner circle's influence and power were intimately intertwined with Leiden's own charisma. Therefore, in order to ensure their own continuation of power and influence, Leiden's lieutenants had a vested interest in promoting his charismatic leadership. Should Leiden's leadership fail or wane, it risked their own grasp on power

3.2 – Analysis of the cultic group: the AKM and Münster

Having ascertained, though the application of Dawson's (2010) processes characterizing charismatic leaders that Jan van Leiden indeed acted as a charismatic leader in his relationship to his followers, the next part of this chapter will be devoted to the application of the theoretical concepts chosen to analyze the material. The material presented will be analyzed firstly in light of Casoni's (2000) understanding of how, what she designates as, a philosophy of separation influences all the aspects inherent to group life. Secondly, Robbins' (2002) focus on millenarianism and systemic-totalitarian factors, as applied to the case study material, will help comprehend how the AKM came to resort to violence and lastly, Dawson's (2002) theory on the breakdown of charismatic leadership will be used to understand how this particular aspect might have played a role in the AKM's descent into violence.

3.2.1 - First theoretical concept: a philosophy of separation

Casoni (2000) describes four types of cultic organization as differentiated by their philosophy or world-view, which are philosophies of: separation, survival, purity and indulgence. Each is further distinguished by types of leadership, membership, how children are treated, the role of rituals, the evolution of doctrine, spatial organization and social organization.

The main type of philosophy shared by the Münsterites seems to be one of separation. The general principle fueling their world-view is the idea that believers must be separated from non-believers, thus corresponding to an "Us vs. Them" worldview, typical of those that share a philosophy of separation. At the heart of this philosophy are a number of common characteristics, notably obedience to orthodoxy and a constant battle to differentiate between 'Us and Them' through the way members respect rituals, dress, know the sacred texts and use 'buzz words' correctly (Casoni, 2000). The fact of sharing a world-view typified by separation does not lead, in and by itself, to violent conduct, as Casoni (2000) reminds readers. Some groups regress from a philosophy of separation to a more rigid worldview characterized by a vilification of those outside the group, which is the case with the AKM. The following analysis of each of the seven aspects described by Casoni (2000) will help understand how the shared ideology of the Münsterites was expressed in the aim of better understanding the style of leadership van Leiden exercised and if any of the aspects analyzed help understand what elements, if any, played a role in their recourse to violence.

- Leadership and Social Organization:

Two of Casoni's (2000) seven dimensions will be discussed here together for in the AKM, for they are intertwined. According to Casoni, leadership is exercised within groups that operate under a philosophy of separation "by a small elite... [who] act as social control agents assuring that members respect the reigning orthodoxy." (2000: 145). Members of the group look towards the reigning elite to guide them and to indicate to them how to differentiate between 'Us' and 'Them'. Casoni (2000) continues to explain that the leaders are also constantly occupied with ferreting out and locating the slightest deviation from the group norms. This ruling structure describes almost perfectly the leadership structure that was present among the Münsterites. Leiden selected twelve elders to rule the city according to the guidance of their sacred text, the Holy Scriptures, in order to live according to Anabaptist ideals (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Hsia, 1984; Kerssenbrock, 2007). In his account, Gresbeck describes the appointment of the twelve Elders and comments their rule:

> "So the preachers selected from here and there in Holy Scripture passages that supported them. The twelve elders did not rule wisely, however much they had the Holy Scripture lying before them when they took council." (2010: 35)

Kerssenbrock's account of the appointment of the twelve Elders is more laden with detail about the authority van Leiden gave them:

> “Once the sermon was over, the prophet brought these men into the sight of the people in order, and into hands of each of them, one after the other, he placed a drawn sword reciting the following formula: ‘Take the power of the sword, which God the Father had entrusted to you through me, and cut with this sword according to God’s command!’” (2007: 543).

Through using scriptural authority, coupled with a divinely inspired ordination at the hands of Rothmann, the Elders were free to impose their will, and by extension Leiden’s will, through violent means upon Münster. Among new legislation enacted by the Elders and punishable by death were: blasphemy, criticism of Leiden or the Elders, disobedience, adultery, lying and idle words (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 546-549). As a result of these new laws, according to Arthur (2000), executions of those who disagreed with the Elders and Leiden became the norm. Among many similar events, Gresbeck recounted an instance where a group of landsknechts[10] were hung and shot for public drunkenness:

> “One time, it happened that there were ten or twenty landsknechts in the city. They were staying in a house in the city, and they had a drinking party and were of good cheer. They were boisterous, as landsknechts generally are (…) [The host] and his wife set to it and accused the landsknechts before the twelve elders and the prophets and preachers of having used violence in their house and insulted the hostess. The twelve elders went and had the landsknechts arrested and thrown straight away into the tower (…) They escorted [one of the landsknechts] to a linden tree on the square, tied him to it and shot him with a demi-harquebus and a pistol (…) After he was dead, they tied another to the tree and shot him too.” (Gresbeck, 2010: 35-36).

When reflecting on the violence brought about by the rule of the twelve Elders, Gresbeck describes the harsh and violent response to sedition:

> “The prophets and preachers and all the Frisians and Hollanders and all the rebaptizers that had rushed to the city from other cities were afraid of an uprising in the city so that they would have given up the city. Whoever had done anything had to die straight away (…) So the foreigner [Leiden] had control of the city of Münster and they ruled this way in the city until the city was taken.” (2010: 37).

---

[10] A landsknecht was a type of mercenary common in 15th and 16th century Germany. They were foot soldiers who typically wielded pikes.

He further suggests that the leaders, constituted of the Elders and van Leiden, were afraid of losing the group cohesion they had obtained from the followers. Which, as Gresbeck (2010) argues, would have made them lose the source of their own power. Their recourse to severe and definite sanctions was their way of maintaining power. It also seems to constitute the first step towards the more generalized recourse to violence the group would manifest later on in their evolution.

- Membership:

Groups that adhere to a philosophy of separation "ensure group cohesion by maintaining the constant separation between *us* and *them.*" (Casoni, 2000: 146). This, Casoni (2000) explains, encourages members to respect orthodox doctrine, peer judgment and a sought after proximity to the leader in order to avoid being seen as 'them'. Unwittingly for members, it also encourages group cohesion since all participants think, act, dress and speak the same way (Casoni, 2000). As shown earlier in the chapter, during the initial stages of the conversion process in the city of Münster, Anabaptists differentiated themselves from non believers through the use of tokens, as well as by using special secret and ritualized greetings (Gresbeck, 2010: 10). Later on, after Anabaptism had been established firmly within the city and non-believers had been chased out, maintaining a demarcation between 'us' and 'them' was aided greatly by the presence of Münster's formidable city wall:

> "If cities deserve praise by virtue of their outer fortifications, then this city [Münster] will be pre-eminent and distinguished not only among those in Westphalia, but also among those in many regions." (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 97)

The city wall, coupled with the ongoing siege by the Bishop's forces were definite physical factors that aided the Münsterites in maintaining strict orthodoxy among the members. This is highlighted by the fact that after the AKM took hold of the city of Münster, policies that prescribed specific norms of behaviors were enacted. Under duress, the maintenance of cohesion is of the utmost importance, suggests Casoni, and even in the face of sudden doctrinal changes members are expected to adhere to them "without questioning their relevance or showing discomfort" (2000: 145). This characteristic of members in groups that share a philosophy of separation sheds a light on the Münsterites acceptance of the edict on polygamy and their tolerance of the severe sanctions, often execution, that Leiden commanded when rules and expected behaviors were not entirely respected.

- Children:

Casoni describes the role of children in groups that share a philosophy of separation "as important conservators of tradition." (2000: 147). She adds that due to the strict orthodox nature of such group ideologies, child-like behavior is seen as unacceptable and children who deviate from the expected norms can be punished harshly. The existence of the AKM occurred over a short time period, therefore limiting possible analysis on how they treated their children. However, one event of note involving the children in Münster occurred prior to the capture of the city by the Bishop. Leiden had issued an edict controlling strictly how any newborn children should be named, on threat of punishment or even death:

> "The king also had the children named according to this alphabet [which he posted on the city gates]. When a child was born, they had to go to the king and

> ask him for a name by which the child was to be called. The mother or the father of the child was not allowed to give this child its name. The king gave the name according to the alphabet, and the child remained unbaptized.”. (Gresbeck, 2010: 154-158).

The naming standard was based on the alphabet and reflected traditional names in the Old Testament (the patriarchs, kings, prophets, Adam, Eve…) in addition to names of Leiden’s own choosing (Gresbeck, 2010). This reflects not only Leiden’s tightening control over his followers before the end of his reign, but also his desire to root his potential future adherents in the tradition of the group.

- Rituals:

The ritual practices in groups that follow a philosophy of separation are used as tools to discern the level of commitment and faith that the members hold (Casoni, 2000). Perhaps the most obvious and visible ritual utilized by the Anabaptists was the practice of adult baptism, a highly visible sign and confirmation of faith done in front of the community. According to Brecht (1985), the liturgical practices of the Münsterites also relied heavily on hymns and songs during rituals. Kerssenbrock (2007) and Gresbeck (2010) recount that before monumental occasions, such as the coronation of Leiden, and at the end of sermons and gatherings, hymns were also sung. In addition to these practices, Leiden orchestrated mock masses meant to humiliate non-believers and strengthen his followers’ conviction of their own superiority, notably in that they were purer than the others:

> “The king had the men and women assemble in the cathedral, half in the morning and the other half in the afternoon (...) The king with his queen came along with his wives, councilors and servants, and he brought along a fool called Carl. They dressed this fool in vestments, so that he would celebrate the mass. For he was a real fool (…) The fool went and stood before the altar, and he celebrated the mass

> with all the folk laughing at him (…) The king made an offering first along with his queen, and the common folk made their offerings, consisting of every sort of thing that they could get: cats' heads, mice, bats, horse legs, and other unseemly things that they could get (…) Now that the mass was over, Stutenbernt[11] stood and gave a sermon, saying to the common folk why they had celebrated the mass. He said what the mass signified – all the masses that took place in the world were just as much a mass as the one they had celebrated here…" (Gresbeck, 2010: 151-154).

As can be seen by Gresbeck's description, Leiden held these mock celebrations both to vilify the outsiders, 'them', and to strengthen his followers' conviction that they were the only true believers. Since, according to Casoni (2000), adherence to orthodoxy is part of what is expected of members of such groups, these mock masses also helped the leaders discern who the most faithful members were by scrutinizing each of the followers' participation in the mockery of their former religious faith.

- Doctrine:

Doctrinal orthodoxy is paramount in groups espousing a philosophy of separation, "because it marks the difference between *us* and *them*." (Casoni, 2000: 148). Anabaptism leaned heavily on the Old Testament, and this preoccupation with it can be seen in some of the previous discussed events, such as the appointing of the twelve elders and the naming of newborn children. In both Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock's (2007) accounts, these control mechanisms implemented by Leiden were masked under the auspices of revelations and inspiration from the Old Testament, and were subsequently adopted by his followers due to the tendency to respect orthodoxy, a tendency that is common in groups that follow a philosophy of separation, according to Casoni (2000).

---

[11] A preacher and part of Leiden's inner circle.

- Spatial Organization:

The spatial organization of a group that follows a philosophy of separation is described by Casoni (2000) as tolerant of geographical promiscuity with non-believers, along with minimal contact with non-members. However, promiscuity with non-members was impossible due to the particular exigency of the Prince-Bishop's impassable cordon around the city of Münster. This siege did however create a clear demarcation for the Münsterites between 'us' and 'them'. All those outside the city walls could be seen as the antagonistic 'other', while those who remained within the city wall belonged to the group.

Among the different dimensions described in a group that follows a philosophy of separation, according to Casoni (2000), the most relevant dimensions to analyse in this thesis are leadership, rituals, doctrine, and spatial organization. Dimensions such as membership and children are less relevant since they describe realities that are not applicable in the AKM since the group was dissolved in such short time. However, the leadership, eschatology and organization of the AKM are all factors that can be analysed according to Robbins (2002) contributions.

3.2.2 - Second theoretical concept: Endogenous factors

Among the aspects Robbins (2002) has identified as enhancing the likelihood of extreme violence involving religious movements, he refers to one particular aspect as being constituted by endogenous factors. That is, whenever a cultic group progresses towards actions of extreme violence, there are multiple intra-group factors that play key roles in the creation and perpetuation of violence. He highlights this as interplay between concurrent and sometimes opposing sociological forces such as extraneous factors like media coverage and pressure from family of current cultic group members, with endogenous factors such as group eschatology, world-views and doctrine. It seems these endogenous factors are most pertinent when analyzing how Leiden's charismatic leadership affected his group's tendency towards violence. Amongst such endogenous factors, Robbins (2002) identified millennialism and systemic-totalitarianism as most likely to precipitate violence. These will be highlighted with data from the AKM.

- Millennialism:

The Anabaptists in Münster were infused with apocalyptic fervor by Leiden and his prophets. The millenarian rhetoric by the group's leaders was also exacerbated and reinforced by the ongoing siege by Bishop von Waldeck and his attempts to capture the city. As Robbins described, "groups with apocalyptic expectations are likely to anticipate that the imminent last days will be suffused with violence and persecution, which will particularly be directed against the saints" (2002: 981). The initial opposition from the Bishop and faced by the burghers in Münster sufficed to substantiate Leiden's claims of salvation through necessary persecution at the hands of the 'unbelievers'. Building upon this sense of persecution, Leiden and his lieutenants succeeded in creating an apocalyptic fervor by preaching about three specific topics: the 'elect'[12] status of the Münsterites, persecution at the hands of unbelievers and the creation of a new kingdom originating in Münster.

---

[12] The term 'elect' comes from Calvinist ideology according to which a certain segment of the population is predestined for salvation. In this usage, it is synonymous with 'chosen people' or 'people who will be saved'.

When Knipperdolling discovered that the AKM was under siege in 1534, he gathered the people together and told them:

> "It is not the judgment of insignificant, impious papists and Lutherans but the uncorrupted agreement of all of you at the specific urging of the Heavenly Father that has raised us up, even against out will, to the pinnacle of honor and dignity, my very Christian brothers and true descendants of Abraham…" (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 523)

Accounts of speeches like Knipperdolling's highlight the millenarian fervor being stirred up among the Münsterites through the identification of the AKM as a 'chosen people' who were elevated to a higher level through divine ordinance. Recurring themes such as the impurity of the 'other', the sanctity of those belonging to the AKM and the imminent reward for the faithful were utilized in the creation and perpetuation of violence (Gresbeck, 2010: Kerssenbrock, 2007). Instances such as the armed expulsion of non-believers before the siege, the fervor in which the Münsterites mocked and ridiculed their 'ignorant' besiegers, and persecution of dissidents who doubted Leiden's message serve as examples of the perpetuation of violence caused by millenarian fervor (Arthur, 2000; Kerssenbrock, 2007; Gresbeck, 2010).

The sense of martyrdom and the persecution at the hands of the unbelievers also justified acts of extreme violence within the AKM. The concept of martyrdom through violent acts was embedded within the doctrine of the AKM early on in the movement. In a letter to the council of Münster dated September 17th, 1533, Rothmann stated:

> "If, however, you go forward with your plan (God forbid!) [to hinder the conversion of Münster to Anabpatism], we will nonetheless press on with the office entrusted to us by God and the entire world and profess the Truth before God, even at the cost of our lives and all our property (…) We therefore leave it to you to consider how dangerous it is to incur the judgment of God…". (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 441-444).

In the example shown, Rothmann stated two important aspects of the AKM’s doctrine: the willingness to die for their cause and their willingness to commit acts of violence in the name of God. Congruent with Anabaptist ideals shown in other contemporary groups such as the Mennonites, the AKM saw their role as that of a persecuted but chosen minority (Lindberg, 1996). However where the AKM differed from the hyper-peaceful Mennonites was in the fact that their persecution would be met with armed and violent resistance rather than total acceptance. Of course, this sense of martyrdom and imminent violence was exacerbated by the armed response of the Prince-Bishop and the siege surrounding the city of Münster. However, Matthias, and subsequently Leiden’s, rhetoric always differed from that of Melchior Hoffmann’s original belief that the Second Coming should be brought about peacefully and would have most probably retained a certain level of aggression or violence despite the Prince-Bishop’s opposition.

The last method that Leiden and his lieutenants utilized to stir up millenarian fervor among the Münsterites was the insistence on the creation of a new kingdom originating in Münster. Immediately after the death of Jan Matthias, Leiden addressed the gathered Münsterites and said:

> “Everything that is unrighteousness and is still in sin must be stamped out, since the example [the AKM] is ready. You have entered the Apostolic Church and you are holy. Holy is the Lord and you are His folk. Now the example is ready, it shall spread over the entire world, just as it began here in this holy city.” (Gresbeck, 2010: 39-40)

Leiden’s assertion that the Second Coming was to originate at Münster had a definite effect in the perpetuation of violence within the AKM. With the failure of Melchior Hoffmann’s predictions that Strasbourg was to be the city where the Second Coming was to begin, the location where salvation was to be achieved had shifted to Münster

(Depperman, 2005). Therefore Leiden's implications that Münster was a 'holy city' may have played a role in the justification of violence to protect the location where the Second Coming was to occur. Concurrently, in order for Münster to be the center of the Second Coming and a 'New World Order' it required the defeat of both the impure within the city walls such as dissenters and sinners, as well as the violent defeat of the forces besieging the city and preventing the word of God being spread.

- Systemic/totalitarian factors**:**

Cultic groups function in a similar way to what is described by the concept of a total institution, a term coined by Goffman (1961). Robbins (2002) explains to that effect that within the cultic total institution, the participant undergoes social change from their previous life: they break off external social bonds, they psychologically identify with the leader of the group, they undergo continual social scrutiny within the group, and they are more susceptible to violent group behaviors (2002: 1075). Within the context of a cultic group with the potential to engage in violent or extreme behaviors, Robbins (2002) identifies four different aspects that can be can help understand he Münsterite's context. They are: lowered inhibitions against extreme behaviors, mechanisms of commitment building, shared risk and bonding, and internal surveillance mechanisms and group monitoring. Each will be discussed further in the following paragraphs.

The first aspect, which Robbins (2002) *termed Lowered inhibitions against extreme behaviors* is exemplified in cases of religious ecstasy described for both the preachers/prophets and the followers in Münster. Prior to the supremacy of Anabaptism in Münster, Leiden had set the stage for his followers to lower their inhibitions against bizarre religious revelations and with his own behaviors:

> "(…) Bockelson said, "Woe, woe, woe to you! (...) Repent, and if you wish to avoid God's vengeance, take the sign of our Covenant!". The gesticulations with which he proclaimed these and other things can hardly be described. Now he danced upon stones, elevating himself up in his dancing as if about to take flight and clapping with raised palms. Now he shook his head, rolling it around frequently. Now he lifted his eyes to heaven, now he lowered them. Now he grieved; now he threw himself on the ground in the shape of a cross and rolled in the mud." (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 481-482).

When the Anabaptists had seized control of the city and instituted a totalitarian system, these precedents of religious hysteria were authenticated by the leaders and subsequently manifested among their followers. Probably the most salient example of this would be the recorded instance where two eight year old girls entered a state of 'possession' and acted in bizarre ways as a reaction to men's garters (and to women's scarves) which were seen as contrary to the biblical notions of humility and purity, which they felt were not respected by the townsfolk wearing extravagant dress.:

> "…When they [the two young girls] came across menfolk who had elegant garters, they stood in from of them, and pointed with their fingers and gave out a noise just like a person who was mute. If the man was unwilling to have the garters taken off, the girls would get angry and begin shrieking (…) The girls had a [sic] astonishing appearance about them, and they lay on their backs and threw themselves about and tugged themselves by the hair and acted so horrifyingly with their face that a person was terrified at it and his whole body trembled from it." (Gresbeck, 2010: 99-100).

Young girls going about town imposing religious doctrine by throwing a tantrum would most definitely fall under the category of 'extreme behaviors' by the standards of the time. Leiden's lieutenants also engaged in similar ecstatic behaviors, throwing themselves into the mud, speaking in tongues and falling on the ground in the shape of a cross (Gresbeck, 2010: Kerssenbrock, 2007). The precedence placed by Leiden and the other preachers for religious ecstasy allowed for vulnerable parts of the population (women and children) to engage in behaviors that were extreme, yet allowed them to exercise a measure of control over their peers. In addition to lowered inhibitions regarding extreme religious behaviors, there are two other examples among the Münsterites that can be seen in both Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock's (2007) accounts: lowered sexual inhibitions, such as the acceptance of polygamy, and the lowered inhibitions to violence through the executions of dissidents.

Robbins points out that the second aspect, termed *Mechanisms of commitment building* can be seen in "the millenarian totalist movement" that differ from conventional and 'official' total institutions such as mental hospitals in that it "tries to change the behavior of individuals *against* the normative expectations of the larger society" (2002: 1084). Robbins' (2002) description of escalating levels of commitment to the cultic group mentions abandonment of the previous social order, cutting of social ties and criminal/risky behaviors. However, the Münsterites had the additional mechanism of commitment building in the form of an ongoing siege. With armed and angry soldiers camped outside their walls, even the more lukewarm of Leiden's followers were stuck inside the city and forced to conform for the sake of group cohesion. Therefore the mechanisms of commitment building in Münster were intrinsic to their situation. The proverbial 'point of no return' occurred when the non-believers were driven out and those who had embraced Anabaptism remained within the city walls:

> "At seven in the morning on that Friday, they [Leiden and his preachers] ran through the city, up and down the streets, shouting "Listen you godless people, He is going to wake up at some time and punish you!". In this way, they ran through the city with their weapons (guns, pikes and halberds). They opened up the doors

> and then by force chased out of the city every one who was unwilling to have himself baptized. These people had to abandon everything they had, house and home, wife and child, and in this piteous way they had to depart from their possessions and abandon them." (Gresbeck, 2010: 17-18)

> "They lay on their faces for an hour crying and praying, and every moment they expected that the prophets and preachers along with the other rebaptizers would fall upon them and kill them all. What they intended to do was kill them. Some also said that they wanted to drive them naked and bare from the city." (Gresbeck, 2010: 22).

With the 'godless' driven out and the siege commencing outside the city itself, Leiden's followers were faced with either certain death at the hands of the landsknechts outside their walls or engaging in escalating acts of commitment such as executions, polygamy, food rationing and attending mock masses, despite their own levels of adherence to Leiden and his doctrine.

Robbins also points out that what he termed *Shared risk and bonding* consist of methods to the followers' escalating commitment:

> "Criminal, deviant and violent behavior may also be encouraged because it is *risky*. Shared risk is a bonding experience, and by encouraging risky and deviant behavior, a movement leader may raise the costs of commitment…" (2002: 1088).

Therefore, according to Robbins (2002), the leader fosters a system that abets or catalyzes violence by encouraging followers to engage in risky behaviors. This is done while simultaneously escalating the levels of commitment to the group and leader through activities that will effectively shun the followers from regular society.

Shared risk and bonding was evident throughout Leiden's followers, with a number of examples of the Münsterites engaging in risky behavior that eventually escalated into acts of violence. In Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock's (2007) accounts, the Münsterites and their leaders chose to goad and insult the Bishop rather than to quietly ignore or outright refuse his offer, a dangerous act considering the resources at the Bishop's disposal and his obligations as a Bishop to stamp out heresy. During the siege, the Münsterites engaged in a form of taunting against their besiegers, throwing mocking letters to the landsknechts while additionally reinforcing their commitment to and beliefs in Anabaptism (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 572-574). The particular case that Kerssenbrock recounts is a letter that was thrown out of Münster written 'in German rhythms' and meant for the besieging soldiers to read. An excerpt of the beginning of the letter exemplifies the idea that, despite the risk, the Münsterites were willing to incense their besiegers through taunts and wordplay. Note the sarcastic tone with which the letter opened:

> "Greetings to the soldiers and honest men besieging Münster! May Almighty God, the beginning of all things, illuminate my mind with a suggestion so I will rouse you blind and obdurate people with my letter to stop persisting in such cruel tyranny. If you persecute God and His Word, your undertakings will be vain and fruitless, but blame should be assigned not so much to you bloody dogs but to those who would teach you otherwise." (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 572)

Kerssenbrock also noted how certain burghers stood out among the Münsterites as risk takers. These individuals gained a form of recognition among the Münsterites for their daring and commitment to Anabaptism. The first example was a burgher by the name of Bernard Buxdorp[13] who would go alone and unsupported to confront soldiers on a daily basis:

> "Bernard Buxdop, a very daring man, often left the city alone armed with a triple handgun, just about always at noon, and would challenge the quite drunken soldiers [besieging the city]. Being made more daring in pursuing him in drink and acting incautiously, they would be cut down by the sober Buxdop. He let

---

[13] Kerssenbrock's translator, Christopher Mackay, notes that this story was only recounted by Kerssenbrock and was not substantiated by other sources.

> virtually no day pass without shooting some soldiers. When he saw many soldiers rushing for him, he withdrew through hidden paths unknown to the enemy…". (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 565).

The other notorious risk-taker among the Münsterites was a young girl by the name of Hille Fricken. This event was recounted in both Gresbeck's (2010: 43) and Kerssenbrock's (2007: 567) writings. Described as a young and beautiful woman, she was inspired by the biblical story of Judith who saved the town of Bethulia by killing the enemy King Holophernes through guile:

> "They prepared a woman who was to request permission from the prophets and the preachers by saying that God had revealed to her that she was to go from the city to the camp [of the Prince-Bishop] and convert my Gracious Lord of Münster[14] and the landsknechts (…) The prophets and the preachers had prepared this woman to poison my Gracious Lord of Münster and to fornicate with him or to do him in, however she could bring this about." (Gresbeck, 2010: 43-44).

In his account of the incident, Arthur (2000) describes that Hille Fricken was armed with a silk undergarment doused in poison and meaning to seduce the Prince-Bishop von Waldeck, she left the city to kill the leader of the besiegers. He goes on to say that she was eventually caught in her deception and was decapitated for her assassination attempt on the Prince-Bishop.

While Leiden and his lieutenants were violent men who influenced the Münsterites to acts of violence, there were evidently sufficient followers who embraced their ideals enough to engage in shared risk in order to commit themselves further to the cause of the AKM. Again, the fact that Münster was under siege by an oppositional force played a large role in shared risk, since there is no greater risk than a persistent threat camped outside a city's walls. However, the examples of Buxdop and Fricken serve as arguments to the fact that certain individuals were willing to engage in violent and risky behaviors in the name of the greater cause of the AKM. This would indicate that while Leiden's influence played a major role in the acts of violence perpetuated by the AKM, there were Münsterites who embraced or actively participated in violent acts without much hesitation.

---

[14] When Gresbeck refers to "my Gracious Lord of Münster", he is referring to the Prince-Bishop Franz von Waldeck.

Robbins (2002) explains that the fourth aspect, termed *Internal surveillance mechanisms* are present in totalistic cultic groups that put in place systems to monitor, control and curtail negative feedback from both internal and external sources. He goes on to explain that within these totalitarian groups, negative feedback is dealt with swiftly and with finality. Robbins notes that this can be accomplished by a tightening of a leader's control over his group: "Inhibitions directed by the leadership may directly or indirectly *purge* the group of recalcitrant, inner-directed or dissident associates" (2002: 1084).

Within the case of the AKM, the institution of polygamy and the execution of dissidents within Münster can also be understood in a context of group monitoring. For example, the institution of polygamy resulted in the Mollenhecke uprising, which aided Leiden in identifying dissidents and purging them from his followers. It also allowed for the identification of those unwilling to bend to group conformity. Women who refused to marry were summarily executed for their lack of obedience (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Robbins argues that "*the suppression of negative feedback is deemed crucial*" (emphasis in original text), due to the fact that it prevents the followers from gauging how their own behaviors differ from the outside world and prevents "followers [from] feeling threatened, [and] suppresse[s] their doubts and weaknesses" (2002: 1112). Leiden clearly engaged in the suppression of negative feedback with vigor, and regularly held court and judgment over his followers who were deemed to have transgressed, sinned or dissented (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007).

3.2.3 - Third theoretical concept: Breakdown of charismatic leadership

Dawson (2002) presents an interesting theoretical framework that incorporates the issue of the breakdown of charismatic leadership as a precursor to acts of cultic violence. Dawson (2002) explains that violent acts occur within cultic groups as consequence of the leader failing to maintain his charismatic hold over his followers. When the balance between maintaining what Dawson (2010) terms "the legitimacy of charisma", that is, the maintenance of his charismatic leadership over his followers, and asserting dominance and order is upset the stability of the group falters and acts of violence can occur as a result. The four major challenges that Dawson (2010) identifies as crucial to the breakdown of charismatic leadership are: (1) maintaining the leader's persona or image, (2) moderating the effects of psychological identification of the followers with the leader, (3) negotiating the routinization of charisma, and (4) achieving new successes.

The first major challenge that Dawson (2010) identifies as crucial to the breakdown of charismatic leadership is *maintaining the leader's persona or image.* As seen in both Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock's (2007) accounts, throughout the period where Leiden reigned as king, he spent a great deal of effort maintaining his image as king, prophet and religious leader. Upon his coronation, Leiden exerted large amounts of effort to creating a regal yet saintly image around himself. The trappings of royalty with which he surrounded himself were extravagant in nature, particularly when considering his city was under siege from the Bishop's forces (Gresbeck, 2010: 83-90). He supplemented his royal trappings with frequent revelations and visions from God or through 'doing God's work', claiming:

> "It was all the Father's will that he should deck himself out in this way. For the king said that he was dead to the flesh and had no arrogance in this, but was doing it for the glory of God." (Gresbeck, 2010: 88).
>
> "Dear brothers and sisters, as for my having chosen my councilors and all the servants that I need for my royal estate, the only reason why I do this is that each one should learn and know how to get prepared if I have to go forth into the world in broad daylight or in the morning. Otherwise, I have no further need of servants and will not even have any estate within Münster, except in the broad daylight or morning, when I go forth into the world for the sake of God." – *Leiden addressing the Münsterites after establishing his court* (Gresbeck, 2010: 86)

Ultimately, the creation of his court, his servant corps, his personal bodyguards, his deacons and the appointment of his lieutenants to noble positions enabled him to keep further distance from the populace to help maintain his image as a prophet and king.

Leiden labored hard to maintain his image even through the 'bleakest' periods of his reign. This can be highlighted by two examples of threats to his image that were dealt with swiftly and violently. The first example was Leiden's reaction to anyone directly or indirectly denigrating his leadership or his edicts made as a prophet or king. Most of these instances resulted in the dissident being shot with pistols or with beheadings, and included victims such as drunken mercenaries and disobedient women refusing to submit to polygamy:

> "One time, someone fled from the [besieging] camp to the city, and he was a landsknecht (…) Once the knecht was in the city, he certainly would have wished to get away again, so he asked the king for permission to go away. The king said yes, he would have permission to go. So they brought the knecht to the gate in the evening and were going to set him on his way (…) presently, someone came up behind him with a battle sword and cut off his head. They said, "Now go on to wherever you wish." (Gresbeck, 2010: 90)

> "A young woman was led before the throne, her head bare and her hands tied before her. Her name was Elizabeth Holschern. She was charged with having three times denied her husband his conjugal rights. The young woman said she had been assigned to her "husband" against her will – despite the preachers' earlier assertions that no woman should be forced to choose a husband – and she did not regard him as having nay rights over her at all (…) With that, King Jan decreed that she must pay with her life for violating the will of God, The two guards who had led the woman before the throne forced her to kneel, and Bernard Knipperdolling (…) cut off her head with a single stroke." (Arthur, 2000: 113)

The second example involved the distribution of food within the besieged city. While his followers were starving around him, Leiden and his circle continued to eat well and justified it through their 'status' (Gresbeck, 2010: 178, 188, 214). When dissidents threatened to leave the city due to hunger and thus challenged Leiden's 'right' to food as the cultic leader, they were summarily thrown out of the city in rags to their certain deaths:

> "Whoever wishes to leave the city was to come up to the council hall (…) The king took their clothing off all those who were asking for permission, and put old clothes back on them, and then he let them go in pairs as if they were going to be hanged (…) The king then had it said in the preaching that after this time no one would receive permission [to leave] any more. If anyone else was found who wanted to receive permission or who wanted to go out by the gate, that person would be killed." (Gresbeck, 2010: 193-194)

In the second challenge related to the breakdown of charismatic leadership, *moderating the effects of the psychological identification of the followers with the leader*, Dawson (2010) explains how the followers project their identity on that of their leader and therein view any attacks on his life or character as if they were attacks on themselves. The primary source data available from Kerssenbrock (2007) and Gresbeck (2010) mentions the aftermath of occurrences where Leiden was attacked by detractors (Mollenhecke's uprising and Smit's verbal dissent are two previously explored examples); however, neither event was explored with the followers' psyches exclusively in mind. With the case of Mollenhecke's uprising, there was a point during the uprising where Leiden was captured by Mollenhecke along with another preacher at the outset of the uprising:

> "So these burghers [led by Mollenhecke] and landsknechts took John of Leiden, Knipperdolling and some other preachers prisoner, and put them in the prison in the city cellar at the council hall. They also took a preacher named Schlachtschap prisoner. They hauled him from bed in between two women, and two women lay below him on a trundle bed. So they placed him along with someone else in the stocks." (Gresbeck, 2010: 73).

Among those followers that didn't side with Mollenhecke, there were sufficient followers who were outraged enough to join Tilbeck, who was not captured, in successfully attacking the insurgents and rescuing their leader, Jan van Leiden. This is evidence that they either identified with Leiden, his cause or, at the very least, his lieutenants. His lieutenants also must have psychologically identified with Leiden; otherwise they could have let the uprising either kill Leiden or they could have killed him themselves in private and blamed it on Mollenhecke in order to use the power vacuum to gain prominence themselves, a tactic that Leiden himself was suspected by some historians like Arthur (2000) of being guilty of doing with Matthias.

The second part of the notion of *moderating the psychological identification of followers,* as explained by Dawson (2010), is the involvement of the followers in illegal acts to ensure the continuation of their loyalty. The very essence of the whole event at Münster was essentially an illegal, defiant act against the established religion and social order. Those who chose to remain in the city when the 'unbelievers' were chased out of the city had essentially crossed a threshold of no return. This was exemplified when starvation had struck the city and people within Münster were defecting to the landsknechts who were besieging the city. As previously discussed, when a portion people wanted to leave due to starvation, Leiden let them, but stripped them of clothing and any goods they were carrying (Gresbeck, 2010: 194). The defectors were then told they would not be allowed to return once they left. However, the besieging landsknechts, not wanting to have additional 'heathen' mouths to feed, promptly killed all the defectors:

> "Once the rebaptizers saw that the landsknechts had taken the burgher and his companion prisoner[15], about two hundred followed him in defecting from the city. Some were taken prisoner, and some were killed. Those who were taken prisoner were taken to Wolbeck and executed there. It was very few who escaped from there, apart from those who were taken to the city as prisoner. Otherwise, they were all killed." (Gresbeck, 2010: 203).

Essentially, Leiden was shrewd enough to realize that loyalty was ensured through the fact that certain death awaited the Münsterites if they were to leave the city, in contrast to the unsure, yet bleak future within the city.

The third challenge that Dawson (2010) identifies as crucial to the breakdown of charismatic leadership is *negotiating the routinization of charisma*. Leiden countered the bureaucratization of his religious group after the death of Matthias through swift and decisive action. Immediately after Matthias' death, Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007) recount how the twelve Elders were appointed as leaders of the AKM, which can be seen as an aspect of bureaucratization and routinization of charisma post-death of their initial leader, Matthias. However, when the opportunity presented itself, Leiden was quickly able to capitalize on the victory over the bishop's attacking forces to have himself crowned King. In order to mitigate any loss of power with the growth of the Anabaptist movement in Münster, Leiden established a number of policies in order to intentionally destabilize his group in order to resist increased bureaucratization (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Examples of these include his own coronation, his prophetic visions, the institution of polygamy, public fits of religious ecstasy and explicit executions of dissidents. The instability brought about by an immediate crisis manifested by the besieging forces also allowed for Leiden to keep his followers and political rivals from guessing his actions, therefore not allowing them to bureaucratize and limit his charismatic leadership.

---

[15] The burgher and his companion mentioned by Gresbeck were two ensigns who defected earlier to the Prince-Bishop. One was only taken prisoner, while the other was executed (Gresbeck, 2010: 197). This served as a catalyst for a mass defection of Münsterites who were on the brink of starvation.

Lastly, the fourth challenge that Dawson (2010) identifies is *achieving new successes*. The type of successes available to Leiden and the Münsterites were limited by the fact that they were under siege by the Bishop's forces. Although they managed to recruit a handful of new followers from the ranks of the besieging landsknechts (Gresbeck, 2010: 35; Kerssenbrock, 2007: 576), these were not sufficient to replenish any losses in battle or to allow for growth. As such, any successes that were achieved by Leiden were limited to either spiritual or military victories. In fact, the period where Leiden held the most influence among his followers was immediately after successfully repelling the first attack by the Bishop's forces upon the city. It was then that he established polygamy within Münster (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). However this success was mitigated by the physical restraints placed upon him by the siege, his failed prophecies, discontent over his policies, starvation and the failures of followers to go out and enlist new Anabaptist sympathizers to help defend the city.

A more salient example of Leiden’s failure to achieve new successes can be found through analyzing his reactions to the lack of success. His typical strategy, as seen with the failed ‘Easter prophecy’, was to evoke a higher power as explanation of his failures. It was not Leiden’s fault, but through divine will the outcomes he promised had either changed or been fulfilled in mysterious and heavenly ways that the plebian portions of his flock could not understand. Similar strategies were used when Leiden failed to outright kill the dissident Smit, when he claimed it was God’s will that he survive his execution. Therefore, any of Leiden’s failures to achieve new successes were twisted and perverted into images of what he deemed as successes. Failure within Leiden’s image as a charismatic leader was not congruent with the image he was attempting to cultivate among his followers, therefore Leiden was not capable of failing. All failures were just different types of successes through the fact God had divinely ordained Leiden his prophet, therefore any unexpected outcome was due to God’s design.

This chapter analyzed the data relating to Jan van Leiden according to the theoretical concepts of Dawson (2002, 2010), Casoni (2000) and Robbins (2002) with a view of understanding the type of leadership he exercised. After having established that Leiden was indeed a charismatic leader, it was deemed important to study how he used his charisma.. Chapter four will present and discuss the elements that were identified in research as having played a major role in the establishment of Leiden’s charismatic leadership, as well as its role in the recourse to violence within the AKM.

Chapter Four: Analysis of the Role played by Charismatic Leadership

While the analysis presented in chapter three helped to understand both Leiden as a charismatic leader and the cultic group which he reined over, the AKM. The present chapter will attempt to present and discuss the data in relation to the two research objectives of this thesis: an analysis of how Leiden achieved and established charismatic leadership, and its role in the recourse to violence. By using each theory presented in the first chapter and applying them both to the doctrinal aspects of the AKM and to their recourse to violence, the pieces of the puzzle will be joined in an attempt to comprehend how Leiden's charismatic leadership affected the Münsterites and led them to the use of violence.

4.1 –Major methods used to establish charismatic leadership

The objective of this part of the thesis is to utilize the three key theoretical concepts reviewed in chapter one and applied in the previous chapter. These theoretical concepts will help identify the major themes that help understand the interactions and interplay between Leiden's charismatic leadership and his followers, the Münsterites. This liaison will help explain the relationship behind the establishment of charismatic leadership within the AKM, as well as link it to the theoretical basis established in the third chapter. Therefore, presented in this section is a discussion of the elements that seem to have played a contributory role in the establishment of Leiden's charistic leadership. The four major means identified by this research that Leiden used in establishing charismatic leadership over the Münsterites were: (a) the threat of millenarianism, (b) the exploitation of a bilateral parasitic relationship between the charismatic leader and followers, (c) religious ecstasy and prophecy, and (d) the use of the followers' desire for social and religious change.

4.1.1 - The threat of millenarianism

As addressed in the section on charismatic leadership, in Weberian sociology charismatic leadership differentiates itself from other forms of authority (traditional and rational-legal) through the fact that the charismatic leader possesses either abilities or an object deemed "supernatural" that sets him apart from others. What ties millenarianism and Anabaptism to charismatic leadership is that they are pertinent cultic world-views that can be used to define and understand cultic groups. In the case of this thesis, they were the two main doctrinal factors adhered to by the AKM. As described by Casoni (2000) in the section devoted to groups who follow a philosophy of separation, doctrine and rituals are means with which a charismatic leader can impose his will and further his own agenda. While research already discussed in this thesis (Robbins, 2002; Dawson, 2002 & 2010) has linked millenarianism to cults and cultic violence, this section will attempt to place it in context to the AKM. More specifically, it will examine factors surrounding the interplay between the Münsterites and charismatic leadership as exercised upon them by Leiden. The millenarian factor affecting the AKM will be addressed in terms of being a social device which Leiden, either purposefully or unintentionally, used to establish and maintain control over his followers.

In the part of the thesis that explored the conditions giving rise to charismatic leadership, one of the primary causes identified by Dawson (2010) was the presence of an acute or ultimate crisis. In order to establish his charismatic leadership, Leiden fueled a crisis through the encouragement of the Münsterites' millenarian beliefs. The traditional Christianity which the Münsterites adhered to prior to the establishment of Anabaptism had already espoused millenarian concepts involving the Second Coming of Christ. Thus, along with the turbulence caused by the Protestant Reformation, it can be argued that the Münsterites were already highly susceptible to the fears of the apocalypse. In the context of the AKM, Leiden appeared to be exacerbating millenarian ideals in the aim of subsequently offering a spiritual solution to the problem he initiated. Indeed, all that was required was a metaphorical "fanning of the flames" by Matthias, Leiden and their followers to establish this crisis – accomplished through preaching, running down the streets in hysteria proclaiming the end of the world, threatening non-believers and culminating in seizure of the city itself. Once this millenarian fervor was established and the Münsterites were terrified and thus susceptible to suggestion, Leiden used millenarianism to his advantage through promising salvation and spiritual supremacy for the faithful (Gresbeck, 2010: 24, 27, 38-40; Kerssenbrock, 2007: 480-481, 489). It does seem quite clear however that Leiden used this fear to preach to the Münsterites what they wanted to hear, that which is identified as the sixth precursor to charismatic leadership by Dawson (2010). Leiden's preaching was an answer to the upcoming apocalypse and, through submission and adherence to his image of Anabaptism, the citizens of Münster could be saved. Thus, in the context of the AKM, the leaders of the Anabaptists established power and fulfilled two of Dawson's precursors to charismatic leadership using millenarianism as a means to an end in terms of establishing a certain type of leadership.

4.1.2. - The exploitation of a bilateral parasitic relationship between the charismatic leader and their followers

Another factor that needs to be taken into consideration when analyzing charismatic leadership is that influence is not solely from the leader to the group but can also occur the other way around (Casoni, 1996). That is, the cultic group can influence the charismatic leader as well as the leader can influence and control his group. The relationship between Jan van Leiden and the Münsterites described in the case study analysis of the AKM indeed appears parasitic. Inherent in every case of charismatic leadership is the need for a shepherd to have a flock (Roy, 1988). However, this bilateral nature of the relationship between charismatic leader refers to the fact that a person can become and remain a leader because others project onto him or her that role, in that sense a leader is fashioned by his followers, in the same way as the leader fashions the followers (Casoni, 1996, 2002, 2005; Roy 1988). However, the nature of such a bilateral relationship does not prevent the personality and drama that surrounds the charismatic leader to have a direct influence on the followers' attitudes and behaviours. The relationship between charismatic leadership and members of groups needs to encompass both a 'top-to-down' as well as a 'down-to-top' analysis of how each party affects the other, what this thesis, following Dawson (2002), terms as a 'bilateral parasitic relationship'. The term utilizes the adjective 'parasitic', by virtue of the fact that the relationship being described is co-dependent. Akin to biological parasites, the relationship between both is mutually created: the leader feeding off of his followers acclaim, recognition and psychological projection, while concurrently the followers feed off of the leader's image of strength, his image ad his prestige.

In the case of the AKM, there are multiple instances where the bilateral nature of the parasitic relationship between Leiden and the Münsterites was evident. First and foremost, Leiden was wholly dependent on his lieutenants to legitimize and spread his power. As previously discussed, the foreign Dutchman Leiden's path to charisma was facilitated through the help of the local burghers of Münster. While under torture after his capture by the Prince-Bishop, Knipperdolling, who had been a key figure in substantiating Leiden's claim to leadership after the death of Matthias, admitted to lying about the legitimacy of his visions "as a favor to the prophet" (Kerssenbrock, 2007: 539). Leiden's dependency on his lieutenants was also shown by his shock and inability to properly react to a challenge to his power by Knipperdolling. Arthur (2000) described the event, which was substantiated by both Kerssenbrock and Gresbeck, either as a challenge to Leiden's authority or as a fit of epilepsy. During one of Leiden's habitual judgments upon sinners, Knipperdolling rose from the crowd and engaged Leiden with a bout of religious ecstasy that mocked him and his visions (Gresbeck, 2010: 114-116). Leiden's response was that of stunned disbelief and stuttering, rather than his customary violent reactions to dissidents. The relationship between Leiden and Knipperdolling was so inter-dependent that even after a blatant challenge to his authority Leiden accepted his repentance after a period of imprisonment whereas most other dissidents were summarily executed for their crimes of *lèse-majesté*.

Another prominent example of the parasitic bilateral nature of charismatic leadership between Leiden and the Münsterites was the previously mentioned case where two young girls were possessed by "spirits" and roamed mutely through Münster accosting burghers whom they deemed as sinful and vain. This example was raised earlier while discussing Robbins' (2002) views on endogenous factors concerning lowered inhibitions against extreme behaviors. Leiden's visions and ecstatic behaviors legitimized and allowed for certain of his followers to dictate their views on religion and sin, in this case, the two girls screamed mutely at men and women wearing 'vain' garters and scarves. Indeed, it also allowed for one of the most vulnerable parts of Münsterites society to do so – young women. Condemnation of religious ecstasy would have been tantamount to disclaiming similar bouts of ecstasy that Leiden and his lieutenants frequently demonstrated. Rather than being executed for their tenacity, like Elizabeth Holschern and the other outspoken women who defied polygamy, these two girls were given to the preachers who declared that they were dispossessed of 'evil flying spirits', whereupon they "became healthy again." (Gresbeck, 2010: 101).

Lastly, one of the preconditions to charismatic leadership mentioned by Dawson (2002) alludes to the fact that the charismatic leader must preach to his followers what they want to hear. However, what is unsaid in this precondition is that the charismatic leader is constrained, at least initially, by the desires of his group. Amongst other things, the Münsterites desired assurances of their spiritual salvation during times of turmoil and Leiden delivered it to them with millenarian dogma and promises of salvation if they were to submit to his authority. If Leiden's message had not been so convincing, if he had not been able to assure his followers that the toad to salvation passed through him and his religion, he would have not become a leader in their eyes and would likely have been similar to all the other religious preachers of the time who went from city to city searching for followers to elect them to be their leader.

4.1.3 - Religious ecstasy and prophecy

Leiden's preaching and prophetic posture during the nascent stages of Anabaptism in the AKM seems to have played an important role in bringing people under his influence. His bizarre behaviors while under the supposed influence of God had the dual effect of drawing attention to his preaching while simultaneously instilling the seeds of doubt and fear in a culture profoundly religious, but quite superstitious. Not only did these two factors broach his own take on Anabaptist ideas to the Münsterites but, once he had their attention, religious ecstasy and prophecy became not only a means to influence his followers but also a method to control them which Leiden used to strengthen his charismatic leadership.

The acceptance of Leiden as a prophet also played a major role in his establishment of charismatic leadership over the AKM. Both Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007) give evidence that the Münsterites accepted the idea that Leiden and Matthias were prophets and, as such religious leaders. For instance, Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007) repeatedly refer to them as 'prophets' and 'preachers'. Leiden used this, as well as prophesying, which was to a certain point common in religious leaders of the time, in order to cement his authority. The use of prophesying in Leiden's rhetoric and preaching style gave a transcendent quality that was interpreted as a sense of heavenly consent to his communications with his followers. In his preaching, Leiden maintained that God had given him these visions, which coupled with the widely accepted truism that God was perfect, made Leiden a spokesperson for God and gave an aura of truth to his preaching and prophecies. According to Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007), the Münsterites accepted that his words must have been true. This was coupled with the fact that his followers *wanted* to believe in the miracles and promises of salvation he made, which is characteristic of the bilateral relationship between leader and followers previously discussed. These beliefs in Leiden's promises of salvation were especially important because of the political and religious climate of the time and Leiden's use of prophesying became a powerful means to establish and to maintain his charismatic leadership over the Münsterites. It appears, that despite his sometimes bizarre and ecstatic attitudes, his failed prophecies and violent behaviors, he retained a steady following even in the bleakest of times (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Hsia, 1984; Kerssenbrock, 2007).

The prophetic word also holds the double benefit of being unchallengeable by the common man – who are they to question the word of God? Even more so, who are they to question the word of a man who has such a personal relationship with God that the Lord only speaks to him? The gravitas of the mantle of prophet even allowed Leiden to circumvent his own failed prophecies. In chapter three, Leiden's Easter day prophecy was discussed in which he predicted relief would arrive to lift the siege prior to Easter. Upon failure of the prophecy, Leiden had already circumvented his own prophetic error through a reinterpretation of the vision that God had given him by modifying his prophecy to mean a spiritual relief, rather than a physical one. Therefore, once he has been accepted as a prophet by his followers, Leiden had established an all-powerful control over them by virtue of their belief in his divine ordination and providence.

Since religious ecstasy and prophecy held an allure of mystery for the common man for very few were deemed capable of speaking to God, believing that one's leader is in communication with God elevates him to a level above all others - a level from which he might exercise his power and exert his influence over them. This aspect refers to the ‘supernatural’ quality of charisma described by the Weberian in his definition of charismatic leadership. Multiple accounts by both Gresbeck (2010) and Kerssenbrock (2007) recount how Leiden, Knipperdolling, Matthias and other leaders and lieutenants engaged in bizarre and uncommon behaviors ranging from falling down on the ground in the shape of a cross, being struck mute and dumb, rolling around in the mud, prancing around like fools, speaking in tongues and receiving instantaneous visions from God. These religious behaviors were a form of spiritual currency – the more in tune with God one was, the more likely one was to adopt behaviors which were different from those of the common man. This phenomenon was especially exacerbated by the Protestant ideals such as relative self-reliance in terms of understanding the bible and gaining salvation. It must be remembered that, by comparison, the Catholic Church tightly controlled its clergy in order for all prophesying to stem from the pope who was the only one that was seen as to be in communication with God (Lindberg, 1996). In the newly Protestant Europe, every man was given license to engage God without intermediary. Thus, it legitimized and even reinforced the tendency for preachers to present themselves as prophets, like Leiden who engaged in ecstatic behaviors and prophecy. Additionally, in light of the prevailing social and cultural environment, the Münsterites have been seen as being more open to the idea of prophecy and religious ecstatic behaviors (Lindberg, 1996; Kerssenbrock, 2007).

4.1.4 - Using the followers’ desire for social and religious change

Matthias and Leiden played an integral role in bringing Anabaptism to Münster. Prior to their arrival, there were Anabaptist sympathies among some of the local burghers such as Rothmann (Arthur, 2000; Hsia, 1984), yet it required the arrival of a leader to fully catalyze these sympathies and symbolize the desire for social and religious change. In the particular case of the AKM, it can be argued that Leiden was the catalyst allowing the Münsterites who were sympathetic to Anabaptism to express that which normally would be shunned by society at large. The role played by a charismatic leader as an element of change within a society or group, as well as a means through which suppressed desires for social change can unfold will further be analyzed in this section. Groups who desire a change in their social or religious organization follow a leader that exemplifies and promises that changes will be made under his authority; it is thus why they submit to his authority. This promise to implement the changes wished by his followers appears to be a powerful means of establishing and maintaining the charismatic leader's leadership.

One of the important changes that Leiden made and that must have been seen as going in the direction wished for by the population was a change in political organization. Leiden indeed saw to it that the power invested in the guild system found in most parts of Europe was transferred to an elite group of twelve elders under the model of the Old Testament, a typical political organization of groups that share a philosophy of separation world-view (Casoni, 2000). It is only once his charismatic leadership had been totally accepted by all the inhabitants of Munster and that the group was besieged did he change the political organization to a more traditional authoritarian model, crowning himself as King, as recounted by Kerssenbrock (2007: 542-544) and as discussed by Dawson (2010). Indeed, a central theme in Anabaptism is the return to what was deemed as the original 'true church' of the apostle. In that sense, the Münsterites who adopted

Anabaptism saw in Leiden's first political decisions their desire be for a system similar to the one described in the Bible carried out by Leiden through the appointment of the twelve Elders. Hence, traditional social and class order was discarded along with the old religious practices, allowing for burghers such as Rothmann, Tilbeck and Knipperdolling to gain prominence and power as elders that otherwise would have been unavailable to them. Arthur (2000) and Lindberg (1996) support the idea that leaders of that time period, as well reformation religious groups like the AKM, were a manifestation of the desire for social and religious change.

As explored in the historical background sections of this thesis, the time period wherein the AKM was established was one of social and religious turmoil. With so much division being wrought through the land, it can be argued that certain parts of the European population would have been more inclined towards the ideas of strong group cohesion and seclusion over a world of change, fear and turmoil. The ideas of an elite and "elect" group of individuals, returning to the biblical model of Christianity apart from the world were manifest in Anabaptism, as evidenced even today in the practices of other Anabaptist groups such as the Mennonites (Friesen, 1998). Through a select membership, Casoni (2000) argues that the groups that adhere to a philosophy of separation maintain cohesion by making sure a process of distinguishing the 'us' from the 'them' is ongoing and multi-targeted. The desire to protect themselves from the turmoil in their social environment might have been a reason why the Münsterites were open to the ideas of radical Anabaptism and to Leiden's charismatic leadership.

4.2 – Analysis of the role of charismatic leadership in the recourse to violence

Building upon the previous analysis that showed how charismatic leadership was achieved in the AKM through various means (Dawson, 2010), the present section will analyze the role that Leiden's charismatic leadership had in the recourse to violence among the Münsterites, and present the elements that the author has identified as playing a major role in the recourse to violence within the AKM. In order to do so, some of the aspects developed previously will be analyzed again with a view of understanding the recourse to violence. The relevant case study material will be further analyzed in view of establishing, the case being, a link between charismatic leadership and the recourse to violence. Analysis will be particularly focused on concrete examples of violence found within the AKM that can be linked directly to actions undertaken by Leiden and his lieutenants as a charismatic leader. By contrasting the results of the analyses undertaken in chapters three and four, three elements that have played a crucial role in Leiden's charismatic leadership as it related to the recourse to violence in the AKM will be identified. These are millennial violence, shared identity, and systemic elements. These elements have been discussed in a number of authors' work (name them please), they will be used here to understand the data collected in regards to the AKM.

4.2.1 - Millennial violence

There are multiple direct links to the genesis of violent behaviors associated with apocalypticism in Anabaptist Münster. Firstly, Leiden did not shy away from the fact that he intended to bring about the new messianic kingdom through swords and blood. He was directly influenced by Jan Matthias who, as discussed in chapter two, turned his back on the peaceful Anabaptist teachings of Melchior Hoffmann in favor of a more violent and aggressive form of Anabaptism. In both Kerssenbrock (2007) and Gresbeck's (2010) accounts of Leiden speeches and preaching to the Münsterites, he clearly used language that alluded to violent themes in order to purify the world and the faithful of sin and allow for the messianic kingdom to occur. Millenarianism was a central doctrine in Leiden's eschatology and this sub-section will show how Leiden's use of millenarianism during his charismatic leadership over the Münsterites either led to acts of violence by the members of the AKM.

In the early stages of the AKM, Matthias, Leiden and their lieutenants used millenarianism to scare sections of the populace into believing that the Second Coming was imminent. By running through the streets and utilizing mass hysteria in order to garner a psychological hold on their future followers, the stage was set for the perpetration of acts of violence. Almost immediately after they gained a significant foothold in the minds and souls of the Münsterites, Leiden and his followers engaged in rash and violent behaviours. Not surprisingly, the targets chosen were symbols from their followers' previous lives: the great churches found within Münster's walls, and the individuals who refused to convert to Anabaptism. This was subsequently followed by the baptism of those who were the most vulnerable in society, such as women and children, through threats of using force (Gresbeck, 2010: 13-18). Engaging in adult baptism put the Münsterites at odds with the spiritual norm of Frisia and of the rest of Europe at the time, as well as threatened their promised salvation according to both Catholic and Protestant dogma; hence, the newly baptized Münsterites passed a point of no return.

The millennial beliefs of the Münsterites catalyzed cyclical occurrences of violence within the AKM. The concepts put forth by Robbins (2002) suggests that millennial fears act as a precursor and strong component in violent and volatile cultic groups. According to his definition, millenarianism acts as a self-fulfilling prophecy where the faithful expect violence against the 'saints', who are the faithful members of the cultic group, at the hands of the unbelievers (2002: 981). According to Robbins, this idea of persecution at the hands of the unfaithful is common-place in violent millenarian cults and is often justified as a precursor to the coming of the new age. Once the first acts of violence in the name of the upcoming messianic kingdom had occurred, Leiden's own violent tendencies and rhetoric were legitimized and reinforced. His message was simplistic: where spiritual salvation was concerned, any means necessary could be employed in order to bring about the messianic age. Violence was frequently justified with the spiritual rewards offered when the new age would dawn on the faithful when faith and morale was low (Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). The Münsterites' image as martyrs and heralds of a new messianic age left little room for dissent or deviation from the group's doctrine. Indeed, this image and millenarian fervor was heightened even further by the aggressive besieging force outside the city walls. Therefore, anyone who stood in the path of spiritual salvation and the coming of the Second Age was met with violence: the women who opposed polygamy, Mollenhecke's rebellion, individuals who did not hold to the strict levels of orthodoxy and purity set by the twelve elders, etc.

Dawson's (2002, 2010) ideas also present a number of interesting elements concerning the interplay between followers and cultic leader in the recourse to violence. Within the particular case of the AKM, the cycle of charismatic leadership that Leiden established and struggled to maintain provided a great deal of internal stress which could be attributed to acts of intra-group violence. With his followers bound to him through acts of violence, Leiden utilized his followers' psychological identification with his cultic persona to cause them to abet his own violent tendencies or even to inspire them to commit further acts of violence. Since the element of millenarianism was a central tenet in Leiden's proposed theology, the apocalypse was inexorably tied to his own acts of violence. The image that was emerging of him among his followers was that of a King of a messianic kingdom and dissent against him was not only a physical and mortal transgression, but also a spiritual and religious one. Therefore punishment was justified through harsh, swift and public violence. As well, by buying into Leiden's apocalyptic rhetoric, the Münsterites projected their own personalities upon that of their leader. Essentially, they had to buy into his dogmatic stance on the apocalypse or face the fact that they had invested effort, energy and faith into a false prophet with false prophecy. This would explain why portions of the Münsterites supported Leiden in favor of Mollenhecke when he rebelled against polygamy

4.2.2 - Collectivism and Shared Identity

A key element to the AKM and Leiden's establishment of charismatic leadership was the adoption of the concept of a 'community of believers' among the Münsterites. As discussed in the first chapter, the act of engaging in adult baptism effectively cut the Anabaptists off from the rest of European society in both a spiritual and physical sense. Through manipulation and the imposition of his charismatic leadership over the Münsterites, Leiden participated in the development of a shared and collective identity among his followers (Casoni, 2005). Collectivism of any stripe is a unifying factor, whether it is a fanatical cultic group or a school-yard sports team. However, despite all the hardships and trials that brought the AKM together into a singular group, Anabaptist collectivism was not exclusive to the Münsterites. The concept of a 'shared identity' through persecution was also found among other Anabaptist groups during this time period, most notably the peaceful Mennonites (Lindberg, 1996). Therefore collectivism, and particularly Anabaptist collectivism, does not necessarily engender violent acts. Another Anabaptist group active during that period, the Mennonites, embodied the antithesis of the AKM in terms of violence. However, the establishment of a collective, persecuted identity was an important element in Leiden's establishment of charismatic leadership in Münster.

In addition to analyzing how and why general violence occurred among the Münsterites under the charismatic leadership of Leiden, there is also the question as to why they abetted or ignored acts of intra-group violence from their leaders. As described by Casoni (2000) in her description of groups that share a philosophy of separation, the maintenance of cohesion is of the utmost importance. In the face of sudden doctrinal changes, members of the group will adopt the changes "without questioning their relevance or showing discomfort" (2000: 145). This mind-set was generally typified by the Münsterites during Leiden's reign, as exemplified in the dramatic and severe imposition of new doctrine in the form of personal codes of conduct, marriage law and group hierarchy (Gresbeck, 2010: Kerssenbrock, 2007). This observation sheds a little light on perhaps why the Münsterites tolerated some of the more questionable and violent executions that Leiden orchestrated and even acquiesced, save for Mollenhecke's rebellion, to the edicts of polygamy that led to violence. Therefore group cohesion was of the utmost importance, not only leading to a shared group identity, but also with a view of protecting one's personal safety since any deviance from the group was met with violence at the hands of Leiden and his lieutenants.

4.2.3 - Macro-level dimensions

There are a number of macro-level elements that played a pivotal role in the violence that unfolded under Leiden's reign. There were the physical aspects of the city of Münster itself, such as the fact that the city was renowned for its fortifications and large city wall (Kerssenbrock, 2007). There were also a number of cultural, temporal and social elements found in Frisia and Münster that also could have played a part in the recourse to violence. Lastly, the systemic influence due to the charismatic leadership over the Münsterites also created an environment where violence was the norm.

In Kerssenbrock's (2007) description of the town of Münster, he recounted how the city was known for its wall, which was atypically large and strong for a city at the time. The city walls played a key role in the defense of the city when Leiden and his followers were besieged by Prince-Bishop von Waldeck. However, the walls also served the dual purpose of keeping the followers within the city. Due to the siege, movement to and from Münster was impossible, especially during the latter stages when von Waldeck tightened the siege after his failed attempts at capturing the city by force (Arthur, 2000, Gresbeck, 2010, Kerssenbrock, 2007). This placed a number of strains on the group. In the physical sense, it caused devastating hunger among Leiden's followers, whereas Leiden and his inner circle continued to eat well (Gresbeck, 2010: 214). It also prevented dissidents from fleeing the group, as anyone who was caught by the Prince-Bishop's forces was given no quarter (Gresbeck, 2010: 176). In a situation such as the one the Münsterites were involved in, violence was a logical and almost inevitable reaction. When the Prince-Bishop's siege of Münster was in place, both Gresbeck and Kerssenbrock reported that it was common knowledge that banishment or exile was akin to a death sentence, since the Prince-Bishop's forces did not show any clemency to the Münsterites. Without the option of banishing or expelling dissidents, the only recourse for Leiden to control his legitimacy as a leader was through severe and public punishment. He frequently held court and he pronounced judgment on both physical and spiritual matters, with punishments ranging from whippings, to being shot, stabbed, or killed (Arthur, 2000; Gresbeck, 2010; Kerssenbrock, 2007). Executions in front of the whole congregation of Anabaptists was seen as a method of general deterrence for any future dissent among Leiden's followers. In addition to aiding his charismatic hold over his followers, these forms of violence also had the dual effect of eliminating mouths to feed. Food was confiscated and rationed by the edicts of Leiden and his inner circle and anyone caught taking too much from the communal rations, or who was caught stealing was executed (Gresbeck, 2010: 140). Had there been no wall surrounding the city of Münster, the AKM would not have been able to survive a large scale attack by the Prince-Bishop's forces. However, the wall itself proved to be a prison as well as protection. The encapsulating effect of a city wall coupled with the physical realities of a siege therein fostered the hostile environment that became ripe for violence and abuse at the hands of Leiden and his inner-circle.

There were also macro-level cultural and social elements that can be seen as playing a role in the recourse to violence. The history surrounding the German Peasants War had caused the ruling elite to fear sources of unrest and turmoil that could cause a relapse into armed conflict at the hands of the lower classes. As a result, aberrant religious movements such as Anabaptism were targeted early on by the upper-classes of society out of fear of empowerment and incitement of the lower classes. State resistance against Anabaptist movements was handled as a priority and the treatment of the AKM was not an exception. Extraneous violence was inevitable as soon as the Anabaptists seized power in Münster. The Prince-Bishop could not afford to let a prominent city such as Münster fall into the hands of a fringe Protestant religious group for both religious and political reasons. This in turn fueled a martyrdom complex among Anabaptist groups. Some groups, such as the Mennonites, responded in a peaceful manner to violence and martyrdom (Lindberg, 1996; Depperman, 2005). However, the spirit of violence and militancy that was established by Matthias and then seized upon by Leiden upon the institution of his charismatic leadership over the Münsterites gave the AKM a sense of violent martyrdom. As seen throughout Leiden's rhetoric during preaching and in his speeches, the 'new messianic age' was to be brought about by the sword. This, in turn, justified not only violence against outsiders, but also against members of Leiden's flock who were seen as deviating from his imposed dogma.

The purpose of this chapter, was to present a thorough analysis of how charismatic leadership is achieved in cultic groups, and more specifically, how it affects the recourse to violence within the group.. While chapter three established and examined

Leiden as a charismatic leader, analyzed some of the finer points of how he achieved charismatic leadership and how he fit within the current scholarly definitions of charismatic leadership, chapter four built upon this analysis to further examine the specific means by which Leiden's charismatic leadership was related to the recourse to violence in the AKM. As such, four elements were particularly identified as having influenced the recourse to acts of violence in this particular historical case analysis.

Chapter Five: Concluding Remarks

5.1 –Discussion and Conclusion

Through exploring charismatic leadership and its relationship to violence, we were hoping to touch upon some interesting ideas that would help further future research into a topic that has received relatively little attention (Dawson, 2010). This research has been eye opening for us in terms of the complexity and possibilities for research using historical case studies. As such, we would like to conclude this thesis with a discussion on some of the theoretical concepts covered throughout the analysis in their relation to understanding how Leiden's charismatic leadership influenced the recourse to violence within his cultic group. As well, we'd like to have a brief overview of a few observations and suggestions for further research.

The theoretical concept of *groups that follow a philosophy of separation* taken from Casoni (2000) fails to adequately explain the genesis of violence within the AKM for a number of reasons. This theoretical concept is more descriptive than explicative, and this is a short-coming when trying to explain why a group may have recourse to acts of violence because it fails to do more than describe portions of the AKM's composition. While it offered some insight into some interesting aspects of the AKM, it ultimately fell short in adequately explaining acts of violence within the group. The classification of the AKM as a group that followed a philosophy of separation is also problematic when exploring the recourse to violence. While the AKM was indeed a group that followed a philosophy of separation, it didn't take long before it wholly embraced a philosophy of survival. In retrospect, we should have used Casoni's (2000) philosophy of survival instead of separation, as it focuses more upon our research focus of violence. The demonization of ‘the other’ and the mindset of “if you’re not with us, you’re against us” (Casoni, 2000: 154) that marks a group that follows a philosophy of survival would have been much more conducive to the understanding of the recourse to violence within the AKM.

Part of Robbins’ (2002) *endogenous factors, millenarianism* is a most relevant notion in understanding how the AKM came to be violent. The threat of an imminent apocalypse seems to have played a role in the AKM members’ justification of their violence. The heart-felt belief in the immediacy of the coming apocalypse seems indeed to have played an important role in the conduct of the AKM, justifying for members their murderous acts, which most probably were contrary to their moral values. The idea of *catastrophic millenarianism,* as suggested by Robbins (2002), clearly fits the description of their conviction that they had no choice but to defend themselves in face of the end of the world. Leiden, Matthias and their lieutenants used the apocalypse time and time again as justification for acts of violence. Fervent millenarian belief wasn’t atypical of the time period, as almost all religions in Europe during the time period of the AKM held millenarian doctrines. However, it was the immediacy and immanency of the apocalypse, felt to be so true by Leiden and his followers, that both drove and justified them in committing acts of violence in the name of God. Had their belief been that the apocalypse was not imminent, it is unlikely that the followers would have accepted so quickly and seemingly so easily to recourse to violence. With the end of the world so near, the Munsterites seem to have abandoned their habitual moral conduct, that which permitted them to accept the widespread use of violence; the imminent apocalypse hence appearing both as a justification and as a necessary step in view of preparing for the end of days.

Indeed, Leiden's justification for much of his violence was cloaked under the auspices of cleansing the Münsterites from sinners and heretics so that God may finally raise them above all others in a new Kingdom originating in Münster. Part of the doctrine of millenarianism, during this time period, was associated to martyrdom and to the persecution of the 'unfaithful' prior to the Second Coming. Additionally, the Prince-Bishop's attacks on the city of Munster, which were consistent with the persecution expected by the Münsterites as a key component of the coming apocalypse, acted as proof of the correctness of Leinden's preaching. This undoubtedly lowered the Münsterites inhibitions about resorting to violence and allowed them to engage in acts that they never would have considered had they not believed that they were about to died only to be saved by God because of their violent behaviour.

Another aspect related to Robbins's (2002) description of *endogenous factors* is what he referred to as *systemic-totalitarian aspects.* The manner in which Leiden ruled his followers can certainly be typified by reference to these *systemic-totalitarian aspects* Robbins (2002) associated to groups that resort to violence. His descriptions of a totalitarian hold over followers mirror those of Casoni (2000) about groups that share a *philosophy of survival*. In that sense, the lowered inhibitions against violence and the demonizing of the 'other' that are typical of these groups according to Casoni's (2000) descriptions are also typified in Robbins (2002) *totalitarian aspects.* It would, in that sense, have been more consistent with her theory to analyze the AKM according to the concept of groups that share a *philosophy of survival* rather than on groups who share a *philosophy of separation*.

Indeed, when analyzing the charismatic leadership of Jan van Leiden's reign over the AKM, it is evident that it didn't take long for Leiden to abandon charisma and for his rule to evolve into a dictatorship. As a result, it is difficult to argue that charismatic leadership was a major factor that led to violence within the AKM. Despite this observation, we cannot completely abandon the effect of charismatic leadership on violence within the AKM: Leiden's initial charisma may have endeared the Münsterites to his rule and bound the members to his will early on, allowing him to transition his leadership from a charismatic approach to that of an iron-fisted ruler. It is then safe to argue that charismatic leadership was an integral part of Leiden's later assumption of a dictatorial role. Since Leiden was, through all intensive purposes, a dictator at the point where the acts of violence within the AKM were at their peak, Dawson's (2002) *breakdown of charismatic leadership* as a precursor to violence has limited usefulness in helping to understand the recourse to violence within the AKM, while Robbins' (2002) referral to *systemic totalitarian* aspects among the *endogenous factors* he has identified is relevant. When Leiden stopped trying to be a charismatic leader, he didn't care about cultivating a refined image of himself and abandoned everything except the trappings of a dictator, exemplified by his hedonistic living with multiple wives, wealth, exertion of power and food. Among the four aspects associated to the *breakdown of charismatic leadership,* the *routinization of charisma* (Dawson, 2002) does not appear to have played a role in the AKM's trajectory since the group did not last long enough for a true bureaucratization to occur, as such it is not applicable to our research data.

However, the one aspect among the four that are comprised in Dawson's (2002) theoretical concept of the *breakdown of charismatic leadership* that does help explain the genesis of violence among the AKM was Leiden's *achieving new successes*. Indeed, his victories over the early assaults on the city by the Prince-Bishop had an extremely important effect on Jan van Leiden' followers, binding them to him. Additionally, since these successes made him feel more powerful, Leiden's exuding of power reinforced his follower's identification with him, as Casoni (2005) has suggested. It is not by chance that the most drastic changes in Leiden's authority over the Münsterites occurred immediately after his greatest successes – events such as the institution of the twelve Elders and his own coronation. *Achieving new successes* (Dawson, 2002) was an integral part of Leiden's assumption of more power over the Münsterites, but also of his changing from a charismatic leader to an authoritarian one. Had he failed to achieve these great successes, there is little doubt Leiden would have been unable to consolidate his power-base, amongst his followers, as solidly. In this sense, Dawson's (2002) notion of *achieving new successes* is applicable to this case study and can be seen as having had direct influence on his ability to commit, and encourage acts of violence from his followers, during his reign as leader of the AKM.

It appears that one last concept proposed in the theoretical framework plays a determining role in the understanding of the AKM's recourse to violence, that is the phenomenon of what Dawson (2002) referred to as *a bilateral parasitic relationship* between the leader and his followers. This concept, which was also explored in the context of cultic groups by Casoni (2005) and Roy (1988), describes a two way relationship between Leiden and his followers in which each party drew on the other and which, as highlighted by the case study data, led to their perpetuating acts of violence. By accepting Leiden as a prophet, the Münsterites aligned themselves with the belief that he was a conduit to God, investing in him a measure of power and authority that led them to believe that his actions were justified and permissible, despite their gravity. According to Casoni (2005), when followers indentify to a cultic leader's power, they in fact are attributing power to him through the projection into him of their own modicum of power, to which he, in turn, identifies with. Coupled with justifications for violence in the name of "doing God's work", this *bilateral parasitic relationship*, created a group dynamic that fostered and encouraged violence. The Münsterites continued to feed off of Leiden's power even when he committed or orchestrated acts of violence against his very followers as the failure of Mollenhecke's rebellion and Knipperdolling's attempt at seizing power show. Indeed, when Leiden had been captured and was being held by Mollenhecke and of his men, his followers rose up and rescued him from captivity. The fact that the Münsterites continued to support Leiden when the opportunity to be rid of him presented itself illustrates their relationship in which both Leiden and the Münsterites gained strength from each other, by doing "God's deeds", which were acts of violence. Had the Münsterites not gained a sense of power, as a group, through their relationship with Leiden, they would not either have committed violent acts themselves, nor would they have forgone opportunities to overthrow him.

The research throughout this thesis concluded that although charismatic leadership by Leiden was indeed necessary for him to gain followers and establish his leadership over the Münsterites, it alone does not permit to understand their recourse to violence. When analyzing our research data, we were surprised by how much the leader relies on his group to legitimize and propagate his authority. Our initial expectations were that an individual like Leiden could arrive, take advantage of a situation to seize power, and then abuse it until other authorities intervened. The interplay between leader and follower and the preconditions and criteria for the establishment of charismatic leadership was an interesting revelation for us. This co-dependence between a leader and his followers is perhaps one of the more salient and interesting aspects found in this thesis, and would be an interesting topic to study in future research. Similarly, the transformation of charismatic leadership into authoritarian rule is a most interesting development and should be the object of further study. It is also worthy of research to pursue the study of the imminent millenarianism as an important doctrinal aspect in groups who resort to violence.

Work on this thesis has led to the observation that the study of charismatic leadership within the context of violent cults is not only relevant, it leads to a deepening of the very concept of leadership wherein issues of authoritarianism, parasitic relationships, mutual identifications and group dynamics come into play, as the present thesis has shown. While the unit of analysis in this thesis was only one particular group, it is the hope of this research that it will serve as a launching pad for similar studies into charismatic leadership, violence and cults. As well, one of the strengths of qualitative research is that it seeks to encourage comprehension and contextualization of a particular social phenomenon. In that sense, this single qualitative case study analysis has led to concrete and useful observations to the study of cults and charismatic leadership. While the analysis of the interplay between violence, cults and charismatic leadership in this thesis hopefully brings light to a number of relevant points of interest, there remains a great deal of further research to be done in this area. Implicit in this observation is the fact that much further empirical research needs to be done in this field before any encompassing theories can emerge. While the observations and conclusions drawn from this thesis are interesting in identifying the role played by leadership in the production of violence, it has not been possible to use these observations to build a model that could be used for the study of other cultic groups.

We regret that we could not use a highly comprehensive multi-disciplinarian approach to studying charismatic leadership in this thesis. As suggested and already discussed, charismatic leadership is a complex social construct, and multiple ways of studying this phenomenon are relevant. A multi-disciplinary approach might be useful with contributions from psychology (Gabbard, 1994; Kernberg, 2003; Lane et al., 2008; Waller, 2007; Zimbardo, 2008), sociology (Bion, 1961; Conger et al., 1992; Friedland, 1964; Zablocki et al., 2001), anthropology (Burridge, 1969) and even managerial science (Earley, 1995; Pillai and Meindl, 1998; Wagner, 1995). While these sources are by no means exhaustive, they give an idea of the depth with which issues of leadership, and of charismatic leadership, can be studied.

To conclude, we would urge future scholars interested in questions of charismatic leadership, cults and violence to not shy away from historical analysis. While there are a dearth of modern new religious movements available for study, history is also full of leaders whose leadership remains unanalyzed. The notions of authority, charisma and social control are transferrable concepts that can transcend the temporal and cultural barriers presented in historical analysis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source Documentation on the AKM

Gresbeck, H. (1853). Bericht von der Wiedertaufe in Münster. Die Geschichtsquellen des Bistums Münster II. Münster, C.A. Cornelius**:** 1-214.

Gresbeck, H., and Mackay, Christopher S. (Translator) (2010). Summary Report and Account of the Rebaptizers and of What Happened in the City of Münster in Westphalia in the Year 1535, Unpublished Translation.

Kerssenbrock, H. V. and Mackay, Christopher (Translator) (2007). Narrative of the Anabaptist Madness: The Overthrow of Munster, the Famous Metropolis of Westphalia. Leiden, Brill.

Secondary Source Documentation on the AKM

Arthur, A. (2000). The Tailor-King: The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Munster, St. Martin's Griffin.

Brady, T. J. (1985). "Society and Religion in Munster, 1535-1618." Mennonite Quarterly Review **59**(3): 295-297.

Brecht, M. (1985). "The songs of the Anabaptists in Munster and their hymnbook." Mennonite Quarterly Review **59**(4): 362-366.

Cohn, N. (1970). The Pursuit of the Millenium. Oxford Oxford University Press.

De Bakker, W., Stayer, James M, & Driedger, Michael D (2009). Bernhard Rothmann and the Reformation in Munster, 1530-1535. Kitchener, Pandora Press.

Goertz, H.-J. (1982). Thomas Munzter: Apocalyptic Mystic and Revolutionary. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark.

Hillerbrand, H. J. (1988). "The propaganda of the Munster Anabaptists." Mennonite Quarterly Review **62**(4): 507-511.

Horsch, J. (1935). "The rise and fall of the Anabaptists of Muenster." Mennonite Quarterly Review **9**(3): 129-143.

Hsia, R. P.-C. (1984). Society and religion in Munster, 1535-1618. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Lindberg, C. (1996). The European Reformations. Malden, Blackwell Publishing.

Stayer, J. M. (1972). Anabaptists and the Sword. Lawrence, Kansas, Coronado Press.

Stayer, J. D. (1991). The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.

Theoretical References

Casoni, D. (2000). "The Relation of Group Philosophy to Different Types of Dangerous Conduct in Cultic Groups." Cultic Studies Journal **17**: 143-167.

Dawson, L. L. (1998). Cults in Context: Readings in the Study of New Religious Movements, Transaction Publishers.

Dawson, L. L. (2002). Crises of Charismatic Legitimacy and Violent Behaviour - *Kindle Edition*. Cults, Religion, and Violence. D. G. Bromley, and J.G. Melton. Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press**:** Location 1212-1502. **Kindle Edition**

Dawson, L. L. (2006). Comprehending Cults: The Sociology of New Religious Movements. Oxford, OUP.

Dawson, L. L. (2010). Charismatic Leadership in Millenial Movements. In Oxford Handbook of Millenialism by C. Wessinger. New York, Oxford University Press.

Robbins, T. (2002). Sources of Volatility in Religious Movements. Cults, Religion and Violence. D. G. Bromley, and J.G Melton. Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press**:** 57-79. **Kindle E-Book Version.**

General References

Oxford Dictionary of English. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Bader, C. (1999). “When Prophecy Passes Unnoticed: New Perspectives on Failed Prophecy”, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, **38** (1): 119-131.

Barker, E. (2008). Sects, Cults and New Religions (Critical Concepts in Sociology), Routledge.

Barnes, D. (1978). "Charisma and Religious Leadership: An Historical Analysis." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion **1**(17): 1-18.

Bendix, R. (1960-1962). Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait, Anchor/Doubleday.

Burridge, K. (1969). New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities, Schocken Books.

Canadian Security Intelligence Service (1999). “Report No. 2000/03: Doomsday Religious Movements – December 18, 1999”. http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/pblctns/prspctvs/200003-eng.asp. Accessed February 1st, 2011.

Casoni, D. (1997). Les sectes: de la promesse du paradis à l'expérience de l'enfer,. Collection Criminologie. Schweizerische Arbeitsgruppe für Kriminologie, Pp. 21-31.

Casoni, D. (2001). Du paradis à l'enfer: étude des mécanismes psychologiques associés aux dérives sectaires. La Peur des Sectes. J. Duhaime, and St-Arnaud, G.R. Montreal, Quebec, Fides**:** 83-94.

Casoni, D. and Brunet, L. (2005). Processus groupal d’idéalisation et violence sectaire. Déviance et Société, **29** (1): 75-88.

Casoni, D. (2008). “Introduction“. Criminologie **41** **(**2): 3-8.

Conger, J. A., and Kanungo, Rabindra N. (1992). "Perceived behavioral attributes of charismatic leadership." Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science **24**: 86-102.

Dawson, L. L. (1999). “When Prophecy Fails and Faith Persists: A Theoretical Overview”. Nova Religio, **3**(1): 60-82.

Depperman, K. (2005). Melchior Hoffman: Social Unrest & Apocalyptic Vision in the Age of Reformation, Continuum.

Earley, P. C. (1994). “Self or group? Cultural effectrs of training on self-efficacy and performance.” Administrative Science Quarterly, **39** (1): 89-117.

Eichler, M. (1981). "Charismatic prophets and charismatic saviors." Mennonite Quarterly Review **55**(1): 45-61.

Ellwood, R. (1986). “The several meanings of cult.” *Thought* LXI (241):212-224.

Finlay, B. (2002). "The Origins of Charisma as Process: A Case Study of Hildegard of Bingen." Symbolic Interaction **25**(4): 537-554.

Festiner, L., Riecken, H.W., and Schachter, S. (1956). When prophecy fails. San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Friedland, W. H. (1964). "For a Sociological Concept of Charisma." Social Forces **43**(1): 18-26.

Friesen, A. (1998). "Present at the Inception: Menno Simons and the Beginnings of Dutch Anabpatism." Mennonite Quarterly Review **72**(3): 351-388.

Gabbard, G. O. (1994). Psychodynamic Psychiatry in Clinical Practice. Washington, D.C., American Psychiatric Press.

Goertz, H.-J., Ed. (1982). Profiles of Radical Reformers: Biographical Sketches from Thomas Munzter to Paracelsus. Kitchener, Herald.

Goffman, E. (1961) Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates. New York, Doubleday.

Hamilton, M. B. (2001). Sociological Dimension of Christian Millenarianism. Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco. S. Hunt. Bloomington, University of Indiana Press**:** 12-25.

Info-Cult (2006). The cult phenomenon: how groups function. http://infosect.freeshell.org/infocult/phenomene/English/HTML/index.html. Accessed March 30th, 2011.

Kaplan, A. (1975). Maimonides' Principles: The Fundamentals of the Jewish Faith. New York, OU/NCSY Publications.

Kernberg, O. F. (1984). Severe Personality Disorders: Psychotherapeutic Strategies. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Kernberg, O. F. (2003a). "Sanctioned Social Violence: A Psychodynamic view - part I." The International Journal of Psychoanalysis **84**(3): 683-698.

Kernberg, O. F. (2003b). "Sanctioned Social Violence: A Psychodynamic view - part II." The International Journal of Psychoanalysis **84**(4): 953-968.

Lane, J. M., and Kent, Stephen A. (2008). "Politiques de rage et narcissisme malin." Criminologie **41**(2): 117-155.

Nelson, G. (1969). “The Spiritualist movement and the need for a redefinition of cult.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 8: 152-160.

Neuman, W. L., Wiegrand, Bruce, and Winterdyk, John A. (2004). Criminal Justice Research Methods - Canadian Edition. Toronto, Ontario, Pearson Education.

Palmer, S.J. (1993). “Women’s ‘Cocoon Work’ in New Religious Movements: Sexual Experimentation and Feminine Rites of Passage”. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, **32**: 343-355.

Patterson, M., & Walker, Andrew (2001). 'Our Unspeakable Comfort': Irving, Albury and the Origins of the Pre-Tribulation Rapture. Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco. S. Hunt. Bloomington, Indiana University Press**:** 98-115.

Pillai, R., and Meindel, J. (1998). "Context and charisma: a "meso" level examination of the relationship of organic structure, collectivism, and crisis to charismatic leadership." Journal of Management **24** (5): 643-668.

Richardson, J. T. (1993). "Definitions of Cult: From Sociological-Technical to Popular-Negative." Review of Religious Research **34**(4): 348-356.

Robbins, A. D., and Barries-Anthony, S. (2002). "Cult and Anticult Totalism: Reciprocal Escalation and Violence." Terrorism and Political Violence **14**(1): 211-239.

Robbins, T., and Anthony, Dick (1995). Sects and Violence: Factors Enhancing the Volatility of Marginal Religious Movements. Cults in Context: Readings in the Study of New Religious Movements. L. L. Dawson. Toronto, Canadian Scholars' Press**:** 343-363.

Roy, J-Y. (1988). Le syndrome du berger : Essai sir les dogmatismes contemporains. Boréal.

Scott, J. & Marshall, G. (2005). Oxford Dictionary of Sociology. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Sharot, S. (1980). "Hasidism and the Routinization of Charisma." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, **19** (4): 325-336.

Stayer, J. M., & Packull, W. O., Ed. (1980). The Anabaptists and Thomas Munzter. Dubuque/Toronto, Kendall/Hunt.

Talmon, Y. (1966). "Millennial Movements." Archives Européennes de Sociologie **7**: 159-200.

Wagner III J. (1995) "Studies of individualism-collectivism: Effects on cooperation in groups."Academy of Management Journal, **38** (1): 152-172.

Waller, J. (2007). Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing, Oxford University Press.

Wallis, R. (1974). "Ideology, authority, and the development of cultic movements." Social Research **41**: 299-327.

Wallis, R. (1984). Three Types of New Religious Movements. Cults in Context: Readings in the Study of New Religious Movements. L. L. Dawson. Toronto, Canadian Scholar's Press**:** 39-68.

Weber, M. (1906). The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism. Reprint 2002. Translated by Peter Baehr and Gordon C. Wells, Penguin Books.

Weber, M. (1922). On Charisma and Institution Building. Reprint 1962. S N Eisenstadt. Chicago, University of Chicago.

Weber, M. (1968). Economy and Society. New York: New York.

Zablocki, B. D., and Robbins, Thomas (2001). Misunderstanding Cults: Searching for Objectivity in a Controversial Field, University of Toronto Press.

Zimbardo, P. G. (2008). The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil, Random House Trade Paperbacks.

Other Consulted References

Bion, W. R. (1961). Experiences in Groups. New York, Basic Books.

Bradstock, A. (2001). Millenarianism in the Reformation and the English Revolution. Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco. S. Hunt. Bloomington, University of Indiana**:** 77-87.

Beckford, J. A. (1996). Postmodernity, High Modernity and New Modernity: Three Concepts in Search of Religion. Postmodernity, Sociology and Religion. K. Flanagan. New York, St-Martin's Press**:** 30-47.

Conger, J. A., Kanungo, Rabindra N. and Menon, Snajay T. (2000). "Charismatic leadership and follower effects." Journal of Organizational Behavior **21**: 747-767.

Freud, S. (1922). Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. New York, Boni and Liveright.

Hall, J. R. (2009). Apocalypse: From Antiquity to the Empire of Modernity, Polity.

Hall, J., and Schuyler, Philip (1998). Apostasy, Apocalypse and Religious Violence. The Politics of Religious Apostasy. D. G. Bromley. Westport, CT, Praeger.

Hunt, S. (2001). Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco, Indiana University Press.

Johns, L. L. (2000). Apocalyticism and Millennialism: Shaping a Believers Church Eschatology for the Twenty-First Century, Pandora Press.

Kottman, K. A. (2001). Catholic Millenarianism: From Savonarola to the Abbé Grégoire (Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture, Vol. 2, Springer.

Langone, M. D. (2001). "Cults, Psychological Manipulation, and Society: International Perspectives - An Overview." Cultic Studies Journal **18**(2): 1-12.

Le Bon, G. (1895; Reprint 1968). The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind, 2d ed. Dunwoody, GA, Norman S. Berg.

Lucas, E. V. (2006). A Wanderer in Holland. New York, Bibliobazaar.

McCloud, S. (2008). Prophecy, American New Religions and Liminality: Towards a Non-Deprivatioist Approach to Prophetic Movements. Unpublished paper.

McGinn, B. (2001). Forms of Catholic Millenarianism: A Brief Overview. Catholic Millenarianism: From Savonarola to the Abbé Grégoire. K. A. Kottman. Temecula, California, Kluwer Academic Publishers. **2:** 1-14.

Newport, K. G., and C Gribbens eds. (2006). Expecting the End: Millennialism in Social and Historical Context, Baylor UP.

Olin, J. C. (1992). The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola. New York, Harper & Row.

Pachecho, A. E. B. (2008). Christianisme et châtiment corporel des enfants: Étude sur l'évolution du discours chrétien de justification du châtiment corporel des enfants au cours de l'histoire Montreal, Unpublished Comprehensive - Université de Montreal.

Percy, M. (2001). Whose Time is it Anyway? Evangelicals, the Millennium and Millenarianism. Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco. S. Hunt. Bloomington, University of Indiana Press**:** 26-38.

Porter, S. E. (2001). Millenarian Thought in the First-Century Church. Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco. S. Hunt. Bloomington, University of Indiana Press**:** 62-77.

Ronningstram, E. F. (2005). Identifying and Understanding the Narcissistic Personality. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Shamir, B. (1992). "Attribution of influence and charisma to the leader: The romance of leadership revisited." Journal of Applied Social Psychology **22**(5): 386-407.

Simon, L., Ardnt, J., Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T, & Solomon, S. (1998). "Terror Management and Meaning: Evidence that the Opportunity to Defend the Worldview in Response to Mortality Salience Increases the Meaningfulness of Life in the Mildly Depressed." Journal of Personality **66**(3): 359-382.

Singer, M. (1995). Cults in our Midst: The Hidden Menance in Our Everyday Lives. San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass.

Smith, D. N. (1998). "Faith, Reason and Charisma: Rudolf Sohm, Max Weber and the Theology of Grace." Sociological Inquiry **68**(1): 32-60.

Stark, R., and Bainbridge, William Sims (1979). "Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion **18**(2): 117-133.

Stark, W. (1965). "The Routinization of Charisma: A Consideration of Catholicism." Sociology of Religion **26** (4): 203-211.

Trompf, G. W. (2000). "Millenarianism: History, Sociology and Cross-Cultural Analysis." The Journal of Religious History **24**(1): 103-124.

Tucker, R. (1970). The Theory of Charismatic Leadership. Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership. A. Dankwart. New York, George Braziller**:** 69-94.

van Dijke, M., De Cremer, David, and Mayer, David M. (2010). "The Role of Authority Power in Explaining Procedural Fairness Effects." Journal of Applied Psychology **95**(3): 488-502.

Wallis, J. (2007). "Understanding Contemporary Millenarian Violence." Religion Compass **1**(4): 498-511.

Wallis, R. (1982). "The Social Construction of Charisma." Social Compass **29**(1): 25-39.

Watt, D. (2001). Medieval Millenarianism and Prophecy. Christian MIllenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco. S. Hunt. Bloomington, Indiana University Press**:** 88-97.

Wessinger, C. L. (2000). How the Millennium Comes Violently: From Jonestown to Heaven's Gate. New York, Seven Bridges.

Wessinger, C. L. (2000). Millennialism, Persecution and Violence: Historical Cases. Syracuse, Syracuse UP.

Willner, A. R. (1984). The Spellbinders: Charismatic Political Leadership. New Haven, Conn, Yale University Press.