



Leonhard Schiemer's Anabaptist Catechism (1527/28)

Jason J. Graffagnino
Assistant Professor of History and Christian Studies
Truett-McConnell College
Cleveland, GA
jgraaffagnino@truett.edu

As others before and after him, Leonhard Schiemer's¹ stint as an Anabaptist was a brief one, not because of apostasy, but rather because of his faithful witness until death. Schiemer had become concerned about those in the church that he identified as "nominal Christians," and he addressed those concerns when he wrote:

The following is how the heathen (*die heiden*) or nominal Christians (*die namchristen*) pray. . . . There is no one [among the nominal Christians] who steps up and says: No, God's Word should not be blasphemed or forbidden (*Gottes wort nit lectern und verbieten*), for we must obey God rather than men. Instead they are afraid that they may be denounced with Christ. Therefore when they are required to hallow his name they hide so that no one will hear or suspect them. The Lord answers this kind of behavior and says: Whoever denies me before men, I will deny before my father in heaven. Paul says that we must confess with our mouths (*Mit dem mund mueß man bekennen*). However, the true Christians and the children of God (*die warhaften Christen und kinder Gottes*), stand out through their lives and words (*steen herfür mit leben und wort*), they witness with their blood (*bezeugens mit irem bluet*), that we must obey God rather than men when we pray.²

Schiemer's remarkable spiritual trek took him from Franciscan monastic life to the martyr's pyre as an Anabaptist.³ He taught that the "outer word"

¹For an excellent recent study on Leonhard Schiemer see Michael D. Wilkinson, "A Necessary Smelting: Leonhard Schiemer's Theology of Suffering" (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2011), 1-205.

²Leonhard Schiemer, *Leonhard Schiemers Schriften in Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter*, ed. Lydia Miller (Leipzig: M. Heinsius, 1938; Reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1971), 69.

³Actually Schiemer was first beheaded and then his body was burned at Rattenberg on 14 January 1528. See "The Hutterian Brethren," trans. and ed. *The Chronicle of the Hutterian*

alone did not signify a true relationship with Christ, but rather the true light of the Holy Spirit was needed which shone within the heart of the believer.⁴

Leonhard Schiemer's Anabaptist excursion led him from Nikolsburg, Moravia, where he came into contact with Balthasar Hubmaier, to Vienna, where he was instructed by Hans Hut. After he was baptized by Oswald Glaidt, a former associate of Hubmaier and an eventual colleague of Hut, he traveled to Steyr in Bavaria, and subsequently to Rattenberg in the Tyrol. There he was captured just six months after his conversion to Anabaptism.⁵ It was while in prison in the Tyrol that Schiemer may have left his clearest mark on Anabaptism through his pen.

In 1527, or very early 1528, Schiemer authored the second Anabaptism catechism called *Von der Prob des Geistes, Frag und Antwort, auch Gegenred* (*The Test of the Spirit, Questions and Answers, Also Counter-Pleas*).⁶ He did not provide the reader with an introduction to *Prob des Geistes* in which he explained his purpose or reason for his authorship of this document. Regardless, Schiemer's brief stint as an Anabaptist had a long-lasting impact.

The *Prob des Geistes* is a catechetical work consisting of one hundred thirty-five questions and corresponding answers divided into three parts.⁷ The first part consists of sixty questions, the second has thirteen questions, and the third and final part is made up of sixty-two questions.⁸ There is no set theological pattern in the catechism. Various topics are discussed in each section and appear in random order.

The influence of Hubmaier *and* Hut may be seen in Schiemer's

Brethren, vol. 1, *Known as Das große Geschichtbuch der Hetterischen Brüder* (New York: Plough Publishing House, 1987), 56.

⁴Robert Friedmann, "Schiemer, Leonhard," in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, eds. Harold S. Bender and C. Henry Smith (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1959), 452.

⁵"The Hutterian Brethren," *Chronicle*, 56.

⁶"Hutterischen Brüdern," *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonitisches Berlagshaus, 1914), 18-19; Robert Friedmann, "The Oldest Known Hutterite Codex of 1566: A Chapter in Anabaptist Intellectual History," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 33 (Apr 1959): 106; Robert Friedmann, "Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer, Two Tyrolean Anabaptist Martyr-Apostles of 1528," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 33 (Jan 1959): 34. Many of Schiemer's works were collected in the *Kunstbuch* and circulated throughout Pilgram Marpeck's circle. Several other writings attributed to Schiemer were *not* included in the *Kunstbuch*, including *Prob des Geistes*. See Jörg Probst Rotenfelder gen. Maler, *Briefe und Schriften oberdeutscher Täufer 1527-1555*, eds. Heinold Fast und Martin Rothkegel in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationgeschichte* 78 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007), 1-775; John D. Rempel, ed., *Jörg Maler's Kunstbuch: Writings of the Pilgram Marpeck Circle in Classics of the Radical Reformation* 12 (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 2010), 1-753.

⁷There are five questions that have no corresponding answers in the *Prob des Geistes* (Questions five, nine, thirty-four, forty-six, fifty-one, and sixty). Also, between the eighty-fifth and eighty-sixth questions, are four statements. The first three pertain to three aspects of baptism, while the final statement deals with the gospel as a whole. See Leonhard Schiemer, *Von der Probe des Geistes, Frag und Antwort, auch Gegenred*, (1527/28), Bratislava, Slovakia, Archiv mesta [Codex Hab. 13—1595], Microfilm, at Goshen Associated Mennonite College (Spool No. 27), 180a-95b. Hereafter, *PDG*.

⁸*Ibid.*

catechism. Schiemer's baptismal theology mirrors that of Hubmaier's, as detailed in the latter's *On the Christian Baptism of Believers* (1525). Schiemer's inclusion of the "Gospel of all creation" is evocative of Hut's "Gospel of all creatures" teaching.⁹ Throughout the entire catechism the overwhelming emphases include baptism and love for God and neighbor.¹⁰

After beginning his catechism with a few questions regarding the humanity of Christ, Schiemer proposed two brief questions. The inquirer asked, "Are you a Christian?" The reply given was simply, "Yes."¹¹ Then the questioner followed up with, "What does that [being a Christian] entail?" The response given was:

To love God with your whole heart and your neighbor as yourself
(*Got lieben aus gantzem hertze[n] vnd deinen nagsten als dich selbst*),
[and] you have done this [when] you have had nothing of your
own, so that you may say "it does not belong to me, but rather to
the community of God (*sunder der gmain gotes*)."¹² It is written that
"they had everything in common, and said nothing [was kept]
from one another, and they gave to each what was needed and
required."¹²

The implementation of the "community of God" was a fulfillment of "loving God and neighbor" for Schiemer, which was demonstrated by the sharing of all goods among the brethren. Schiemer revealed his openness to the community of goods doctrine developed by Jacob Wiedemann.¹³

Toward the end of the catechism the question asked was, "How does

⁹See Gottfried Seebass, "Hans Hut: The Suffering Avenger," in *Profiles of Radical Reformers: Biographical Sketches from Thomas Müntzer to Paracelsus*, eds. Hans-Jürgen Goertz and Walter Klaassen (Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1982), 54-61; C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 1995), 71, 77.

¹⁰Schiemer used the word "baptism" or *der Taufe* eleven times, and the word "baptize[d]" or *taufen* ten times throughout the text of the *PDG*. He used the word "love" or *lieben* sixteen times.

¹¹"Frag. Bistu ein Crist. Antwort. Ja." *PDG*, 181a.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Wiedemann followed the eschatological teachings of Hans Hut and the nonresistant principles of the Swiss Brethren. Basing his teaching on the primitive Jerusalem NT Church, Wiedemann developed the doctrine of the community of goods (communism, the sharing of all goods within the community). Against Wiedemann, Hubmaier's followers (*Schwertler*) practiced what they believed to be the actual NT teaching: the sharing of goods with brethren *who were in need*. In this respect, the *Schwertler* were closer to the Swiss Brethren than Wiedemann's group (*Stäbler*). For Wiedemann and the *Stäbler* the doctrine of the community of goods soon became the mark of the church. They withdrew from worshipping with other Anabaptists and were eventually asked to leave Nikolsburg because of their divisiveness. Before their expulsion from Nikolsburg, the community of goods was only a theoretical idea for the *Stäbler*. However, once the group settled in the abandoned village of Bogenitz they decided to follow the practice of the Jerusalem church by pooling all their possessions together. Thus, they began to practice what would later become the communal lifestyle of Hutterite Anabaptism. William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story: An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 127-29.

one recognize the followers of Christ?" The response given was, "By the love that binds them together in one Spirit, God, and Father."¹⁴ In *A Short Gospel for the World Today* (1527), Schiemer mentioned that as a result of corrupt religious leadership "faith seems to disappear from the earth, love dies and becomes cold, Matt. 24[:12], as Christ warned."¹⁵ For Schiemer "faith" and "love" were linked to one another, but it was "love" for both God and neighbor which would reveal the true Christians to the world.¹⁶

Balthasar Hubmaier authored the first Anabaptist catechism (*Lehrtafel*) in late 1526 or early 1527. Leonhard Schiemer penned the following second Anabaptist catechism approximately one year later.¹⁷

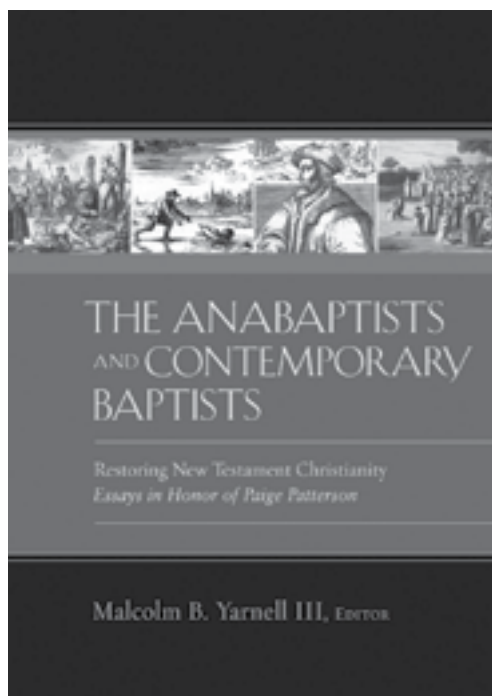
¹⁴"F. Wie erkenn man die nachvolger Cristi. A. Bei der lieb, so sy in ainem Geist, got vnd vater ir aller meinander verbunden sein." *PDG*, 193b.

¹⁵Leonhard Schiemer, *A Short Gospel for the World Today* (1527) in *Spiritual Life in Anabaptism*, trans. and ed. Cornelius J. Dyck (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1995), 216.

¹⁶*PDG*, 193b.

¹⁷For a detailed study of Hubmaier's and Schiemer's catechisms, and the possible nexus between those documents and an earlier *Unitas Fratrum* catechism (*Kindefragen*, 1522) see Jason J. Graffagnino, "The Shaping of the Two Earliest Anabaptist Catechisms" (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2008), 1-273.

What do the sixteenth-century
Anabaptists have to offer Baptists
and other free-church evangelicals
TODAY?



**EDITED BY
MALCOLM YARNELL III,**

this collection of essays serves as a *Festschrift* to honor the lifelong work of

PAIGE PATTERSON

in the study of the Radical Reformation.

Studying the lives and theology of the leading evangelical Anabaptists will encourage readers to dig deeper into the Bible, count the cost of discipleship to Jesus Christ, and commit oneself to engaging the world with the gospel.

The contributors represent a diversity of scholars from the United States and around the world.

ENDORSEMENTS

"This volume provides ample evidence of a significant historical renaissance among Baptist scholars, whose passion for church renewal is as evident as their commitment to a careful reading of the sixteenth-century sources. I highly recommend it."

—JOHN D. ROTH

Professor of History, Goshen College; Director, Mennonite Historical Library

"Like those radical disciples of the sixteenth century, Dr. Patterson has sought to be passionately loyal to his Lord in our day—and for that passion and loyalty, there are many, like myself, who are deeply and eternally grateful."

—MICHAEL A.G. HAYKIN

*Professor of Church History & Biblical Spirituality,
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary*



ACADEMIC
BECAUSE TRUTH MATTERS
BHAcademic.com

VON DER PROB DES GEISTES,
FRAG UND ANTWORT, AUCH GEGENRED (1527/28)¹⁸

By Leonhard Schiemer

Transcribed by Mitchell L. Hammond

Edited by Jason J. Graffagnino

[180a] Volget nun ein feinner vnd schöner Artickl von der Prob des Geist[e]s.

Frag. Versteestu die heilig [180b] Geschrift, oder mag ainer die heilig (1 Joha[n] 4) g[e]schrift versteen on den heilige Geist, denn es steet geschriben, man sol die geister grabiere[n]. Ich frag dich bekennstu Cristum in d[a]z fleisch kumen sein.

Antwort. Ja in Maria.

F. Seindt auch alle die Selig, dies bekennen.

A. Nein.

F. Ich frag dich, Ob du bekenst Cristum in d[a]z fleisch kumen sein.

A. Ja.

F. Wie, wan, wo.

A. Ist es nit alles vmb vnsern willen beschehen in Maria.

¹⁸This document was attributed to Leonhard Schiemer first by Hutterite Bishop Elias Walter in the *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (1914), and its authorship was verified by Robert Friedmann in the late 1950s. No further scholarship has disputed that this was the writing of Schiemer. See Hutterischen Brüdern, *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonitisches Berlagshaus, 1914), 18-19; Robert Friedmann, "The Oldest Known Hutterite Codex of 1566: A Chapter in Anabaptist Intellectual History," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 33 (Apr 1959):106 and "Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer: Two Tyrolean Anabaptist Martyr-Apostles of 1528," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 33 (Jan 1959): 34. As of the writing of Jason Graffagnino's dissertation (Aug 2008), there had been neither a modernized German text nor a full English translation of this second Anabaptist catechism. The following transcription and translation was produced in 2006 through the assistance of Mitchell Lewis Hammond, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Victoria, British Columbia. This translation should not be viewed as an authoritative critical edition, which would be beyond the scope of this project. Instead the purpose of this German transcription and following English translation is to provide the student of Schiemer, and Anabaptism as a whole, access to a readable text of one of the earliest Anabaptist catechisms. The page numbers of the original manuscript are included in brackets within the text. The German text used in this translation is Leonhard Schiemer, *Von der Probe des Geistes, Frag and Antwort, auch Gegenred*, (1527/28), Bratislava, Slovakia, Archiv mesta [Codex Hab. 13—1595], Microfilm, at Goshen Associated Mennonite College (Spool No. 27), 180a-95b.

*THE TEST OF THE SPIRIT, QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS,
ALSO COUNTER-PLEAS (1527/28)*

By Leonhard Schiemer

Translated by Mitchell L. Hammond

Edited by Jason J. Graffagnino

The First Part

[180a] Here follows a fine and beautiful article concerning the test of the spirit.

Question. Do you understand the holy [180b] scripture, or may another understand Scripture without the Holy Spirit? For it is written [that] one should test the spirits (1 John 4). I ask you: do you confess Christ has come in the flesh?

Answer. Yes, in Mary.

Q. What about all the saints, do they confess this?

A. No.

Q. I ask you if you confess that Christ has come in the flesh.

A. Yes.

Q. How, when, where?

A. Did it not take place for our sake in Mary?

F. Mueß es nit in vns auch war werden, wie versteestu d[a]z (Joha[n] 1), d[a]z der Johannes schreibt, d[a]z wort ist fleisch worden, vnnnd wondt in vns, du frag ich dich, ob d[a]s beschehen sey, vnd ob du mit Paula bekennst, der sagt (Gala. 2), ich leb nit, sunder Cristus lebt in mir. bekenstu auch mit Paulo (Gala. 6), d[a]s dir die welt gecreütziget ist, vnd du der welt, darumb wollich solliches nit bekennt, der ist ein anthe Crist denn ein yeder den Cristum aufflost ist ein wider Crist, du hast [181a] Cristum aufflost, stellest Cristum d[a]s haubt an die gldt mass.

F. Bistu ein Crist. (Mat. 6)

A. Ja.

F. W[a]z gehort ainem Cristen zue. (Mat. 9)

A. Got lieben aus gantzem hertze[n] vnd deinen nagsten als dich selbst, hast solliches gethon, hast nit nichts aig ens gehabt, damit du mogest sage[n] es gehort nit mir zue, sunder der gmain gotes, Es steet geschriben sy heten alleding gemain, vnd saget kainer von dem seine[n], vnd man gab ainem yetlichen w[a]z im notd war, vnnnd bedarff.

F. Ist die zu naigung zue dem sünden auch sündt.

A. Nein, dann da die verwilligung nit ist, da ists nit sündt.

F. Darumb so sein auch die kinder on sündt, die weil sy die zuenaigung von Natur haben, aber nit verwilligen, weil sy boss noch guets versteen, demnach ein gots lessterung, den leufft vo[n] inen, (wie sy mainen, beschwore[n]).

F. Darff man von allen dinge[n] frage[n] [d]i[e] geschriben steendt.

A. Ja. dan[n] [181b] es steet geschriben, alleding die geschriben seindt, sein vns zue ainer leer geschriben.

F. Bekenstu auch d[a]z got alle ding gemacht hat (Sapi 11), in der zeit Ordnung mass zil vnd gewicht.

A. Ja.

F. Hat ein Cristlich leben ein Ordnung.

A. Ja.

F. Wie facht est an.

A. Im glauben.

Q. Must it not also be true within us? How do you understand it, that John writes: “the word became flesh and dwells within us” (John 1)? I ask you if that has taken place, and whether you profess with Paul, who states: “I do not live; rather Christ lives in me” (Gal 2). Do you also profess, as Paul does, that the world is crucified to you, and you to the world (Gal 6)? Thereby the one who does not confess this is an anti-Christ, for he who breaks from Christ is against Christ. If you have [181a] broken from Christ, then you must place Christ as the head on the body [i.e., return to Christ].

A. [No answer given].

Q. Are you a Christian (Matt 6)?

A. Yes.

Q. What does that entail (Matt 9)?

A. To love God with your whole heart and your neighbor as yourself has to be done. You must admit that you have nothing of your own, consequently you may say, “It does not belong to me, but rather to the community of God.” It is written that “they had everything in common, and said nothing [was kept] from the others, and they gave to each what was necessary” (Acts 2).

Q. Is the inclination to sin also sin?

A. No, since the intention is not there, then the inclination is not sin.

Q. Therefore, so also are children without sin, since, although they have the inclination from nature, but not the intention. They do not understand evil or good, or any offense against God which comes from them (such as, for example, swearing).

A. [No answer given.]

Q. May one ask about all things that are written?

A. Yes, for [181b] it is written, all things that are written are written as a teaching [tool] for us.

Q. Do you also profess that God has made all things, in the order of time, and space?

A. Yes.

Q. Does Christian life have a rule?

A. Yes.

Q. How does it begin?

A. In faith.

F. Hastu auch ein Glauben, wie lang hast du in gehabt.

A. Ich waiß es nit, ich verstee d[a]z wort glauben nit, dann Paulus sagt, glaub ist nit yeder mans ding. (2 Tess 2)

F. Ist dann der glaub der erst anfang aines Cristlichen lebens.

A. Ja.

F. Haist doch glauben ein gewisse zuuersicht vnd vertrauen in got (Heb. 11), nun wie kanstu got vertrauen, so du in liebst, die lieb geet vor, Joha[n] 8 wie der herr sagt, so yemanndt mein redt wirt halten, der wirt den thodt nit schmeckhen. darumb helt kainer sein redt vnnd gebot (Mat 22) er lieb in dann zuuor, dieweil di[e] [182a] [unclear] Lieb die erfüllung des gsatzes ist, nun mainstu nit, d[a]z die lieb vorgeet.

A. Ja.

F. Wie kanstu ain lieben ee du in kenst, (Johan 17) muess d[a]z erkenntnuß nit vorgeen, wie der herr auch sagt, d[a]z ist d[a]z ewig lebe[n].d[a]z sy dich erkennen, d[a]z du allein warer got bist, vnnd den du gesenndt hast, Jesum Cristum, so nun erkantnuss gotes d[a]z ewig leben ist, wie kans der anfang ains Cristlichen lebens sein.

A. Ich waiss nit.

F. Kan auch ein Cristlich lieben im schlaff, oder im wein anfahen, d[a]z er nichts darumb waiss, wan[n] es gescheh[en] sei, ists so gar ein spotlich ding vmb ein Cristlichs leben, d[a]z es ainer nit empfindt, aintweders du oder der glaub ist thodt gewesen, vnd ist noch nit lebendig worden, w[a]z haist glaub[en].

A. Ist dan[n] glauben nit ein leben, di[e] weil ich glaub d[a]z Cristus für mich genueg hat than, sei für mich gestorbe[n] hat mein sündt außgetilgt.

Gege[n]redt. Ja ist er nit auch für dich gen [182b] himel gefahren.

A. Nein wir werden alle mit ime vnd durch in Salig.

Q. Do you have faith? How long have you had it?

A. I do not know. I do not understand the word “faith,” for Paul says that faith is not for every person (2 Thess 2).

Q. Is faith the beginning of a Christian life?

A. Yes.

Q. If faith is a certain foreknowledge and trust in God, then how can you trust God, and love Him (Heb 11)? Love comes first, as the Lord says, “he who keeps my word, he will never taste death (John 8).” Therefore should no one keep His word and commandments, He [would] love him before since [182a] love is the fulfillment of the law (Matt 22). Now surely you do not mean that love comes first?

A. Yes.

Q. How can you love someone before you know him? Must not acquaintance come first, as the Lord shows this is eternal life, that they recognize you, that you alone are the true God, and you have sent Him, Jesus Christ. So then if recognition of God is eternal life, how can it be the beginning of a Christian life?

A. I do not know.

Q. May also a Christian love while asleep, or while drinking, since he does not then know when it may have taken place? Is it not then a contemptible thing concerning a Christian life, one cannot sense, that you and your faith have died, and have not yet been made alive? What does faith mean?

A. It is not, for faith [itself] is life, since I believe that Christ has done enough for me, has died for me, and has redeemed my sins.

Contra: Yes, is He then not also gone [182b] up into heaven for your benefit?.

A. No, we will all be with Him and blessed through Him [until He comes again].

F. (Johan 3) Wie kanstu es reden, waist nit d[a]z niemandt gen himel fart, dan[n] der herabgestigen ist, der sun des menschen, die weil ers selbs redt, wer wils im brechen, Ja weder ich noch du, versteestu es recht d[a]z Cristus Salig sai, vnnd alle seine glider mit im, warumb woltestu auch dich nit zum leiden zum haubt machen, die (Phili 1) weil Paulus sagt, Es ist nit genueg allain in Cristum glauben, sunder auch vmb in leiden, hat nun Cristus dein sündt außgelegt. Ist kain sündt mer in dir, wie hat er diers aussgelescht, so noch sündt in dier ist, haist auch d[a]z aussleschen, so es noch brint, hastu nit gelesen, wer sündt thuet ist nit aus got, woraus muess er dan[n] sein hie ist kain mittel, di[e] nach dem fleisch leben, werden sterben.

A. Hie redt er aufs gesetz.

F. Bistu nit mer vnder dem gsatz.

A. Ich bin im newe[n] Testament.

F. Wann hat sich an [183a] gefangen.

A. Da Cristus geboren ist worden.

F. Was halst von mose, dauidt vnd allen propheten.

A. Ich halt sy für diener vnnd leerer gotes, vnnd inen von got beuolhen, d[a]z gsatz dem volckh für zuetragen.

F. Sagt doch Cristus, alle di[e] vor mir kume[n] seindt sein alle dieb vnnd morder, Nun frag ich dich auf dein mainung, sind dann all Propheten vo[n] got gesandt dieb vnnd morder.

A. Nein.

F. Sein sy doch vor Cristo kumen. I[tem]. Paulus sagt, d[a]z gsatz ist vnser zucht maister gewesen bis auf Cristum, wie hat dan[n] Abraham seinen tag gesehen, vnnd sich erfreüdt, wie Christus sagt, ee Abraham wart bin ich. (Johan 8)

A. Ja nach der Gothait.

F. Wer hat dann d[a]z gsatz geben, vor ee die gothait w[a]r [?], so du Cristum nach der gothait kenst?

A. Ja, hie muess ich in nennen nach der gothait.

F. Wie waist wan[n] man[n] in nimbt nach der gothait oder menschait? [183b]

A. Ich muess darauf sehen.

F. Maisterstu die geschriff, oder ist sy dein maister, wo leernet man[n] die obgemelten vnderscheidt von der gothait vnd menschait Cristi.

A. Ich frag auch darumb.

Q. (John 3) How can you say that? Do you not know that no one goes to heaven, except those who came down from there? The Son of man says so Himself. Who will contradict Him? Nay, neither I nor you—understand well that Christ is blessed, and all of His limbs along with Him. (Phil 1) Why do you not also wish to place suffering at the head, since Paul says, “It is not enough only to believe in Christ, but [one must] also suffer for him”? Since Christ has taken away your sins, there is no more sin in you. If there is still sin within you, how can you say that He has extinguished it within you? Is it extinguished, if it still burns? Have you not read, he who commits sin is not from God—from where, then, must he be? There is no help here; those who live by the flesh will die.

A. There He speaks of the Law.

Q. Are you no longer under the Law?

A. I am under the New Testament.

Q. When did this [the NT] [183a] begin?

A. When Christ was born.

Q. What do you think of Moses, David, and all the prophets?

A. I consider them God’s servants and teachers, and they are commanded by God to give the law to the people.

Q. But does not Christ say “all who came before me are all thieves and murderers”? Now I ask you for your opinion, are all the prophets sent from God thieves and murderers?

A. No.

Q. But they came before Christ. Also, Paul says, “the law was our tutor until [the coming of] Christ.” How, then, did Abraham see His [Christ’s] days and rejoice, as Christ says, “Before Abraham was, I am?”

A. According to the Godhead.

Q. Then who gave the law? Knowing the Godhead, do you know Christ according to the Godhead?

A. Yes, here I must name Him according to the Godhead.

Q. Who knows when one may identify Him according to [His] godhead or [His] humanity? [183b]

A. I must give that thought.

Q. Do you master the Scripture, or is it your master? Where does one learn the aforementioned difference between the deity and humanity of Christ?

A. I must also think about that.

F. Du muest mir mei[n] frag nit aus dem maul stelen, vnd mich damit frage[n], hastu dich doch im anfang berüembt, du seist ein Crist vnd waist so gar nichts vom anfang.

A. Ich beger zue leerne[n].

F. Wie kanst du ein Crist sein, die weil du es noch mindert [?] geleernet hast, wilst erst etwan leerne[n], wie bleibst auf deiner redt, hast doch selbs die andern geleernet, oder hast vor all dein tag nichts von im gehort, bis jÿetz auff die stundt.

A. Ja, ich.

F. Von wem hastu es gehort, ist er von got gesandt gewese[n] hast vor seinen geist probiert.

A. Ja.

F. Kenst aber di[e] geister von ainander.

A. Nain.

F. Wie probierstu sÿ dan[n], so du sÿ nit kenst, wie sein aug der gnadigen [184r] frag kumen, wann d[a]z new testament hab angefangen, vnd d[a]z gsatz auffgehört.

A. Wann ainer in Cristum glaubt, so hort d[a]z gsatz auf.

F. Hangt nit d[a]z gantz gsatz vnd alle propheten in der liebe gotes, vnd das nachste[n], so muess kainer goet vnd den nachs[ten] lieben, so er in Cristum glaubt, vor spricht doch Paulus, so glaub aufhört, demnach bleibt die lieb vor vnd nach dem glauben, wir reden lang vo[n] Christe, vnnd hab dich nie gefragt ob du Cristum kenst, denn alle prophet[en] haben geweissagt auf den künfftige[n] Cristum, alle Apostl haben gezeugt von den vergangne[n] Cristo.

F. Kenstu Cristum?

A. Ja.

F. Wie brait, lang, tieff, vnnd hoch ist er?

A. Vonn der schaidl bis auf die füess.

Q. You must not steal my question from my mouth and ask it to me. Did you not at the start claim you are a Christian? Yet you know nothing from the beginning.

A. I desire to learn.

Q. How can you be a Christian, since you have not yet learned the least thing? And you [now] wish first to learn something, as you keep saying. Have others taught you? Or have you, in all of your days, heard nothing about Him up until this very hour?

A. Yes, I [have].

Q. From whom did you hear it? Is he sent from God? Have you tested his spirit?

A. Yes.

Q. But do you know the spirits from each other?

A. No.

Q. Then how do you test them, if you are not acquainted with them? How merciful are the questions [184r] [which] come [from] his eye? When has the New Testament begun and the Law ended?

A. When one believes in Christ, the Law ends.

Q. Does not the entire Law and all the prophets depend on love of God and love of one's neighbor? Must one still love God and his neighbor when he believes in Christ? However, Paul pronounces that if faith ends, nevertheless love remains before and after faith. We have spoken at length about Christ and [I] have not asked you if you know Christ. All the prophets foretold the coming of the Christ, and all the Apostles have testified to the actual coming of the Christ.

A. [No answer given].

Q. Do you know Christ?

A. Yes.

Q. How broad, long, deep, and high is He?

A. From the head to the foot.

F. D[a]z wissen alle türckhen vnd haid[en], d[a]z kain mensch lenger ist. (Mat. 13) ich hor wol, du thuest gleich wie die [unclear] Juden, di[e] sagten auch, wir kennen in wol, er ist Josephs sun, aber der herr [184v] (Luc. 4) strafft sy also, Richtenndt nicht, nach (Johan 4) dem ansehen, sunder richt ein recht 7 8 gericht, darumb mein Brueder, so reichstu auch nicht ein recht gericht, du muest bekenne[n] mit Paulo, wir kenne[n] Cristum nit mer nach dem (2 Cor. 5) fleisch, solliche leut, deiner meinung, werde[n] zue Cristo sage[n] zue der zeit (Mat. 7) des gericht, herr haben wir nit mit dir gessen vnd getrunckhen, dan[n] wiert er sagen, weicht all vo[n] mir ir vbelthaten, ich kenn eur nit, d[enn] ir kenndt mich hie auch nit, gleich wie die Juden kennen Cristum nit, den nun ist alles disputierten verloren, hastu nit gemarckht, vorhin die Prob des geistes, Bekennstu Cristum in das fleisch kumen sein.
A. Ja in Maria zue Nazareth.

F. (1 Joha[n] 4) Die weil du nit anders bekennst, vnnd mainst d[a]z solliches die bekantnuß sei, nun hat niemandts Cristum empfangen, vnnd geben, dann maris, wie versteestu dan[n], d[a]z wort ist [185r] fleisch worden, vnnd wondt in vns, ist solliches in dir beschehen.
A. Ich hoff es.

F. Ci [?] du muest sein gewiss sein vnnd nit hoffen.
A. Sollich hoffnung ist genueg zur Salligkait.

F. Waist d[a]z Petrus sagt, du solst vrbietig sein Rechenschafft zue geben, sollicher hoffnung, wie bistu zue sollich[er] hoffnung kumen, wie war dir vmb dein hertz, den ersten tag, dan[n] warlich kainer verschlaffts, wens aber nie geschehen, ists vnmüglich d[a]z er waiss daruon zue reden, er mag es kainem ableernen, darumb die weil du Cristvmb nit anders bekenst, so bistu nach aus dem geist des anthi Criste[n], wolliches ist der teuff[e] vnnd die weil du nit hast den geist Cristi, so bistu nicht sein, der fleischlich mensch vernimbt nichts vom geist Gotes, darumb all dein verstandt, kunst, witz [?] vnd vernunfft, ist lug vnd falsch.
A. Ich main ich hab in auch.

F. Kan in ein mensch empfahren, der in nit kent.
A. Nain. [185b]

F. (Joha[n] 14) Kennstu den heiligen geist, habe[n] in alle menschen.
A. Nein, wolliche den, wie kumbt er zue ainem, wo hast zeuckhnuß der geschriff.

F. Glaubstu auch verzeihung der sünden.
A. Ja.

Q. All the Turks and heathen know that no man is longer [than that] (Matt 13). I understand, however that you do just like the Jews, who have said, we know Him [Jesus], He is Joseph's son. But the Lord [184v] has punished them (Luke 4). Do not judge according to appearance, but rather make a righteous judgment (John 4). Thus, my brother, if you also do not make a righteous judgment, you must profess with Paul, "We no longer know Christ according to the flesh" (2 Cor 5). Such people, [who have] your view, will say to Christ at the time of judgment, "Lord, have we not eaten and drunk with you" (Matt 7)? Then He will say, "away from me, all of you evil-doers, I do not know you, for you also do not know me." In the same way the Jews do not know [Jesus] Christ, since all that they dispute about Him is lost to them. Have you not noticed, earlier, the test of the Spirit: Do you confess that Christ has come in the flesh?

A. Yes, in Mary of Nazareth.

Q. Since you do not profess otherwise, and you claim that this is certain knowledge—that no one other than Mary conceived and bore Christ—how, then how do you understand "the Word is [185r] made flesh and dwells in us" (1 John 4)? Has such taken place in you?

A. I hope so.

Q. Must you be certain and not hope?

A. Such hope is enough for salvation.

Q. Do you know what the Apostle Peter said, "You should abjectly accept His judgment." How do you come to such hope? How did it appear in your heart? On the first day, truly, no one falls asleep; when, however, it has never happened, it is impossible that one knows to speak of it. He may not learn it from anyone. For that reason, then since you do not proclaim Christ, in so doing you are still separated from [Christ] [by] the spirit of the anti-Christ, which is the devil. Since you do not have the Spirit of Christ, therefore you are not His [Christ's]. The fleshly person hears nothing from the Spirit of God. Therefore all his [i. e., the non-Christian] understanding, art, wit and reason, is a lie and false.

A. I think I have Him [the Spirit of Christ] also.

Q. Can a person receive Him who does not know Him?

A. No. [185b]

Q. Do you confess the Holy Spirit? Do all people have Him (John 14)?

A. No, only those to whom He comes. This is in accordance with the testimony of Scripture.

Q. Do you also believe in forgiveness of sins?

A. Yes.

F. Wer verzeichts.

A. Got allain.

F. Sunst niemandt.

A. Nain.

F. Wie versteestu den spruch Cristi w[a]z ir pindet auf erden, ist pund[en] (Mat. 18) im himel, zue wem hat Cristus solliches geredt, nit zue den Crist[en]. (Joha[n] 20)

F. Glaubstu auch ein Cristliche kirch[en].

A. Ja.

F. W[a]z ists bistu darinn, zaig miers, wo ists, wie glaubt sy we[n] sy nichts waiss.

A. Sÿ ist im wort.

F. Bistu den nur ein Crist vo[n] wort[en] (Rom. 2) d[a]z Euangelion steet in d[er] Crafft vnnd nit in Worten. (Jam. 1)

A. Sÿ ist im geist.

F. W[a]z mainstu damit.

A. Im hertze[n] steets alles.

F. Ist den dein hertz ein geist, ich het gedacht es wer d[a]z bosest fleisch in menschen, so sagt vns vns [as wriiten] Cristus, der geist hat weder fleisch nach pain.

F. Glaubstu auch [186a] ein Cristliche gemeinschaft d[er] heillige[n].

A. Ja.

F. Bistu darin gewesen, oder bist yetzundt darinnen.

A. Ja.

F. Wo bistu darein kume[n].

A. Im geist.

F. Geist hat weder fleisch noch bain ist dann kain flaisch in der gemeinschaft, so heten die Cristen zue der zeit der apostl auch nit fleisch vnd bluet gehabt.

F. Halstu auch Cristlichen Ban[n].

A. Ja.

Q. Who forgives?

A. God alone.

Q. Otherwise no one?

A. No.

Q. How do you understand the words of Christ: "What you bind upon earth is bound in heaven" (Matt 18)? To whom did Christ say such words? Was it to Christians (John 20)?

A. [No answer given].

Q. Do you believe in a Christian church?

A. Yes.

Q. What is it [and] are you in it? Show me where it is, how do they believe when they do not know?

A. She [the church] is in the Word.

Q. Are you, then, merely a Christian [by virtue of] words (Rom 2)? The Gospel rests upon deeds and not in words [alone] (Jam 1).

A. She is in the Spirit.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. Everything rests in the heart.

Q. Is, then, your heart a Spirit? I would have thought that it would be located in the most evil flesh in people, after all Christ tells us that the Spirit has neither flesh nor limbs.

A. [No answer given].

Q. Do you also believe [186a] in a Christian communion of saints?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever been in it, or are you now therein?

A. Yes.

Q. Where and how did you enter?

A. In the Spirit.

Q. Spirit has neither flesh nor limbs. There is, then, no flesh in the communion. The Christians at the time of the apostles also had no flesh and blood.

A. [No answer given].

Q. Do you also keep a Christian ban?

A. Yes.

F. Ist kain öffentlich sündt in deiner gmain, strafft man[n] sÿ auch noch Ordnung Cristi.

A. Es sein jÛtz nit solliche gmain, wie zue der zeit der apostl, oder Cristi, wir kÛnnen nit all volkumen sein.

F. Warumb sein jÛtz nit solliche Gmain wie zue der zeit der apostl, Liß Paulum der sagt, wer ein anders Euangelion sagt vnd leernet, sei verfluecht It[em] wer nit mit mir samlet, der zerstreut, It[em] alle pflanzung, di[e] mein himlischer vater nit gepflantzet hat, die wirt außgereüt. It[em] ich bin d[er] weinsteckh, ir die reben, vnd ein jÛtliche reben die nit frucht bringt [186b] [??] 12 wirt abgeschniten. Weiter sagt got[?] (Acto 5) man sol nichts zue oder vom gsatz (Mat. 8) thuen, nun hat dich kain solliche gmai[n] angenumen, sag mir, wie kumbt man in dise Gmain, w[a]z maint Cristus, so er sagt, prediget d[a]z euangelion aller Creatur, ich frag dich noch ains, bistu geschriff gleert, oder vo[n] Got geleert, finstu auch d[a]z ein geschriff gleepter sei salig worden.

A. Ich bin von got geleert.

F. Wo hat got sein schuel.

A. Ich waiss nit.

F. Wer die schuel nit waiß, ist nie darin gewesen, wie kumbst d[a]z du auf kainer warhait nit bestanden so bistu auch sein glidt.

Q. [If] there is no public sin in your community, then does one punish according to the ordinance of Christ?

A. Now at present no community as in the time of the apostles or Christ exists. We cannot all be perfect.

Q. Why is there not now such a community as in the time of the apostles? Read Paul, who says, "He who repeats and learns another Gospel shall be cursed. Also, he who does not gather with me, he scatters. Also, all growing things which my heavenly father did not plant, they will be rooted out. Also, I am the grapevine, you are the grapes, and each grape that brings forth no fruit [186b] will be cut away." Further, God says one should do nothing, concerning the law or [apart from the law] (Acts 5). Now as no such community has accepted you, tell me, how does one enter this community (Matt 8)? What does Christ mean when He says, preach the gospel of all creation?¹⁹ I ask you, further, are you taught from texts or from God? Do you also find that one [who has been] taught by texts may be blessed.

A. I am taught by God.

Q. Where does God have His school?

A. I do not know.

Q. He who does not know the school has never been inside it. How is it that you do not hold to any confession of faith? The devil has never held to any truth, thus you are also his member.

A. [No answer given.]

¹⁹Similar phrasing to Hans Hut's "Gospel of All Creatures" emphasis. See Gottfried Seebass, "Hans Hut: The Suffering Avenger," in *Profiles of Radical Reformers: Biographical Sketches from Thomas Müntzer to Paracelsus*, eds. Hans-Jürgen Goertz and Walter Klaassen (Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1982), 54-61; Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 71, 77.

VOLGET NUN DIE GEGENREDT DER FRAG VND ANTWORT

FRAG. WENN ODER WIE BISTU [187a] ein Christ worden.

A. Da mir der willen vnd d[a]z wort gotes, durch ein trewen diener gotes verkündigt ist worden, da hab ich im von hertze[n] glaubt, vnnd hab mich in gotes willen vnd leben, im nach zue volgen, begeb[en].

F. Glaubstu in Cristum.

A. Ja ich glaub d[a]z Jesus Cristus mich durch seine[r] thodt gegem dem vater versüenndt, vnd mich sambt im zue ainem mit erben angenommen, so ich anderst mit laidt.

F. Zue wollicher zeit bistu ein Christ worden.

A. Am Montag nach katarina, Anno Domino 1527 Jar.

F. Wo bistu in Cristenn kumen.

A. Inn der tauff.

F. W[a]z ist der tauff.

A. Es ist ein pundt zeichen gotes, in wollicher sich der mensch mit got verbindt, im gehorsam zue sein wie Cristus.

F. Auf wen bistu taufft

A. Auf d[e]m namen Jesus Cristi.

F. Inn wen bistu taufft.

A. In den thodt Cristi zue ainem leib, vnd in d[er] tauff hab ich Cristum anzoge[n].

F. Wie bistu taufft.

A. Nach ordnung Cristi, da da mir zum ersten der willen vnd [187b] wort gotes gepredigt ist worden, vnnd in den selben hab ich glaubt vnnd mich also got ergeben in den gehorsam Cristi, vnd Cristum anzogen.

F. W[a]z ist Cristum anzieh[en]?

A. Es ist new gebore[n] worden, auff d[a]z ich sei ein neue Creatur gotes.

F. Glaubstu Cristum in d[a]z fleisch kumen sein.

A. Ja.

The Second Part

HERE FOLLOWS A REJOINDER TO THE QUESTION AND ANSWER.²⁰

QUESTION. WHEN OR HOW DID [187a] you become a Christian?

A. When the will and Word of God were proclaimed to me by a true servant of God, and I believed him from my heart. I also commenced to imitate him, when consistent with God's will and life.

Q. Do you believe in Christ?

A. Yes, I believe that Jesus reconciled me to the Father through His death and accepted me. As a co-inheritor, I suffer [along with Christ].

Q. When did you become a Christian?

A. On the Monday after Catherine's [feast day], A. D. 1527.

Q. Where did you come to Christ?

A. In baptism.

Q. What is baptism?

A. It is a mark of God, through which the person binds himself to God, to obey Him as Christ did.

Q. Upon whom are you baptized?

A. Upon the name of Christ.

Q. In whom are you baptized?

A. In Christ's death to the body, and in baptism I have taken on Christ.

Q. How were you baptized?

A. According to the rule of Christ [Matt 28:18-20], from the first time that the will and Word of God were preached to me, [187b] is when I believed in it. Thence forward I have surrendered to God in the obedience of Christ and took on Christ.

Q. What does it mean "to take on Christ?"

A. It is to have been born again. Therefore I am a new creation of God.

Q. Do you believe Christ has come in the flesh?

A. Yes.

²⁰"All-caps" print represents the large, bold lettering of the original 1527/28 manuscript.

F. In wolliches fleisch.

A. Inn mein fleisch.

F. Wie wann wo ist er in dein fleish kume[n].

A. Da ich mich in seine[m] willen erbe[n], gleich wie Maria, da sÿ die verhaissung des Enngels hort, vnd sÿ sprach mir gescheh nach deinen worten.

F. Lebt auch Cristus in dier.

A. Ja, in ainem newenn lebenn, Cristus hat in mir vberwunden, thodt sündt holl teuffel vnd die ganntze welt.

Q. In which flesh?

A. In my flesh.

Q. How, when, [and] where, does He come into your flesh?

A. As I surrender to His will, just like Mary, as she hears the annunciation of the angel and says, "May it happen to me according to your words."

Q. Does Christ also live in you?

A. Yes, in a new life. Christ has conquered death, sin, hell, the devil, and the whole world.

[188a] VOLGET NUN ALHIENACH EIN ANDER PROB DES GEISTS/ ODER FRAG UND ANTWORT

Frag. Was ist die Cristlich kierch?

A. Kierchen ist ein versammlung aller heilligen, in ainigkait des geistes vnd offentlich bekanntnuß Jesu Crist, der kirchen ist Cristus, brüederlich straff ist ir gewalt, Got ist d[a]z ainig ewig wesen, allein guete von wollichen alleding ir guet vnd wesen haben.

F. Bei weÿ erkennstu in?

A. Ich erkenn in aus seiner Allmechtigkeit, darin er himel vnd erdt erschaff[en] hat, dieweil er alle ding erschaff[en] [188b] hat. Sollen im auch ding diene[n]. Ja himel vndt erdt, vnd alle Creatur sollen im dienen.

F. W[a]z ist di[e] dienstbarigkeit gotes.

A. Die haltung seiner gebot.

F. W[a]z ist d[a]z gsatz?

A. Gebot oder gsatz ist ein verbindung des Bosen, vnd ein verschaffung das guet.

F. Wie vil sein Gebot.

A. Zwei zeh[en] sein in der taffl moÿs geschriben vnd in vnseren hertzen das widerspil anzaigt.

F. Warumb seindt sy geben?

A. Aus zweÿen vrsachen. Erstlich, d[ass] der mensch den willen gotes thue, zum andern sich selbs vnd die sündt lernen erkennen.

F. W[a]z ist sündt?

A. Ein yedliche bewegung oder lust, wider den willen gotes sein, vns erwechst.

F. W[a]z ist Buess.

A. Ein beclagung der Sündt gege[n] got mit betruetben hertze[n], gueten fürsatz zu thuen.

F. W[a]z haist glaupe[n].

A. Glauben sampt den 12. Artickeln ist ein lebendige vertrauen, in di[e] werckh des geists vollstreckhenn. [189a]

F. Wolliche sein die werckh des geistes.

A. Lieb freudt friedt, demuet, freuntligkait, güetigkait, glaub sefft, muetigkait, trew massigkait.

The Third Part

[188a] HERE FOLLOWS ANOTHER TEST OF THE SPIRIT/OR QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

Q. What is the Christian church?

A. The church is an assembly of all the saints in the unity of the spirit and in public profession of Jesus Christ. The church is Jesus, and brotherly discipline is its authority. God is the sole, eternal being, alone the good from which all things have their goodness and [integral] nature.

Q. How do you know Him?

A. I know Him in His omnipotence (by which He created the heavens and earth) that He created all things. [188b] All things should serve Him. Verily, heaven and earth and all creation should serve Him.

Q. What is the service of God?

A. The keeping of His commandments.

Q. What is the law?

A. Commandments, or law, is a binding of evil and an enabling of good.

Q. How many are His commandments?

A. Twice ten, they are written on the [stone] tablets of Moses, and they are reflected or displayed [written] in our hearts.

Q. Why were they given [to us]?

A. For two reasons: First, so that humankind would do the will of God. [Second], also so that they would learn to recognize themselves and the sin [within themselves].

Q. What is sin?

A. A certain movement or desire against the will of God that awakens in us.

Q. What is repentance?

A. An accusation of sin, accompanied by a heavy heart for opposing God, [and] the intention to do good.

Q. What is faith?

A. Faith according to the "12 Articles" is a living faith, to be executed [enforced] through the works of the spirit. [189a]

Q. What are the works of the spirit?

A. Love, joy, peace, humility, friendliness, goodness, belief, courage, truth, moderation.

F. Wolliches sein die werckh des fleischs.

A. Eebruch, huererey, vnrainigkait, abgoterey, zauberey, feindtschafft, [?]ader, eifer, zorn, zanckh, zweitracht, secten hass mordt, fressen saufen, vnnd der gleichen.

F. Wen [wan?] bistu ein Crist worden?

A. Da ich mich nach dem Exempel Cristi, got vndergebe[n] gab, Gerechtigkait auf diser Erdt willig in mir zu erdulden, wi[e] auch Cristus für die gantz welt geliten hat, auf d[a]z wir seinen fuesstapffen sollen nach volgen, wie vns dan[n] Cristus gelehret hat.

TAUFF DES GEISTES IST EIN INWENDIG ERLEUCHTERUNG des Geist[e]s und hertzen, so geschichts vom heilligen Geist, durch [189b] d[a]z lebenndig wort Gotes, d[a]z wort ist lebendig, so es glaubt vnd darnach gelebt wiert.

TAUFF DES WASSERS IST EIN EÜSSERLICH ZEUCKNUß, des innwendigen pundts so der mensch mit Got durch Cristum gemachet hat.

TAUFF DES BLUETS IST EIN TAEGLICHE THÖDTUNG des fleischs im thodt, darbey alles Leiden vmb gotes willen, erdul[en] ergriffen wiert.

EUANGELION EIN GUETE BOTSCHAFFT VON Got außgangen, vnnd d[a]z menschliche [190a] Geschlecht salig zue machen, alle di[e] in Cristum glauben.

F. W[a]z sein di[e] Sex werckh der Ba[r]mhertzigkait.

A. Dem hungerigen speisen, die durstigen trenckhen, vnnd die allenden hausen, die nackhenden beklaiden, die kranckhen haimsuech[en], die gefangnen trossten.

F. Wer bistu.

A. Ein vernünfftig Creatur Gotes.

F. W[a]z ist vernunfft.

A. Es seindt alle kreffft des mensche[n], dar durch er redt, w[a]z begreifen mag.

F. Warumb hat diers got verlih[en], für alle andere Creatur.

A. D[a]z ich in preisen, erkennen, eere[n], loben, vnd lieben soll. A. d[a]z ainig ewig wesen, allain guet, wollichen alleding ir wesen haben.

F. Wie kanstu in kennen, dieweil er vnsichtbar ist.

A. In der Beschaffung himels vnd der erden, sampt allen Creaturen.

Q. What are the works of the flesh?

A. Adultery, whoredom, impurity, godlessness, magic, enmity, wrath, jealousy, rage, quarrelsomeness, religious hatred, murder, deceit, gobbling or guzzling, and the like.

Q. When did you become a Christian?

A. As I, according to Christ's example, gave myself in submission to God, willing to suffer [His] earthly justice within myself. As Christ suffered for the entire world, so we should follow in His footsteps as Christ has taught us.

BAPTISM OF THE SPIRIT IS AN INNER ENLIGHTENMENT²¹ of the Spirit and heart, which comes from the Holy Spirit through [189b] the living word of God. The Word is alive, as it is believed and lived out thereafter.

BAPTISM WITH WATER IS AN OUTER SIGN of the inner bond [covenant] that humankind has made with God through Christ.

BAPTISM WITH BLOOD IS A DAILY KILLING of the flesh in death, thereby all suffering will be taken up, suffered for God's sake.

GOSEL IS GOOD NEWS sent from God, and, to make humanity [190a] blessed, [to make] all believe in Christ.

Q. What are the six works of mercy?

A. To feed the hungry, give drink to the thirst, and to house all of them; to clothe the naked, visit the sick, comfort the imprisoned.

Q. Who are you?

A. A rational creation of God.

Q. What is reason?

A. It is all human power[s], through which one speaks, [and] may grasp something.

Q. Why did God bestow it upon you, before all other creation?

A. So that I might praise, confess, honor, laud, and love Him. He is the sole eternal being, [He] alone [is] the good, from which all things have their being.

Q. How can you recognize Him, since He is invisible?

A. In the ordering of the heavens and the earth, together with all creation.

²¹"All-caps" print represents the large, bold lettering of the original 1527/28 manuscript.

F. Was zaigen sÿ dir in dem an.

A. Dreÿ ding sicht die welt, der viert wil sÿ nit warneme[n]. Zum ersten, [190b] sein Allmechtigkait, dardurch er alle ding beschaffen, so krefftig vnnnd bis zum enndt behelten werden, zum and[er]n sein weißhait, in wollicher alleding verordnet, vnnnd regieret werden, zum dritten sein Guet, d[a]z alle Creatur auff erden, etw[a]z guets in im habe[n], zum vierdten sein gerechtigkeit, wirt die ganz welt nit beger[e]n, wie wenig sÿ darumb wissen wil.

F. Ist got nit auch barmhertzig.

A. Sein erbarmung ist in allen seinen werckhen.

F. Warumb wilstu sÿ dann nit.

A. Den[n] wir ein geschlecht auff erden, di[e] warlich erkennen.

F. Wolliches.

A. Die Cristen allain, wie sunst die gantz welt daruon schwatzen kan.

F. Was ist ein Christ.

A. Es ist ein zwierig geborner mensch.

F. Wie ist die d[a]z muglich.

A. In der Crafft gotes wol, einmal wierden wir alle menschen geboren, auß fleisch vnd bluet, d[a]z waiß[t] du vnnnd die ganntz welt, zum ander[n] aus got, wir er spricht, solt ich andere[n] [191a] fruchtbar machen, vnnnd selbs erfruchtbar bleiben. (Esai. 66)

F. Wan bistu ein Crist worden.

A. Da ich mich wie vor anzaigt.

F. Wer ist ein Crist.

A. Er ist ein Sun des lebendigen Gotes, ainmal geberen von ainer raine[n] Junkhfrau, von dem heiligen Geist empfangen, durch wollichen er auch gesalbt vnd versigelt ist, allen dene[n] so in in glauben, d[a]z sÿ warlich auch gebalbet, vnd versiglet werden zum ewigen leben, darumb ich auch ein Crist haiss, d[a]z ist ein gesalbter gotes, inn wollicher Cristus, taglich empfangen vnd geboren wiert.

F. Wie geschicht d[a]z.

A. Durch d[a]z euongeli[on], d[a]z wort gotes, so durch den Enngl Gabriel, d[a]z ist den Boten gotes, d[er] gsandt prediger verkündiget, gehort vnnnd behalten, damit d[a]z wort fleisch vnd hat wonung vnder vns.

Q. What do you see displayed in the world?

A. The world sees three things, the fourth they do not wish to discern. First, [190b] His omnipotence, through which He made all things, the power that will last until the [end of time]; additionally, His wisdom, through which all things are ordered and will be governed; third, His goodness, so that all earthly creatures have some good within; fourth, His justice, which the entire world does not desire, since it knows so little about it.

Q. Is God not also merciful?

A. His mercy is in all His works.

Q. Why, then, do other people not desire it?

A. Because we [Christians] are a house upon the earth who truly recognize it [God's mercy].

Q. Who are these [who recognize God's mercy]?

A. The Christians alone, regardless of how the world may babble on about it.

Q. What is a Christian?

A. He is a twice-born person.

Q. How is that possible?

A. In the very power of God all people are born from flesh and blood, as you and the whole world knows. Then from God, as He says, I should make others [191a] fruitful and remain fruitful myself (Isa 66).

Q. When did you become a Christian?

A. I explained that before.

Q. Who is a Christian?

A. He is a son of the living God, [who] was once born from a pure virgin, conceived by the Holy Spirit, through whom He is also anointed and sealed, so that all who believe in Him are [themselves] truly anointed and sealed for eternity. Therefore I am also called a Christian, an anointed one of God's, in whom Christ is conceived and born every day.

Q. How does this take place?

A. Through the Gospel, the Word of God, which was pronounced by the angel Gabriel, God's messenger, He was sent as a preacher. He was heard and He kept His message, so that the Word would become flesh and dwell among us.

F. Bekennt doch der merer thail menschen ein gantzen dritten thail der welt, d[a]z wort sei fleisch word[en], wie Johannes bezeuget, so seindt sÿ [191b] all Cristen.

A. Nain, sÿ sein darumb nit Cristen, sunder die da bekennen, d[a]z Cristus in ir fleisch kumen sei, der laider wenig seindt.

F. D[a]z bekennen, kumbt aus dem erkennen, weiter seindt dann mer erkandtnuß Cristi, dann ainer.

A. Ja. Es seindt zwu erkandtnuß Cristi, ainer leiblich, vnnd aine geistlich.

F. Wolliche erkennen Cristum leiblich.

A. Alle mundt Cristen erkennen d[a]z, d[a]z er empfangen, geliten, vnd gemartert sei, Ja, d[a]z er sitz zue d[er] rechten gotes, aber sÿ wollen in weder empfangen, oder geboren noch leiden.

F. Wolliche kennen in geistlich.

A. Die da glauben vnd bekenne[n], mit hertzen mundt vndt that, d[a]z im Cristus sei empfangen gebor[e]n vnd leidt.

F. W[a]z ist glaub[en].

A. Es schwetzt die ganz welt so vil vom glaupe[n] vnnd ein yeder leerer, macht ein besunder entschuldigung darab, wollichen ich für mich nimb, so findt d[en?] ander ein anstoss, ich wil dir aber [192a] gern sagen, w[a]z mein glaub ist, ein sicher vnnd gewiss vertrauwen, d[a]z got mein vater sei, vnnd ich sein kindt.

F. D[a]z glaubt der Judt auch.

A. Es ist war, sÿ seindt vnder allen völkher der welt erwolt, worden zue kinder gotes, darumb auch Christus Jesus der Sun des lebendigen gotes, von im nach dem fleisch geben hat müessen, in wollichem sÿ got hat wollen verg[e]wissen, wie er dan[n] durch di[e] Propheten, Esaias vnd Jeremias hat kundt gethon, Ja auch durch iren möyse, die weil sÿ aber den ueruolgt, verachtet haben, vnd die verg[e]wissung in die gantz welt, allen völkher[n] verkündigen lassen, alle die sÿ annemen, freÿ gemacht haben, kinder gotes zu werden, also ist der vnderscheidt zwischen [mir?] vnd Juden nit, den erst vergwisst zu werden, wa[n?] sein messias kumbt.

F. Wer hat dich verg[e]wisst.

A. Got selbs.

F. Durch woÿ [?]

A. Durch den geist Cristi in meinem hertzen empfangen[n].

Q. Do not the majority of people, an entire third of the world, profess that the Word has become flesh, as John testified, so that they [191b] are all Christian?

A. No, they are not therefore, Christians, but only those who profess that Christ has come in *their* flesh, who, unfortunately, are very few.

Q. That profession, comes from the recognition that there are then more understandings of Christ than one?

A. Yes, there are two understandings of Christ, one physical and one spiritual.

Q. Who professes the physical Christ?

A. The mouths of all [so-called] Christians proclaim it, that He was conceived, suffered and crucified. Yea, and He sits at the right of God. They, however, will not suffer either to conceive in themselves or bear Him.

Q. Who knows Him spiritually?

A. Those who believe and profess, with their hearts, mouths, and deeds, that Christ is conceived, born, and suffers in them.

Q. What is faith?

A. The whole world chatters so much about faith, and every teacher makes a particular apology about it. I even take this role for myself when another finds an objection to the faith. However, I will [192a] gladly state what my faith is to you: a sure and certain trust that God is my Father and I am His child.

Q. The Jews believe that as well.

A. True. They were chosen from among all the peoples of the world as the children of God. Therefore, must Christ Jesus, the Son of the living God, be born from them according to the flesh, in whom God wished to justify them [the Jews], as He had had proclaimed through the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah? Yes, also through their Moses. Since they [the Jews] persecuted and disdained Him, and the revelation was proclaimed to all peoples, He made all who accepted them [God's teachings] free to be children of God. Thus the difference between me and the Jews will be verified when His Messiah comes, for whom each party is looking.

Q. Who justified you?

A. God Himself.

Q. Through whom?

A. Through the Spirit of Christ received into my heart.

F. Den [192b] berüemen sich alle Pabstler, ja sundlich die grossen doctores.
 A. O Lieben Brüeder, d[a]z ist nit bewert [?], Paulus spricht, der sich selbs rüembt, sunder den got rüembt, d[a]z ist durch wolliche got sein geist, in die Crafft bringet, wie er auch in die Crafft von [indistinct symbol] in [?] die werck kumen, vnd von dem vater bracht ist worden, dardurch den Sun berüembt vnd erklet ist worden.

F. Wie kumbt der geist Cristi in die Crafft.

A. So sich d[er] mensch selbs verleugnet, willigelich auff sich nimbt sein Creütz, volgt Cristi nach.

F. Hastu dein selbs verleugnet.

A. Auß der Crafft gotes thue ich taglich, als oft ich meine[n] aigen willen brich, vnd mich des willens meines vaters befeisse, die im himel ist.

F. Hastu auch ein freÿen willen.

A. Ja, ÿe freÿer er ist herwiderumb ÿeweiter von Got ÿngefangner, denn so yemandt der sun freÿ macht, der ist warlich freÿ.

F. W[a]z is dann dein Creütz. [193a]

A. Er ist anfencklich der alt Adam, die alten Tückh, so sich in mir rüeren, wider den geist der mich oft gar in die erden druckht, so er so gar nichts widerwartigs leiden wil. Zum andern die wollust vnd begierigkait, die feuren pfeil des feindts so ich widerwillen empfindt in meinem fleisch, zue creützigem d[a]z selb. Zum dritten den so wart ich auf d[a]z creütz, so mir mein vater mit gnaden schicken wiert, nach sein willen, wie er auch Cristi geschickht hat, do sein Sündt kam.

F. [?]des sins, so muesst ir all gethodt werd[en] wie Cristus, ist gethodt worden.

A. Nain, sunder alle di[e] mit erbe[n] wollen, di[e] müessen auch mit leid[en] wie er ainen jätlichen verordnet nach der mass [?], so er vns aussthält, er waiß beß[er] w[a]z vns nutzt, dan[n] wir selbs.

F. Wie kümbts d[a]z er leiden zueschickht.

A. Der Criste Jesu warhafftig nachvolgen wil, bedarf [193b] bei diser welt nit gedencken, d[a]z er on leiden sein werden, wie es dann taglich erscheint.

F. Wie erkenn man die nachvolger Cristi.

A. Bei der lieb, so sÿ in ainem Geist, got vnd vater ir aller meinander verbunden sein.

F. Wie kan mans so balt [?] inne[n] werden, weil auch Türckhen vnd haiden an einander lieben.

A. Ja, haiden lieben die freundt, vndt bit für sÿ.

Q. Is that what all of the popes [192b] claim, nay even the great doctors?

A. Beloved brothers, it is not worthy, as Paul says, that one glorify oneself, but rather Him whom God glorifies, that is [the one] through whom God makes His spirit manifest. He is manifested in deeds, and is brought forth from the Father through whom the Son is glorified and made known.

Q. How is the Spirit of Christ made manifest?

A. In the following way: the person denies himself, willingly takes up his cross, [and] follows Christ.

Q. Have you denied yourself?

A. I do it every day through the power of God, whenever I break my own will and endeavor to do the will of my Father who is in heaven.

Q. Do you also have a free will?

A. Yes, the freer the will is then the furthest away is the realm where it is ensnared. For only the one who has been made free by the Son is truly free.

Q. What then is your cross? [193a]

A. To begin with, the old Adam, the old treachery that rests in me, which is directed against the Spirit, [and] which pushes me down even into the earth. It tolerates nothing against itself. Additionally, there remain lust and greed, the fiery darts of the enemy, which I unwillingly sense in my flesh. These crucify my flesh. Third, I await the cross that my Heavenly Father will mercifully send me according to His will, as He also sent Christ to be “sin” in His own body [for our sins].

Q. Then all of you must be killed, as Christ was killed?²²

A. No, rather all who wish to inherit with [Christ] must also suffer with Him as He designated to each according to His measure. As He distributed to us, He knows better than we do what benefits us.

Q. Why does He send suffering?

A. He who truly wishes to imitate Christ, [193b] may not think that this world will be without suffering, as is made clear every day.

Q. How does one recognize the followers of Christ?

A. By the love that binds them together in one Spirit, God, and Father.

Q. How can one come in so quickly, for Turks and heathen also love one another.

A. Yes, heathen love their friends and pray for them.

²²Two unclear words precede this question.

F. Durch wie hastu dich zu im verbunden.

A. Durch den geist Crist, Ja innwendig durch di[e] tauff, auch eüsserlich die dan[n] ein pundt zeichen ist der Cristen.

F. Warum hastu dich tauffen lassen, warstu doch dennoch wol ein Crist.

A. D[a]z ist war, so ich den tauff nicht gehabt mocht, weil ich aber die zeuckhnu[ß] des wassers, zue sampt der zeuck[h]nuß des geists hab mügen haben, sei got gelobt, es spricht Johannes in seiner epistl, d[a]z drei zeuge[n] sein, der geist des wassers vnd der bluets [194a] die seindt ains, d[a]z ist sy sollen bey einander sein, dann, sy gehören in ains.

F. Wo hastu dan[n] die zeuckhnuß des bluets.

A. In mei[ne]m Creütz, wi[e] ich dir gesagt hab.

F. Bistu doch in deiner kindthait getaufft worde[n].

A. Es ist war, aber nit nach ordnung Cristi.

F. W[a]z ist nach der ordnung Cristi tauffen.

A. D[a]z man die innwendig des geists tauffs, von got empfacht, die doch kumbt, durch d[a]z gehore, d[a]z wort gotes kumbt aus dem d[a]z pundt zeichen anneme[n].

F. Wo hat Cristus verboten kinder zu tauff[en].

A. Wo hat ers erlaubt, den sollen wir doch nichts thuetz, dan[n] wo ers vns leeret vnd erlaubt, du wirst nichts thuen w[a]z dich guet dunckht.

F. Hat doch Christus verschafft, die eselin vnnd fullin zue im zufüeren, aber darumb nit tauffen, du waist mein brueder, d[a]z du di[e] kinder nit mer leiblich zue Cristo kanst bringe[n] die weil er immer leiblich da ist, als er leiblich zue Jerusalem was [194b] sund[er] schaw, d[a]z du sy im geist vnnd durch die vnderweisung des willen gotes zue im bringest, da hab von der wier geen, herfließ, vnd last sy nit aller Bosßhait auf wachs[en] wie bißher geschehen ist, so bringstu sy recht zue Cristo.

A. Zaig mir ain ainig geschriff, d[a]z di[e] Lamblen vnd knablen nit tauffen soll, weil sy de Juden allzeit geweschen haben, ee dann sy sy geopffert hab[en].

F. Eÿ das ist gewiß, d[a]z di[e] tauff allain für di[e] menschen ist verordnet, vnd nit für alle die Lamblein.

A. Warumb taufft man[n] dann di[e] Juden vnnd haiden nit, seindt sy doch auch menschen.

Q. How are you bound to Him [God]?

A. Through the Spirit of Christ. Yea, internally through baptism, also outwardly it is a sign of allegiance to Christ for Christians.

Q. Why did you have yourself baptized? Were you not already a Christian?

A. That is true. If I had not wished to have the baptism, I would still be a Christian. However, because I wished to have the sign of the water together with the sign of the Spirit, God must be praised. John says in his letter that there are three marks: Spirit, water and blood. [194a] The three are one, that is, they should be side by side; they belong in one.

Q. Where do you have the sign of blood?

A. In my cross, as I have told you.

Q. Were you not baptized in your childhood?

A. That is true, but not according to the rule of Christ.

Q. What is it to be baptized according to the rule of Christ?

A. One receives the baptism of the Spirit internally from God. This comes through the hearing of the Word of God, [and] then from accepting the sign [of baptism].

Q. Where did Christ forbid the baptism of children?

A. Where did He allow it? We should do nothing except what He teaches and allows. You shall not do what you simply think is good.²³

Q. Did not, however, Christ manage to lead the young asses and foals to Himself, but not to baptize them? You know, my brother, that you cannot any longer bring children physically to Christ, although He is always physically there, as He [was] physically [194b] in Jerusalem. This especially shows, that you bring them to God in the Spirit, and through instruction in the will of God. And you do not permit all kinds of evil to grow, as has happened before.²⁴ Thus you bring them correctly to Christ.

A. Show me a single text [that says] that the lambs and little boys should not be baptized; for the Jews have always washed them, before they sacrificed them.

Q. It is certain that baptism is designated for people alone, and not for lambs.

A. Why are the Jews and heathen not baptized, for they are human, too?

²³The roles of the examiner and the responder appear to change over the next few questions and answers.

²⁴This sentence begins with two unclear words.

F. Sy seindt aber nit glaubig.

A. Doagara [?], so tauft ma[n] allain die glaubigen, vnnnd beuelcht die kinder, dieweil der barmhertzigkait gotes, bis sy d[a]z worts behaglich werden, darnach thue man[n] fleis[?] vnuermaligte Braut Christo zue vermahlen.

F. Wirt er dan[n] taglich in dir empfangen.

A. Nein, sunder [195a] in denen die Cristen werden.

F. Wie wirt ainer ein Crist.

A. So er hort d[a]z wort gotes, vnnnd behalt d[a]z selbig in im, richt all sein leben darnach.

F. W[a]z thuet er in dir.

A. Er waxt taglich bis er geboren wirt.

F. Wann wirt er geboren.

A. Wann ich sterb, dan[n] in Cristum sterben haist ein geburt, als got derzuo Cristo sagt, nach seiner Ur steendt, vnd heut hab ich dich gebore[n].

F. Wirt der nit auch geboren, so er Leidt veruolgung betrüebnuß schelt[en?] wort, vnnnd der gleichen von seinet wegen.

A. Nein, sunder es sindt schmerzzen vnd [unclear word] der geburt, wie Cristus seinen jungern sagt, vom schwangern weib die geboren.

F. Du redst gleich, als sei dein fleisch Cristi fleisch.

A. So der Cristus in mir ist, so ist namlich mein fleisch verwandelt in seins, dann ich erken[ne] mich ein glidt des leibs.

F. Wie kan d[a]z sein, steckht doch dein fleisch voller sunden.

A. Wen[n] ich d[a]z selb nit erkennet, [195b] hiet [?] mich dem vater nit vnd gebe[n] in seines suns ebenbildt zue vernewren.

F. Wie hastu dich im ergeben.

A. D[a]z ich in allem meinem thuen vnd lassen, wortenn werckhenn vnd gedannckhenn, ein auffmerckhen hab auf den willenn gotes, denn selbenn zue volstretchen, inn mir vnnnd allenn denn meinigen.

F. Wer kann das thuenn.

A. Ein Crist leicht, dann es ist von ewigkait nie gehört, d[a]z ai[ne]m misslungenn wer, der sich des willen gotes gefleissen hat.

Q. But they are not believers.

A. Hence, one baptizes only believers, and commands it for children in the mercy of God, until the Word is comfortable for them. Afterward, one strives²⁵ to wed the unwed bride, Christ.

Q. Will He then be conceived in you every day?

A. No, rather [195a] in those who will become Christians.

Q. How does one become a Christian?

A. He hears the Word of God, sustains it within himself, and directs all his life toward it.

Q. What does He [Christ] do within you?

A. He grows daily until He is born.

Q. When is He born?

A. When I die, for in Christ to die signifies a birth. For God said to Christ, at the appointed hour, today, I have given birth to You.

Q. Was He [Christ] not also born as He was suffering persecution, despair and scolding words and the like?

A. No, rather they are the pains of birth. As Christ says to His disciples, they are like the little ones born from pregnant women.

Q. You talk as if your flesh is the flesh of Christ.

A. As Christ is in me, so is my flesh transformed into His, for I proclaim myself a member of the body [of Christ].

Q. How can that be, since your flesh is pierced full of sin?

A. If I did not proclaim that, [195b] then my Father would not protect me and give me His Son's likeness to renew [me].

Q. How have you submitted to Him?

A. In that I attend to the will of God in all my deeds and rest, words, works and thoughts, in order to accomplish this in myself and to claim all that is mine.

Q. Who can do that?

A. Certainly a Christian can, for in all eternity it has never been heard that one who eagerly has done the will of God has failed [i.e., been rejected by God].

²⁵The meaning of this word is unclear.

F. Wer sagt mir denn willenn Gotes allzeit.

A. So wiert ein Crist, so wiert dir der willenn Gotes geoffenbaret.

Q. Who is he who shows me the will of God continuously?

A. He will be a Christian, and thus will the will of God be revealed.