

CLASSICS
OF THE
RADICAL
REFORMATION

The Legacy of Michael Sattler



*The Legacy of
Michael Sattler*

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Classics of the Radical Reformation

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2. *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*. Trans., ed. William Klassen and Walter Klaassen.
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The Legacy of Michael Sattler

translated
and edited by

John H. Yoder



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Preface to the New Edition

The Legacy of Michael Sattler, edited and translated by John Howard Yoder in 1973, was the first volume to be published in the *Classics of the Radical Reformation* series.¹ The translations of the texts it contains are first-rate and reliable. However, Anabaptist scholarship has evolved in the four-and-a-half decades since its publication. This new preface points to some amendments and corrections needed to bring the explanatory material of the introductions and notes more up to date. A more current biography than that found in the introduction, for example, is readily available.²

The somewhat ambiguous title of the book was deliberately chosen, as Yoder notes in the introduction to chapter VI: some of the texts are authored by Michael Sattler or describe him specifically, but the remainder of the texts in this volume may or may not have been authored by Sattler, nor are they necessarily connected with him historically. Yoder clarifies that they were included to “document the character of [Sattler’s] movement.” Readers should be aware of the fact that they are holding a partial “Sattler corpus” in this volume. Furthermore, the additional texts can no longer be read as documents that clarify the nature of “Sattler’s movement.” Chapters I through V can reliably be read as Sattler documents; chapters VI through XII, however, cannot. A brief update follows.

Chapters I and III translate the two writings that come directly from Sattler’s hand. His letter to the Strasbourg reformers (chapter I) is particularly valuable for establishing central themes in Sattler’s thought, especially his emphasis on separation from the world and following after Christ in life. On the basis of this and other evidence,

scholars have confirmed Yoder's conclusion that Michael Sattler was the primary author of the influential Schleithem Articles (Chapter II).³ Some advances have been made, however, in further understanding the printing and dissemination of the Schleithem Articles (discussed in the introduction), the "Congregational Order" (44-45), and the trial accounts (chapter IV).

Only one manuscript of the Schleithem Articles has survived, and it is found in the Bernese archives; all other hand copies are derived from print versions.⁴ The Bernese manuscript contains a copy of the Schleithem Articles, followed by a copy of a "Congregational Order," written in the same hand. This second document is translated with little comment in chapter II. Werner Packull has since established the probable origins of the "Congregational Order," which he suspects predated the Schleithem Articles. As Packull demonstrates, the "Congregational Order" had a widespread influence on the baptizing movement in Moravia and beyond.⁵ Its influence spread well beyond what can reasonably be called "Sattler's movement."

Of the three known prints containing the Schleithem Articles, the earliest appeared between 1527 and 1529, printed in Worms at the press of Peter Schöffler the younger. This print contained the Articles, Sattler's Letter to Horb, and a trial account.⁶ In terms of trial accounts, updated information and analysis now go beyond Yoder's observations in the introduction and the notes to chapter IV.⁷

A second print appeared in 1533 and was published in Strasbourg by Jacob Cammerlander.⁸ This print contained all three of the previous writings, with an attached tract on divorce, on which basis chapter VI, "On Divorce," was included in this volume.

A third print, the undated, so-called *Sammelband* edition found today at Goshen College, Indiana, is a sixteenth-century print dating no earlier than 1550.⁹ In addition to the four writings found in the 1533 print (chapters II, III, IV, VI), the *Sammelband* adds the following to the "Sattler" documents: chapter VII, "On the Satisfaction of Christ"; chapter VIII, "On Two Kinds of Obedience"; chapter IX, "On False Prophets and Evil Overseers" (actually two tracts combined); and chapter X, an epistle from Melchior Rinck and attached "Note." It is on the basis of their inclusion in this post-1550 collection that chapters VII to X are included in this volume.

Of all the material past chapter V, Yoder considers chapter VI, “On Divorce,” to be the only one “relatively likely” to have been authored by Michael Sattler. The strongest evidence for that authorship is its inclusion in a Sattler collection published in 1533; however, the tract is signed by the initials ML, which argues against Sattler’s authorship. There is no internal evidence that would sway the decision either way. In the absence of further evidence, one can conclude that it is relatively unlikely that this tract was authored by Sattler. At the time of his death, divorce was not yet the pressing issue it would soon become.

Chapter VII, “On the Satisfaction of Christ,” is an extended biblical argument against the Protestant teaching of “salvation by grace through faith,” arguing with copious biblical texts that true faith must manifest itself in obedience – that is, in works of faith and love. There is no reason to link this writing to Michael Sattler, but it is in harmony with what we know of his soteriology.¹⁰ The value of this tract is found not in its possible authorship by Sattler but rather in its clear biblical and theological critique of the Protestant view of “salvation by faith alone.” This tract should be required reading for any who wish to understand in what sense early Anabaptists were, and were not, “Protestant.”

Chapter VIII, “On Two Kinds of Obedience,” presents a polarity of servile/outward/literal and filial/inward/spiritual, paralleling the polarity old covenant/Old Testament and new covenant/New Testament. Michael Sattler’s known writings emphasize literal obedience to Christ’s words and actions rather than a contrast of literal and spiritual. The polarity shaping this text strongly suggests a writing originating not with Michael Sattler but with Pilgram Marpeck or his network, who used the very language and polarity of the tract in question.¹¹ The two tracts translated in chapter IX, “On False Prophets and Evil Overseers,” and the material in chapter X were almost certainly not written by Michael Sattler, as Yoder notes in the introductory comments and notes to these chapters. Their value as Anabaptist texts, however, lies not in their connection to Sattler but in the fact that they give voice to an almost ubiquitous Anabaptist critique of state-appointed clergy, often repeated and replicated.

Chapter XI translates two hymns from the *Ausbund* that tradi-

tion has associated with Michael Sattler. Of the two, the second hymn, *Ausbund* 146, is almost certainly not written by Sattler: it was first appended to a Sattler collection only early in the eighteenth century.¹² The case for Sattler's authorship of *Ausbund* 7 is stronger, on the surface, since that hymnal (published in 1583) attributes it to Sattler.¹³ However, the hymn itself appears to be more of a tribute to Sattler than something written by him. It was first published in 1531 in Weisse's hymnal of the Bohemian Brethren, and Rosella Reimer Duerksen concludes that this was the most likely source of the hymn, appropriated later by the compilers of the *Ausbund* and attributed to Sattler.¹⁴

Chapter XII, "How Scripture Should Be Discerningly Exposed," rounds out the volume. This tract was not included in any Sattler collection. Its addition here was based on the fact that the initials M.S. are found at the end of a short preface, which led historians to attribute the writing to Michael Sattler. This conclusion has since been shown to be incorrect. Werner Packull's study of Pilgram Marpeck's involvement in publishing Anabaptist tracts in Strasbourg and Augsburg in the 1530s and 40s led to the discovery that the "How Scripture" text was published in Augsburg at Ulhart's press, circa 1544, one of a series of published tracts sponsored by Pilgram Marpeck.¹⁵ An earlier analysis of the contents of the tract led Packull to conclude that the pamphlet carries "Marpeck's signature."¹⁶ The introduction to chapter XII states further that there is no evidence of awareness of this tract in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. We now know that this is also not correct. A manuscript circulating in the 1580s and 90s in Swiss territories contains a verbatim copying of the bulk of the "How Scripture" tract. The 1590 manuscript clearly originated with the Marpeck network, providing another argument against attributing this writing to Michael Sattler.¹⁷ Werner Packull concludes that the initials M.S. in the tract probably indicate "Marpeck/Scharnschlager" or "Marpeck/Schneider."¹⁸

In sum, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler* contains translations of valuable sixteenth-century texts, documents that are useful for illuminating the ideas circulating among sixteenth-century Anabaptists in Swiss and South German territories. At the same time, some necessary distinctions must be made: along with a core of genuine

Sattler-related documents (chapters I–V), the volume contains further texts that are not directly connected to Sattler. These texts are, in varying degrees, more or less related to the baptizing stream that Sattler shaped with the Schleithem Articles and that continued to be inspired by his courageous martyrdom. The documents translated in chapters VI to XII must be read outside the umbrella of Sattler’s own writing and even his direct legacy. Although they can no longer be read collectively as simply “documenting the character of Sattler’s movement,” they remain valuable and informative Anabaptist writings in their own right.

C. Arnold Snyder

Notes

1. John Howard Yoder died in 1997. His scholarly work was clouded in later years by an emerging history of sexual abuse of women. See Rachel Waltner Goossen, “Defanging the Beast: Mennonite Responses to John Howard Yoder’s Sexual Abuse,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 89 (January 2015): 7–80.

2. C. Arnold Snyder, *The Life and Thought of Michael Sattler* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald, 1984); see also C. Arnold Snyder, “Sattler, Michael,” *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, edited by Cornelius J. Dyck and Dennis D. Martin (Scottsdale, PA: Herald, 1990), 794–95.

3. See Snyder, *Life and Thought*, 89–100; on the authorship of the “Schleithem Articles,” 98–99.

4. For these details, see C. Arnold Snyder, “The Influence of the Schleithem Articles on the Anabaptist Movement: An Historical Evaluation,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 63 (October 1989): 323–44, esp. 335–44. The Hutterite manuscript tradition contains at least seven manuscript copies of the Articles, but these are hand copies of printed versions (336, n. 41).

5. Werner O. Packull, *Hutterite Beginnings: Communitarian Experiments during the Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), chap. 2, “The Oldest Anabaptist Congregational Orders: The Swiss Contribution,” esp. 37–53.

6. The dating and printing origins of this text were established by Helmut Claus, director of the Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha. See Snyder, “Influence of the Schleithem Articles,” 336, n. 42.

7. See C. Arnold Snyder, “Rottenburg Revisited: New Evidence Concerning the Trial of Michael Sattler,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 54 (July 1980): 208–28; also Snyder, *Life and Thought*, 100–104.

8. On the basis of analysis by Helmut Claus, see Snyder, “Influence of the Schleithem Articles,” 337, n. 43.

9. Dating by Helmut Claus; see Snyder, “Influence of the Schleithem Articles,” 337, n. 44.

10. On Sattler’s soteriology, see Snyder, *Life and Thought*, chap. 9, 170–83.

11. Marpeck learned this distinction between the Testaments from Caspar Schwenckfeld in the early 1530s. The clearest discussion and demonstration of this is

found in Neal Blough, *Christ in our Midst: Incarnation, Church and Discipleship in the Theology of Pilgram Marpeck* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora, 2007), esp. 52–57. Werner Packull agrees with Blough that, with regard to the relationship of the Old and New Testaments, Marpeck was “the learner and Schwenckfeld the tutor” (Packull, *Hutterite Beginnings*, 146). In “Two Kinds of Obedience,” we read, “The servile was a figure and a shadow; the filial is body and truth” (122). Compare this sentence with Pilgram Marpeck: “The figures and shadows of the Old Testament have held up the light. The essence and truth is now present” (William Klassen and Walter Klaassen, trans. and eds., *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck* [Walden, NY: Plough, 2019], 241). An even closer literal parallel can be found in a writing by Caspar Schwenckfeld (1532): “The Old Testament is shadow and figure. In all things it deals with, teaches, and points to the future Christ. . . . But the New is the fulfillment, the body, and the truth” (*Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, IV, doc. 126, 477–78).

12. The *Ausbund* hymn does not mention Sattler. The Goshen *Sammelband* includes the hymn but also does not name Sattler. Yoder concludes that Sattler’s authorship is doubtful. See chapter XI, notes 12 and 14.

13. The preface to the hymn reads: “*Ein anderes Lied, Michael Sattlers, zu Rotenburg am Neckar, mit glühenden Zangen gerissen, die Zunge abgeschnitten, darnach verbrannt, Anno 27, den 21sten May.*”

14. “Since there is no indication that Weisse borrowed from sources other than Bohemian, it is quite likely that Weisse’s book was its original source” (Rosella Reimer Duerksen, “Anabaptist Hymnody of the Sixteenth Century,” unpublished DMusic diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1956, 24). Several such questionable historical attributions are found in the *Ausbund*; it was not an uncommon practice.

15. Werner O. Packull, “Preliminary Report on Pilgram Marpeck’s Sponsorship of Anabaptist Flugschriften,” *Menmonite Quarterly Review* 75 (January 2001): 75–88, esp. 82, 84–85.

16. Werner O. Packull, “Pilgram Marpeck: Uncovering of the Babylonian Whore and Other Anonymous Anabaptist Tracts,” *Menmonite Quarterly Review* 67 (July 1993): 351–55; citation 354.

17. The verbatim text copied from “How Scripture” is found in the “Simple Confession,” published in C. Arnold Snyder, *Later Writings of the Swiss Anabaptists, 1529–1592* (Walden, NY: Plough, 2019), 413–23. On the Marpeck network connection, see *ibid.*, chapter XI, “Introduction to Codex 628,” 153–69: “The copyist/editor clearly identifies with the Marpeck Covenanters” (161).

18. Packull, “Preliminary Report,” 85.

General Editors' Preface

For many years a committee of European and North American historians known as the *Täuferaktenkommission* has been guiding the publication of source materials from the sixteenth-century Anabaptist movement in the original languages under the title *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*. While these sources continue to be the indispensable tool of the specialist they remain largely inaccessible to the growing number of students, churchmen, and lay readers who do not read German or Dutch, except for the available translations of the writings of Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, and Peter Riedemann, the collection prepared by Professor George H. Williams of Harvard University for the *Library of Christian Classics*, Volume 25, the century-old version of the *Martyrs Mirror*, and a handful of other documents.

The intention of the *Classics of the Radical Reformation* series, therefore, is to make available in the English language a scholarly and critical edition of the primary works of major Anabaptist and Free Church writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It has not been considered essential to the purposes of the series to include every known document of the writers under translation, nor to pursue text-critical issues at length, unless this contributes to a fuller understanding of the substance of the text, since scholars interested in these details would be forced to turn to the original language text in any case. Where a choice had to be made between clarity and awkward literalism, the translators were encouraged to favor readability without compromising the text.

Translators and editors are at work on subsequent volumes

in the series. The next to appear will be *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck* translated and edited by William Klassen and Walter Klaassen. Clarence Bauman is preparing a volume on Hans Denck. Additional books will deal with the writings of Andreas Karlstadt, Dirk Philips, Balthasar Hubmaier, and the Czech Reformation.

It is appropriate to express appreciation to the translators-editors for their labors which were, for the most part, done on their own time. The counsel of the North American Committee for the Documentation of Free Church Origins (NACDFCO), of which Professor George H. Williams serves as chairman, Professor Walter Klaassen as secretary, and Professor Franklin H. Littell as treasurer, is also gratefully acknowledged, as is the help and encouragement of the late Professor Carl S. Meyer, director of the Foundation for Reformation Research, St. Louis, Missouri. This series could not have been undertaken without the commitment of Mennonite Publishing House to the work of the church and its willingness to include it as part of its total responsibility to church and society.

The Institute of Mennonite Studies
Cornelius J. Dyck, Director
John H. Yoder, Associate Director

Preface

The radical edge of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, variously referred to by its contemporaries as “fanatic” or as “anabaptist,” was a vast and variegated movement, borrowing freely from many sources in pre-Reformation mysticism, in pre-Reformation dissent, in renaissance humanism, and in the Protestant Reformation.

That there could arise within this movement of such great diversity the organizing principles of believers’ baptism and the structuring of the visible congregation was, however, not a fortuitous fallout, but was rather the work of a specific circle of young men near the center of the Zwinglian Reformation, building upon the congregationalist theology of the early Zwingli.

That through the continuing turbulence there could develop a structured movement capable of surviving without the support of the state, was the work largely of the literary and organizational leadership of men of the second generation: Menno Simons in the North, Pilgram Marpeck in the South, Peter Riedemann in the East.

But between these two stages there needed to be a bridge. That Anabaptism survived as a viable movement with visible structures from the naive beginnings in Zürich in the mid 1520s to the time of the synthesizers of the 1540s, was the work of Michael Sattler more than any other one person and was the effect of the *Seven Articles of Schleitheim*, more than any other one single cause. It is this transition between birth and consolidation which is documented by the present collection of materials.

This collection is hereby dedicated to John Christian

Wenger, who first translated most of these materials and has had the most to do with the growth of our present understanding of the significance of Sattler. Gratitude is also due to Mr. Nelson Springer, curator of the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen, to Dr. Myron S. Augsburger, who on the basis of perspective acquired during his preparation of a dissertation on Michael Sattler shared with J. C. Wenger the function of editorial consultant; to Dr. Heinold Fast for advanced communication of the newly edited Schleithem text, and to Dr. Hans-Jürgen Goertz for assistance in the preparation of the map. Dr. Fast and Studienrat Oskar Wedel were of assistance with clarification of linguistic points. The Institute of Mennonite Studies was generous in the provision of secretarial services.

John H. Yoder
Elkhart, Indiana

Abbreviations

- ADB — Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie
ARG — Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte
BRN — Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica
CR — Corpus Reformatorum
ME — Mennonite Encyclopedia
MGB — Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter
ML — Mennonitisches Lexikon
MQR — Mennonite Quarterly Review
RPTK — Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche (Herzog-Hauck)
MS — Leonhard von Muralt und Walter Schmid, eds., Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz, Bd. I, Hirzel Verlag, Zürich, 1952.
SAW — George H. Williams and Angel Mergal, Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers, Library of Christian Classics, Vol. XXV, Philadelphia, 1957.
Z — Huldreich Zwingli's Sämmtliche Werke

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Introduction

A. In Lieu of a Biography

Michael Sattler was born sometime around 1490 at Stauffen in the Breisgau. He entered the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter's, northeast of Freiburg, where he became — or was likely to become — prior. In the 1520s he came, by way of Lutheran and Zwinglian ideas, to forsake the monastery and to marry, and by March, 1525, had become a member of the Anabaptist movement which had just begun at Zürich two months before.¹

Although his major focus of activity probably continued to be in the Breisgau, Sattler was again at Zürich for the great disputation of November 6-8, 1525, following which he was imprisoned and then expelled on November 18.² He continued active in Breisgau and Württemberg until we find him a year later in Strasbourg.

With these few lines we have sketched practically all that is known of the life of Sattler up until the time of the earliest documents in the present collection. The story of the six months he had left to live, to the extent that we may seek to reconstruct it, is told below in the introductory comments to each of the documents. It is not the intention of this book to supersede any of the existing biographies of Sattler³ nor to fill in the many remaining gaps.⁴

Michael Sattler has been called by both admirers and critics the most significant of the first-generation leaders of Anabaptism.⁵ The testing of this description, as well as any further description of his stature and character, will best be permitted to arise out of the documents themselves.



Stauffen im Breisgau, birthplace of Michael Sattler.



St. Peter in the Black Forest, the Benedictine monastery of which Michael Sattler was prior.

B. Principles of Translation and Annotation

All of the material in the present volume has been retranslated. After the preparation of our own first draft translation, the extant translations (in most cases by Prof. J. C. Wenger, who is chiefly responsible for Sattler's coming more widely to American historians attention) were consulted and where their rendering was found equally valid, it was used in preference to our own first draft. Thus in effect, despite the independent beginning, these translations can also in a sense be thought of as an extensive revision of the earlier ones. At a few points, the changes made are identified and the reasons for them indicated; not so much with pedantic intent, as because difficulties and differences in the judgments of translators are often a key to issues of content and interpretation.

The translation is moderately literal; where a choice was necessary between precision of rendering and literary smoothness in English, the former was preferred. The second person singular has been rendered by "you" and "your" except for references to Deity.

Scripture references are reproduced in the body of the text only if they were present in the original. No effort has been made to reproduce the variety of ways in which these citations were identified typographically. Sometimes they appear in the original in parentheses and sometimes without; sometimes with chapter numbers in numerals and sometimes in words; sometimes in the text and sometimes in the margin.

Identification of scriptural allusions is provided in the footnotes only if this has been suggested already by earlier commentators or if the allusion is not immediately visible as such in translation. As reprints succeeded one another in the sixteenth century, the number of textual references in the margin increased progressively. The 1560 Dutch printing has references in the margin at the rate of nearly one per line of text. No effort has been made to reproduce these further references.

Biographical and historical annotation is limited to what might throw light on the meaning of the text or the stature of Sattler's personage. Details of date, the sequence of events, cross-relation of documents and sources are not pursued.

The annotation claims no completeness. German sources are generally not cited where their substance has been reworked in English (i.e., the substance of several biographical articles by Bossert, Hein, Wiswedel is taken up into the biography of *ME*). German sources cited in the secondary literature but inaccessible in Indiana have not been verified (especially with regard to the details of Sattler's imprisonment and trial).

C. History of Texts and Prints

The earliest printing of any of the material in this collection was Klaus von Graveneck's account of the martyrdom of Sattler (Item IV in the present volume), which must have been printed within a few weeks of Sattler's death.⁶ From this source it was translated into the Dutch in a form which was to be printed in numerous martyrologies, beginning with *Het Offer des Heeren* (1562).⁷

Huldreich Zwingli translated portions of the *Schlettheim Seven Articles* (our Item II), in the process of refuting it and another Anabaptist text, in his *Contra Catabaptistarum Strophas Elenchus*, of August 1527. At the time of writing, Zwingli had four manuscript copies of this text in hand;⁸ his translation is the first printed witness to the existence of the *Seven Articles*.⁹

Two early pamphlets are closely related. One of them (which we henceforth shall call A) contains the seven articles (II), the letter to Horb (III), and a somewhat briefer account of the martyrdom (IV) and bears no date.¹⁰ The second (which we shall refer to as text B) contains the same items and in addition the tract on divorce (VI), at the end of which the date 1533 is indicated. Walter Köhler, who reprinted B, argues¹¹ that it is the earlier of the two, on the basis of his impression that the slight textual differences be-

tween the two betray editorial “smoothing out” in the undated edition. This argument is hardly conclusive; the changes could also be corruptions or corrections introduced by the second typesetter. When pamphlets like this were reprinted they were more often changed by the increase of their contents, than by abbreviation. According to this consideration the addition of the divorce tract to the imprint B would argue for the priority of the undated pamphlet A. Böhmer¹² who reprinted the *Seven Articles* alone from text A, assumes without argument its priority. For our purposes the differences are not significant. Our translation is based upon the Köhler reprint, except for the *Seven Articles*, where we have established our own German text. From these two nearly identical pamphlets, their substance went into the manuscript tradition of the Hutterian Brethren, in which they can be found recopied numerous times.¹³ We shall consider none of the Hutterian manuscript material as providing an independent textual tradition.

A French translation of some of this material was prepared and printed no later than 1544, when an answer to it was written by John Calvin.¹⁴ It was circulated from Bonneville (now called La Neuveville, in the canton of Neuchatel) at the instigation of an Anabaptist in that area named Pelloux or Pelot. Thence it was sent to Calvin by reformed pastors in Bonneville.¹⁵ Calvin quoted only brief portions of the *Seven Articles*, and agrees with the major substance of three of them. The original print from which Calvin quotes has completely disappeared. Since Calvin in his concluding comments refers to a report of the “martyrdom of some Michael,” we know that in addition to the *Seven Articles* at least the martyrdom account was in the translation. One might surmise that it may well have been based on print A or B above. Calvin’s polemic was translated into English and into Latin;¹⁶ thus the first English translation of any portion of the Schleithem material was the one which had passed through the French. Calvin says it was printed “In Germany”; probably the German-speaking part of Switzerland.

There is preserved in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen, Indiana, a *Sammelband*,¹⁷ the second half of which contains most of the texts of our present collection, inserting the satisfaction tract (our Item VII) before the one on divorce (VI), in addition to two texts from Melchior Rinck. It is from this print that the translations of items VII to IX in the present collection have been prepared. This collection was printed as a unit together with a topical concordance. From internal evidence¹⁸ we can surmise with relative certainty that this was not the first printing of this collection of texts relating to Sattler and Rinck. It might be supposed that in the earlier printing the tract materials were independent of the concordance. The printing would most likely have been done prior to 1560, when the same set of materials appeared in Dutch. There was another reprint sometime in the seventeenth century with the addition of the hymn (Item XI/A).¹⁹

In 1560 and again about 1565 this same collection of materials was printed in Dutch translation. According to Professor S. Cramer, who edited these materials,²⁰ the various texts show linguistic signs of having been translated at different times and by different persons. They are not in the same sequence as in the German; nevertheless the present combined form is the earliest known printing of any of them.

The tract, *How Scripture Should Be Discerningly Expounded*, has a completely separate textual history, of which little is known, cf. below pages 150 ff.

Notes

1. The first sign of Sattler's Anabaptist connections is in two documents, found on the same sheet of paper in the Zürich archives. The first records the positions taken by seventeen Anabaptists who were held captive after a hearing or "disputation" on Monday, March 20, 1525. During this hearing they were brought one by one before a group composed of the three city preachers (Zwingli, Jud, Engelhart), three heads of monastic houses, three *Bürgermeister*s, three other members of the city Council, and two schoolmasters. Then their responses were separately recorded. Six held firm against infant baptism, one equivocated, and the rest all were ready to recant. Sattler comes fifteenth on the list, just after Felix Mantz and George Blaurock:

"Brother (*Michael*) [another hand] in the white coat is ready to desist from re-baptism, and has now learned sufficiently, that he confesses having done wrong, and will

recant his doctrine, which he preached concerning baptism, etc.”

These responses were reported to the Council Saturday 25 March. The second document is the Council's ruling on the fines and the form of recantation which would be required. The Council expelled all the foreigners whether they recanted or not:

“Concerning the foreigners, namely Peter Forster, schoolmaster from Luzern, Gabriel Giger from St. Gall, Valentin Gređig from Savoy, Hans Bichtler from Walmenschwil, George from Chur, called Blaurock, and the brother in the white coat, called (*Michael*), [another hand], it is decided, that they shall swear immediately out of milords' jurisdiction and territory and [swear to] their will no more hither, etc.”

Some time after this council ruling, the name “Michael” was inserted by another hand in the gaps in the texts, and on the margin was added: “has sworn out” (*vMS* Nos. 62, 64, 65, pp. 70-72). To “swear out” is to promise by oath to leave a given territory.

2. The November “Great Disputation” at Zürich was called to quiet the complaints of the Anabaptist leaders, who found sympathetic listeners, especially in the Grüningen countryside, that they had not really been given a chance to have their convictions tested by the Bible (cf. J. H. Yoder, *Die Gespräche Zwischen Täufern und Reformatoren in der Schwetz 1523-1538*, Karlsruhe, 1962, pp. 69 ff.). Grebel, Mantz, and Blaurock were already prisoners; others of the Anabaptist spokesmen as far as we know, were taken prisoner because they had come, voluntarily, to the gathering. On November 18 the council ruled that the three ringleaders should be held in prison, and that the release of the two others was to depend on their willingness to recant (for the woman from Zürich) or to promise to leave (Ulrich Teck of Waldshut). Sattler agreed to swear that he would never return to Zürich: “Marthy Ling from Schaffhausen and Michael Sattler from Stauffen in Breisgau shall be released upon *Urfehde* and costs.” *Urfehde* is the oath of renunciation (*vMS* No. 133, p. 136). Originally it meant a promise to renounce vengeance (*Fehde*: feud or feudal oath); by the sixteenth century it had come to include other kinds of renunciation; here specifically a promise to leave the country, or to cease associating with Anabaptists. It has been suggested by Ds. H. W. Meihuizen (*MQR*, XLI, 1967, p. 207) that Sattler might be the same monk mentioned in a letter from Hans Künzi von Klingnau to the Zürich Council, of whom it is said that he was not yet baptized (*vMS* No. 182, p. 201). Meihuizen suggests that this might explain why Sattler was willing both in March and in November to swear the *Urfehde*. This hypothesis is unlikely. Künzi's account is undatable and he furthermore denies that the unbaptized monk who came to him was the same as “the Michel who was previously your prisoner.” Sattler's willingness to swear is more easily explained otherwise: (a) the rejection of the oath was the least clear of the Anabaptist distinctives in 1525; (b) it was not a clear common conviction of the Anabaptists, even later, that the *Urfehde* was identical with the swearing which Jesus and James forbid; and (c) Anabaptists, being human, sometimes weakened under persecution. Later Anabaptists understood the *Urfehde* as sin not because it was an oath but because it was a denial of the faith; but it was a sin which the congregation could forgive, restoring the momentarily unfaithful brother to fellowship, and releasing him from the promise he had made (Yoder, *Gespräche*, p. 126).

3. The standard biographical outline is that of G. Bossert, adapted by H. S. Bender in *ME*, IV, 427 ff. A fictionalized version has been written by Myron Augsburg, *Pilgrim Aflame*, Scottdale, 1967. The only other biography which is significantly independent of Bossert is Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führungsgestalten aus dem Täufertum*, Vol. III, Kassel, 1952, pp. 9-23.

4. We have made no effort to run down the numerous biographical and bibliographical leads which might throw a little more light on Sattler and his fate. Many of the sources would not be accessible in North America, especially those dealing with the trial proceedings, and what could be learned from them would little change the picture of Sattler which his writings give.

5. In this context the "first generation" must mean those leaders whose major contribution was made by 1527. Several such testimonies are cited below pp. 19f, 47f. Cf. also "Sattler's Abiding Contribution in Anabaptist-Mennonite Theology" in Myron S. Augsburg, *Michael Sattler, d. 1527, Theologian of the Swiss Brethren Movement*, unpublished dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, 1965, p. 214.

6. It is referred to as "a printed booklet" in the *Faithful Warning* of Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito, the writing of which was concluded July 2, 1527. Manfred Krebs and Hans Georg Rott, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer, Elsass, 1-Teil, Band VII*, 1959, p. 110, also reprinted by Stupperich (see below, p. 24, note 4).

7. Samuel Cramer, *Het Offer des Herren*, 's Gravenhage, 1904, p. 62. BRN II The only non-Dutch materials in *Het Offer* are the martyrdom of Stephen, quoted directly from Acts 6 and 7, and the Sattler account.

8. Cf. below, p. 32.

9. It was also from Zwingli that the first full translation into English was made. Cf. below, p. 33, note 18.

10. The date 1527 appears on the title page, but this is as part of the title of the martyrdom account, and not necessarily the date of printing.

11. Clemen, Otto, and Köhler, Walter, *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation (Band 2, Heft 3)*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 300.

12. Heinrich Böhmer, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges und der Wiedertäufer*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 25 ff.

13. Their distribution is surveyed by Robert Friedmann, "The Schleithem Confession (1527) and other Doctrinal Writings of the Swiss Brethren in a Hitherto Unknown Edition," *MQR*, XVI, 1942, p. 86.

14. "Brieve instruction pour armer tous bons fideles . . ." *CR*, VII, pp. 45-142.

15. Maurice Dumont, *Les Anabaptistes en Pays Neuchatelots*, licentiate thesis at Neuchatel, 1937, pp. 7-10. Pelot or Pelloux was the brother-in-law of the leader of the Protestant community of the parish of Cornaux. Both of them were banished sometime in early 1543, but the issue of infant baptism continued to make difficulty for the Calvinist pastors of the region. It was through them that the request reached John Calvin for his assistance in refutation. These troubles were the occasion of the promulgation by the governor general of Neuchatel, George de Rive, of an edict against Anabaptism (Dumont, p. 11). Ignoring the material reported by Dumont, Irvin B. Horst speculates at some length in his *The Radical Brethren: Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558* (Nieuwkoop, de Graaf, 1972), pp. 185 ff., about whether an English translation of the Schleithem text might be the otherwise not identifiable "books of Anabaptist confession" seized by the English police sometime before 1536, and whether Calvin's "Short instruction" might have been written for the sake of English inquirers. The entire argument is based on the assumption that "evidence is lacking" for a French translation, and on the further strained assumption that Netherlandish Melchiorites in the 1530s would be circulating a Swiss Brethren confession of which there is otherwise no evidence in the Netherlands until after 1550. Calvin's preface refers to the presence of William Farel in Neuchatel and to Farel's debate with Pelot in Bonneville.

16. John Calvin, *A Short Instruction for to Arme all Good Christian People Against the Pestiferous Errours of the Common Sect of the Anabaptists*, London, 1549; the Latin translation was printed in 1552 as part of *Joannis Calvini opuscula omnia in unum volumen collecta* (Geneva).

17. Robert Friedmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 82.

18. The Dutch text preserves at one point a correct reading, of which the equivalent in this volume is corrupted. The Dutch text must then necessarily be based upon an uncorrupted and therefore an earlier printing. Cf. below, p. 127, note 4.

19. Friedmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 87.

20. Cramer, *BRN*, V, 1909, pp. 583 ff.; the textual analysis of the likely history of translation of each tract is given on p. 586.

I

Parting with the Strasbourg Reformers

Introduction

Sometime in 1526 Michael Sattler came to Strasbourg and visited there with the leading Reformer Martin Bucer and his colleague Wolfgang Capito,¹ the most friendly toward the Anabaptists of all the Reformers. The city of Strasbourg was as well the most tolerant of the city states of southern Germany and Switzerland.

These weeks in Strasbourg must have been full of movement, whose meaning we can only partially reconstruct from the records. Hans Denck, Ludwig Hätzer, and Sattler were there at the same time. When Denck and Sattler are contrasted, it is clear that Sattler was closer to Bucer and Capito; Denck was obliged to leave the city by council action on 24 December, 1526, at the same time that Sattler stayed on.² The present text seems even at the outset to indicate that Sattler's decision to leave was his own; that he might even have had some thought of staying in Strasbourg — one must wonder with what status.

Ludwig Hätzer on the other hand stayed on when Sattler left. Bucer later says that Hätzer "claimed when with us (though he had shown himself otherwise in Zürich before) to be no Anabaptist. After a conversation with him he called Michael Sattler a 'shrewd and wicked rascal, from whom he had hoped for something better.' He praised God that we left baptism free.³ Said that if others had dealt with the matter as we did, this error would not have spread so far."⁴ From this it would seem that Hätzer was closer to the Reformers

than was Sattler, who in turn was closer to them than Denck. Yet in early February Hätzer, in turn, had to leave Strasbourg,⁵ and joined Denck in Worms.

Sattler seems not to have been involved in the debates and informal discussions held by the Reformers with Hans Denck, which culminated in a public debate December 22 and in Denck's forced departure.⁶ *A Faithful Warning*, published in July 1527 by Bucer and Capito, directly attacking Hans Denck and Jacob Kautz, has only good things to say about Sattler. The Reformers thus clearly held him in another category from those other Anabaptists:

But we do believe that God also let some of His own come into such an error. Thus we do not doubt that Michael Sattler, who was burned at Rottenburg, was a dear friend of God, even though he was a leader in the baptism order;⁷ yet much more qualified and honorable than some others. He also spoke concerning baptism, in such a way that you can see that he only rejected that infant baptism, through which one thinks to be saved. For, as a printed booklet concerning him reports, he proved his point by arguing that faith alone can save. Furthermore he pled for instruction from biblical Scripture and offered to accept the same. Therefore we do not doubt that he is a martyr of Christ. Saint Cyprian, likewise also Tertullian and many others have also always been held by everyone to have been holy martyrs, and have nevertheless held to serious errors. Still with regard to the redemption of Christ, upon which everything depends, we have found no such error in this Michael Sattler as in Denck.⁸

A fuller testimony to the respect which the two Strasbourg Reformers held for Sattler will be found in the Capito letters (Items V A and B below). A more critical report was made by Jacob Ottelin, pastor in Lahr across the Rhine, where Sattler presumably was active just after leaving Strasbourg. Since it is the only clearly negative statement on record concerning Sattler's character we should in fairness reproduce the portion of this letter which refers to him.⁹

Especially prominent in this movement is that Michael who was formerly a monk at St. Peter's; the most stiff-necked of all. He

makes concessions to no one,¹⁰ condemns all magistracy, and will not flatter anyone for a hair,¹¹ even for a moment, even when love demands it. Rather he always attacks, in a terrifying way with battle cries, the one who has been called up because of his effrontery¹² and also whoever criticizes the monasticism¹³ of his position. He crawls all over anyone who brings him Scripture, calling them disciples of the dead letter. In the place of scriptural proof he claims that the Spirit has, by a simple gesture, revealed to him everything which needs to be believed. With his own spirit he distorts according to his opinion the particular things which are to be proved.¹⁴

The Bossert-Bender biography called this first document, the letter from Sattler to the Strasbourg Reformers, "A summary of Anabaptist teaching after consultation with the Anabaptists of Strasbourg." This would suggest to the reader that Sattler, in consultation with his brothers and sisters, wrote about Anabaptist distinctives such as baptism, communion, the sword, the oath, etc. . . . But such topics are not the subject of the present text. Its twenty theses are rather a statement of Sattler's hermeneutic foundation, underlying all his particular convictions.

A more direct reading of the text would rather suggest a full reconstruction of the sequence of events:

Sattler first laid before Bucer and Capito (probably orally) his views on baptism, communion, the sword, the oath, the ban. . . .¹⁵ He designates this as what "I together with my brothers and sisters have understood out of Scripture"; this phrasing is not in reference to a particular consultation with Anabaptists in Strasbourg, but rather as a testimony to the general Anabaptist consensus on these matters;

Bucer and Capito had rejected these positions by constant recourse to the theme "love is the end of the law," undercutting by means of one proof text (1 Tim. 1:5) the rigorous application of any New Testament imperatives;¹⁶

Sattler now sets down his own hermeneutic understanding, whereby he sees scriptural imperatives as not undermined but undergirded by grace.

The Bossert-Bender text goes on to say that this letter “shows a mystical-quietistic piety, but at the same time a deep inwardness and holy earnestness.” It is not evident from the text as we have it wherein it smacks of mysticism or quietism. It is a part of a serious conversation with Christian brethren about Christian obedience. Both the concern for the brethren and the concern for obedience to the commands of Scripture distinguish it from what is usually called mystical or quietistic. Bossert was probably misled here by a misinterpretation of the concept of *Gelassenheit*: see in the text below p. 26 note 41.

These twenty theses are all direct New Testament quotations or allusions,¹⁷ most of them rephrased or pointed up to relate to the question at issue. A few of the early ones allude directly to baptism and a few toward the end to the sword; but even these serve not as proof texts but as theological generalizations.

Two overlapping themes dominate this list: solidarity with Christ whereby the Christian’s life becomes an outworking of the divine nature; and the polarity Christ/Belial dividing all mankind, making history the arena of combat between two camps. While these themes are fully compatible with the Anabaptist thought which went before Sattler,¹⁸ their concentrated clarity and the light they throw on all his thought are new. They may owe something to the devotional heritage of the Benedictines.¹⁹

The Text

Michael Sattler to his beloved brothers in God Capito and Bucer and others who love and confess Christ from the heart.²⁰

Grace and peace from God our Father through Jesus Christ our Savior. Dear brothers in God! As I recently spoke with you in brotherly moderation and friendliness on several points, which I together with my brothers and sisters

have understood out of Scripture, namely out of the New Testament,²¹ and you for your part as the ones asked answered in similar moderation and friendliness as follows: Paul writes in 1 Timothy 1²² that love is the end of the commandment, wherefore it is necessary that all of the commands of God be guided by the same — I am not able so to conceive, in my understanding and conscience, that this may be done²³ as you do it with every point; namely with baptism, the Lord's Supper, force or the sword, the oath, the ban, and all the commandments of God. What hinders me is the following:

1. Christ came to save all of those who would believe in Him alone.²⁴

2. He who believes and is baptized will be saved; he who does not believe will be damned.²⁵

3. Faith in Jesus Christ reconciles us with the Father and gives us access to Him.²⁶

4. Baptism incorporates all believers into the body of Christ, of which He is the head.²⁷

5. Christ is the head of His body, i.e., of the believers or the congregation.²⁸

6. As the head is minded, so must its members also be.²⁹

7. The foreknown and called believers shall be conformed to the image of Christ.³⁰

8. Christ is despised in the world.³¹ so are also those who are His;³² He has no kingdom in the world,³³ but that which is of this world is against His kingdom.³⁴

9. Believers are chosen out of the world, therefore the world hates them.³⁵

10. The devil is prince over the whole world, in whom all the children of darkness rule.³⁶

11. Christ is Prince of the Spirit, in whom all who walk in the light live.³⁷

12. The devil seeks to destroy, Christ seeks to save.³⁸

13. The flesh is against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh.³⁹

14. Those who are spiritual are Christ's; those who are

carnal belong to death and to the wrath of God.⁴⁰

15. Christians are fully yielded and have placed their trust in their Father in heaven without any outward or worldly arms.⁴¹

16. The citizenship of Christians is in heaven and not on earth.⁴²

17. Christians are the members of the household of God and fellow citizens of the saints, and not of the world.⁴³

18. But they are the true Christians who practice in deed the teaching of Christ.⁴⁴

19. Flesh and blood, pomp and temporal, earthly honor and the world cannot comprehend the kingdom of Christ.⁴⁵

20. In sum: There is nothing in common between Christ and Belial.⁴⁶

Such considerations, and still much more of the same kind, which do not now come to mind, hinder me, dear brothers, from understanding⁴⁷ your general assertion on every subject which you advocate with the words of Paul cited above. Therefore, my beloved in God, I know of no comfort in all despair except to address an humble prayer to God the Father for you and for me, that He might be willing to teach us in all truth by His Spirit. Herewith I commend you to the Lord, for as I understand it, I can no longer remain here without doing a special dishonor to God; therefore I must for the sake of my conscience leave the field to the opposition.⁴⁸ I beg you herein, that you understand this as an act of Christian humility on my part. The Lord will ultimately dispose.⁴⁹

Be mercifully considerate, I pray you, of those who are in prison and do not permit a merciful judgment to be superseded by a blind, spiteful, and cruel one. Those who are in error⁵⁰ (if that they were) are not to be coerced but after a second admonition to be avoided. Christians admonish benevolently, out of sympathy and compassion for the sinful, and do not legalistically coerce persons this way or that.⁵¹ May the Lord God have mercy on us all and give us His Spirit to lead us in the way, Christ Jesus, through whom we can again

come into our kingdom, fatherland, and citizenship. Amen.
The Lord be with you all dear brothers in God. Amen.

Michael Sattler, your brother in God the heavenly Father.

Notes

1. According to C. Gerbert, *Geschichte der Strassburger Sectenbewegung zur Zeit der Reformation 1524-1534*, Strasbourg, 1889, p. 49, Sattler was a guest in Capito's home. Gerbert does not indicate whether this is a probable surmise (since Capito often welcomed travelers into his home) or a documented certainty. In any case we cannot say that there was already at this time an established Anabaptist congregation with whose members Sattler would rather have stayed.

2. Walter Fellmann, *Hans Denck: Schriften* (Teil II), Gütersloh, 1956, p. 14; Krebs-Rott, *op. cit.*, Nos. 64-66, pp. 60-62.

3. I. e., that we did not legally enforce infant baptism and thereby make Anabaptism a civil crime.

4. These words are near the close of the *Faithful Warning*, Krebs-Rott, *loc. cit.*, p. 114, and Robert Stupperich, *Martin Bucer's Deutsche Schriften* (Band II), Gütersloh, 1962, p. 258.

5. J. F. Gerhard Goeters, *Ludwig Hätzer, Spiritualist und Antitrinitarier*, Gütersloh, 1957, p. 95.

6. Even though he was not involved in these police actions against Denck, it might still be that they were the occasion for Sattler's conversation with the Reformers which resulted in the present document.

7. The label "Baptism Order," (*Tauforden*) was a favorite early critics' designation for the Anabaptists. It included the reproach of self-righteous legalism, carrying over from the Protestant rejection of the monastic orders, as well as the identification of a small circle voluntarily adhering to a distinct rule of life.

8. Krebs-Rott, *op. cit.*, No. 86, p. 110; also in Stupperich, p. 253.

9. Letter of 7 February 1527 from Ottelin or Oettli to Martin Bucer, Krebs-Rott, *op. cit.*, No. 75, p. 73. Assistance in the interpretation of this letter was received from Studienrat O. Wedel.

10. Alternative translation: "He respects no one."

11. This reference to hair might mean that Sattler is not properly respectful of the aged; of gray hair; or it might rather mean "not by the breadth of a hair," not the least bit.

12. If taken literally, a person who "has been called up because of his effrontery" would seem to be an individual subject to some kind of moral admonition or church discipline, earning a reprimand but whom Sattler is accused of scolding too severely. An alternative less literal translation could refer instead to someone "whom his [Sattler's] effrontery has accused."

13. Cf. note 7 above.

14. This phrase might refer either to positions of his own which Sattler is supporting with scriptural argument or to those of his opponents from whom he demands scriptural support: in either case Oettli believes that in the process of argument Sattler does violence to the texts, and that this is connected to Sattler's appeal to the Holy Spirit. This is, in any case, a testimony against classifying Sattler as a biblical literalist.

15. The choice of items at issue, and even much of their sequence, is strikingly

parallel to that we shall observe later at Schleithem.

16. This was not Capito's only argument, though it may have been the predominant one in the debating situation. Some other arguments are indicated in Capito's letter to the Church at Horb (below pp. 71 ff.).

17. *ME*, IV, p. 428, ignores the textual base and thereby suggests the "theses" were Sattler's own.

18. If we consider Sattler as having settled his Anabaptist allegiance and beliefs by late summer of 1525, there is a very limited body of literature testifying to the sources from which he could have borrowed: (a) The oral tradition of the first Swiss Brethren, as testified to in the Grebel letter to Müntzer of September, 1524, Geo. H. Williams and A. Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, LCC, Vol. XXV, Philadelphia, 157, pp. 71 ff. (hereafter known as SAW); (b) The earliest collections of arguments on baptism, of which several are known (Heinold Fast, "Hans Krüsis Bächlein über Glauben und Taufe . . ." in C. J. Dyck, ed., *A Legacy of Faith*, Newton, 1962, p. 213, see esp. note 67, p. 256); (c) Balthasar Hubmaier's booklet "Von dem christlichen Tauf der Gläubigen" (*On the Christian Baptism of Believers*) written in July, 1525 in Gunnar Westin & Torsten Bergsten et al., ed., *Balthasar Hubmaier: Schriften*, Gütersloh, 1962, pp. 116 ff. Neither of the specific emphases of the Strasbourg letter is of major significance in these earlier sources. This might indicate that they are Sattler's own unique contribution to earliest Anabaptist thought, perhaps partly illuminated by his heritage in the Benedictine order, which was the West's oldest renewal movement. Cf. note 19.

19. Dr. Jean Seguy of Paris has suggested that these emphases are comparable with those of other visions of church reform and of discipleship in the devotional tradition of the Benedictines. Especially can this be said of the image of the two camps in battle array or the "two standards," which is portrayed at a strategic point in the spiritual exercises of Ignatius of Loyola. To test such a hypothesis would demand careful comparison not simply of general concepts but of specific verbal usages within South German Benedictine sources. There is, in any case, about the piety of Michael Sattler no sign of the studied management of the development of religious experience which is typical of the rest of the exercises of Loyola.

20. Krebs-Rott, *op. cit.*, No. 70, pp. 68 ff. The first sentence, serving as address, is written across the back of the letter.

21. The pre-eminence of the New Testament within Scripture is taken for granted.

22. 1 Tim. 1:5.

23. "Das es möge gsin," "that it may be" questions the theological appropriateness of the Reformers' thoroughgoing application of the text from 1 Timothy in such a way as consistently to undercut the various New Testament teachings advocated by Sattler.

24. 1 Tim. 1:15 ff. With the exception of the introductory reference to 1 Timothy 1:5, Sattler does not give the biblical references in his letter. The texts being cited or alluded to are labeled following Rott.

25. Mk. 16:16.

26. Rom. 5:1 ff.

27. Rom. 12:5; 1 Cor. 12:12 ff. The Bossert-Bender biography in *ME* adds "now." None of the significant divergences between the *ME* translation and the present rendering is traceable to ambiguities in the original. They rather reflect errors in Bossert's rendering of the German text in *ML*, IV, p. 32.

28. Eph. 1:22. *ME* translates "believing church."

29. 1 Cor. 12:6 ff. Perhaps "minded" (which *ME* omits) refers as well to the thought of Philippians 2:5. Note below the parallel thought in the Schleithem brotherly union: p. 35, 40, 41.

30. Rom. 8:29.

31. Mk. 9:12, *ME* has "Christ despises the world."
32. Lk. 10:16; Jn. 15:19.
33. Jn. 18:36.
34. 1 Jn. 2:15 ff.; Jas. 4:4.
35. Mt. 10:22.
36. Eph. 2:2; 6:11, "Children of darkness" is the obvious reversal of "children of light" in Lk. 16:8 and Jn. 12:36.
37. Jn. 8:12; 1 Jn. 1:7.
38. Mt. 18:11; 1 Pet. 5:8.
39. Gal. 5:17.
40. Rom. 8:6 ff.
41. (Literally "armament") Lk. 21:15 f. The term here translated "yielded," *gelassen*, could also be rendered "surrendered," but not "at rest" (so in *ME*). This usage is a most significant testimony to the concept of surrenderedness or *Gelassenheit*, making evident that it has immediately an ethical implication, not only a mystical one.
42. Heb. 10:34; 13:14.
43. Eph. 2:19.
44. Mt. 7:21, Rom. 2:13.
45. Mt. 16:17; 1 Cor. 15:15.
46. 2 Cor. 6:15. Bossert includes point 20 as part of 19.
47. I.e., keeps me from agreeing with. The reference to "Paul" is the same as at the beginning of the text; love is the end of the commandment. For further detail as to how the concept of "love" functioned for the Reformers as an alternative to the direct application of biblical commands, cf. Heinrich Bullinger, "How to Deal with Anabaptists," *MQR*, XXXIII, April 1959, pp. 83 ff. "The rule of faith and love" is for Bullinger quite specifically the alternative to literal interpretation (pp. 90 f., 91 note 27, 95). Cf. further the chapter on the "Rule of Love" in J. Yoder, *Täuferium und Reformation in Gespräch*, Zürich, 1968, pp. 44 ff.
48. "dem widerwärtigen *weichen*." *Weichen* may mean either "withdraw" or more actively "shun." Sattler probably alluding to Rom. 16:17 or Tit. 3:10. This passage is the evidence that Sattler may well have thought of staying in Strasbourg, since his determination to leave results directly from his inability to reach agreement with Bucer and Capito on the points at issue. This further suggests that if he had stayed, it would have been in some relationship of collaboration or at least mutual respect with these two men. In other words, even though he came to Strasbourg more than a year after the birth of Anabaptism in Zürich, and even after the first expulsion of an Anabaptist by the Strasbourg authorities (Hans Wolff of Benfeld, June 13, 1526), Sattler did not enter the city with the settled sectarian assumption that he belonged to a group which had already taken for granted its being rejected by the authorities. He still approached the Reformers as brothers with whom conversation could continue. Even when Denck was forced out it seems that Sattler contemplated staying.
49. Literally "will finally do it": in the sense of "man proposes, God disposes."
50. The reference here to "those in error" does not distinguish between Anabaptists and state-church Protestants, since that distinction has not yet been frozen. Cf. page 50, note 39. The freedom here advocated by Bucer and Capito (p. 15) is not clearly distinct from that against which the Schleithem cover letter was directed (pp. 35, 36). Cf. also p. 64, note 19. Capito's view on dealing with those in error was the same as that expressed here (cf. pp. 88 ff.).
51. This is one of the early Anabaptist expressions concerning religious liberty and its relation to church discipline. Cf. Schleithem Art. II, below, p. 36. See also Art. IV, p. 38.

