

eventually disappeared from the historic stage. The Philipites turned Swiss. Gabriel developed in a spiritualist direction that had been latent among certain Anabaptists from the beginning but was likely furthered by dialogue with Schwenckfeldians and or Czech Brethren. His synthesis of Anabaptism and irenic spiritualism, with its nostalgia for uncoerced first love and its evident disillusionment resulting from quarrels and schisms, betrays also certain Nicodemite tendencies. How much ordinary members understood of his finer distinctions between divine and human wisdom, his desire for a more liturgical celebration of the Lord's Supper, or his baptismology is unclear. Representative of the first-generation charismatic leadership, Gabriel may have become too dazzled by the inner light to lead the way to needed organizational structures that might have assured the survival of his people as a distinct group. No successors with the required leadership qualities emerged after his death. Even before his death in 1545 a number of his followers joined the Hutterites. A small remnant did so in 1565.¹⁰⁵ With them the Gabrielites, like the Philipites, the Austerlitz Brethren, and the Pilgramites, would disappear.

The followers of Hutter, on the other hand, survived. They too had been forced to disperse in 1535 and in number of martyrs outsuffered the other groups. Led by Hans Amon, they clung to Hutter's instructions and to Moravia in the hope of better times with the goal of reverting to communal living as soon as possible. This strategy, although severely tested not only in 1535-36 but again in the 1540s, proved correct. When conditions finally improved, the survivors rallied to live in strict community. By 1560 they stood on the threshold of their "golden years."

APPENDIX A
Three Early Anabaptist Congregational Orders

I	II	III
<i>The Swiss Order</i> [1527] or <i>The Congregational Order</i>	<i>The Discipline</i> [1529] or <i>Discipline of the Believers: How a Christian Is to Live</i>	<i>The Scharnschlager Order</i> [1540] or <i>A Church Order For Members Of Christ's Body Arranged in Seven Articles</i> by Leopold Scharnschlager
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"Children, let all your works be done in order with good intent in the fear of God, and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season."—Testament of Naphtali II, 9

Paul says in 1 Corinthians 14:40, "Let all things be done decently and in order." Likewise, Colossians 2:5: "I rejoice when I see your order and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ." (Marginal glosses beside the quote from Naphtali read *yesterday*, beside the quote from Paul, *today*.)

Since the almighty eternal and merciful God has made His wonderful light break forth in this world and [in this] most dangerous time, we recognize the mystery of the divine will, that the Word is preached to us according to the proper ordering of the Lord, whereby we have been called into His fellowship. Therefore, according to the command of the Lord and the teachings of His apostles, in Christian order, we should observe the new commandment in love

Since the almighty God and heavenly Father is permitting His eternal and all-powerful Word to be proclaimed to all creatures in these most perilous times (Colossians 1) and has called us at this time out of pure grace into His marvelous light (1 Peter 3) to one body, one spirit, and one faith, united in the bonds of love (Ephesians 4; 1 Corinthians 1), to which we have all agreed, in order that our calling be found worthy, not only with the word of the mouth but in the truth and power (2

Since our heavenly Father, to whom be eternal praise, honor, and thanksgiving, has in these last days called us from darkness into his marvellous light through knowledge of his holy truth, and since we are all baptized and have decided to become one body in Jesus Christ regardless of where we may be located in the world, therefore if we are to achieve our calling not only in words but also in deed and in truth, it is necessary that we follow the order through which

not in every

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one toward another, so that love and unity may be maintained, which all brothers and sisters of the entire congregation [*Gemein*] should agree to hold to as follows:

1. The brothers and sisters should meet at least three or four times a week, to exercise themselves in the teaching of Christ and His apostles and heartily to exhort one another to remain faithful to the Lord as they have pledged.

Thesalonians 1; 1 Thesalonians 4; James 1), we have all in one another's presence openly agreed to regulate everything in the best possible way. For the improvement of our brotherhood [*Gemein*, so translated throughout], for the praise and honor of the Lord, and for the service of all the needy, we have unanimously agreed that this *Ordnung* shall be kept among us by all the brethren and sisters. When, however, a brother or sister is able to produce a better *Ordnung* it shall be accepted from him at any time (1 Corinthians 14).

2. In the second place: we shall sincerely and in a Christian spirit admonish one another in the Lord to remain constant (Hebrews 10:1; Acts 14, 15, 18; Colossians 1). To meet often, at least four or five times, and if possible . . . even at mid-week (1 Corinthians 11, 14; Acts 1, 2, 9, 11, 20; Hebrews 10; 2 Corinthians 6; Matthew 18).

we exist in love and can be exhorted and corrected, since indeed all things exist through order. In the following such an order is written down in articles. Nevertheless daily changes for improvement according to the nature and opportunities of the times we allow for.

1. First: because manifold deceptions are everywhere making inroads it is necessary that the called, committed, and obligated members of Christ's body, wherever they may be in the world or in distress, insofar as it is possible, should not neglect the assemblies (Hebrews 10:25), but wherever and however they may, according to the place and the persecutions gather together for the sake of their love for Christ, be their number small or great, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 15, 20, more or less. Such meetings should take place with

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2. When the brothers and sisters are together, they shall take up something to read together. The one to whom God has given the best understanding shall explain it, the others should be still and listen, so that there are not two or three carrying on a private conversation, bothering the others. The Psalter shall be read daily at home.

7. In the seventh place: in the meeting one is to speak and the others listen and judge what is spoken, and not two or three stand together (1 Corinthians 14). No one shall curse or swear (Matthew 5; Romans 3; James 5) nor shall idle gossip be carried on, so that the weak may be spared (1 Corinthians 1; Ephesians 5; Colossians 3; 2 Timothy 2; Psalm 118). [*Geschichtbuch* here cites only Ecclesiasticus 23.]

wisdom, skill, reason, discipline, friendliness, and quiet demeanor especially since we see the day of the Lord drawing near. The Lord says: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them" (Matthew 18:20).

2. Secondly: when they come together, they shall, where there is no special leader [*Vorsteher*], select someone competent from among them, and admonish him in a friendly and loving manner to read or speak to them according to the gift which he has received from God. Someone may also volunteer to serve out of love. One may follow another in speaking according to the way in which they receive, as Paul teaches (1 Corinthians 14), and thus exercise his gifts for the improvement of the members, so that our fellowship may not be the same as that of the falsely renowned, where only one and no one else can speak.

Before, however, they begin to speak let them fall on their knees (1 Timothy 2:1) and faithfully call upon God that he may add fruit to their speaking. After the talk

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diligently admonish one another to walk according to the will of the Lord, to remain constantly in him, to watch faithfully and to wait for the Lord until he comes (Matthew 24:42; 26:41; Luke 12:35 ff.) that we may be found without blemish before him (Philippians 2:15) and that not only here but much more in the next world we may together be with the Lord and also may rejoice eternally (Isaiah 4:2f.). Furthermore, before dispersing call upon the Lord and intercede for all members, also for cases of special need, and for all men according to the directive of our beloved brother Paul (1 Timothy 2:1 ff.). Thanksgiving for all of God's gifts and good deeds (1 Thessalonians 5:17f.) should also be expressed and upon occasion according to convenience before dispersing, bread should be broken together in memory of the death of the Lord (1 Corinthians 11:24).

1. And beginning when the brethren are together they shall sincerely ask God for grace that He might reveal His divine will and help us to note it (Psalm 86, 118) and when the brethren

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3. Let none be frivolous in the church of God, neither in words nor in actions. Good conduct shall be maintained by them all also before the heathen.

4. When a brother sees his brother erring, he shall warn him according to the command of Christ, and shall admonish him in a Christian and brotherly way, as everyone is bound and obliged to do out of love.

part they shall thank God and pray for all the brethren and sisters of the entire brotherhood (1 Thessalonians 1, 5; 2 Thessalonians 1, 2; 2 Corinthians 1; Colossians 1, 3, 4).

6. In the sixth place: decent conduct [*ehrbarer Wandel*] shall be kept among them (Romans 12, 13; Philippians 1, 2; 1 Peter, 2, 3; 1 Corinthians 1, 3; Galatians 5; Ephesians 5) before everyone (Titus 3; Matthew 5; 1 Peter 3) and no one shall carelessly conduct himself before the brotherhood either in words or deeds (Romans 1, 6; 2 Timothy 2), nor before those who are "outside" (1 Thessalonians 5; 1 Peter 3).

3. In the third place: when a brother or sister leads a disorderly life it shall be punished: if he does so publicly [he] shall be kindly admonished before all the brethren (Galatians 2, 6; 1 Corinthians 5; 2 Thessalonians 3); if it is secret it shall be punished in secret, according to the command of Christ (Matthew 18).

6. Sixthly: when a brother or sister is overtaken by vices of the flesh, false teaching, licentious living and being, or in other cases of word or deed, there shall always be disciplined, modest, sincere admonition and correction from the leaders in trembling and fear of God, in love (Galatians 6:1; Matthew 18:15 ff.) Diligent attention is to be paid in each case of transgression be it secret or open, large or small, one warning or

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more, how the person is dealt with according to gentleness and sharpness, patience and impatience. For correction and excommunication must be distinguished according to the actual circumstances and according to the witness of the Scriptures, so that everything take place according to the spirit of love and not according to the nature of the flesh (Titus 3:13; 1 Corinthians 5:1 ff.; Romans 2:1 ff.; Ephesians 5:11 ff.; 1 Corinthians 6:5). The power of Christ is not a power to destroy or to exercise tyranny, but to improve, that also for Christ his bride may be kept pure, everywhere, both for those within as well as those outside the church so that an honorable, inoffensive walk may result and that no one block or make difficult the way and road to Christ and his kingdom.

5. Of all the brothers and sisters of this congregation none shall have anything of his own, but rather, as the Christians in the time of the apostles held all in common, and especially stored up a common fund, from which aid can be given to the poor, according as each will have need, and as in the

4. In the fourth place: every brother or sister shall yield himself in God to the brotherhood completely with body and life, and hold in common all gifts received of God (Acts 2 and 4; 1 Corinthians 11, 12; 2 Corinthians 8, 9), [and] contribute to the common need so that brethren and sisters will always be helped

5. Fifthly: since the example of the primitive church in Jerusalem (Acts 4:32-5:11) is misunderstood by some giving rise to error and contempt, special sects and the like, and some have made of this example a law, a requirement, a fetter, even almost a carnal righteousness, demand, and the like, therefore let us

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apostles' time permit no brother to be in need.

(Romans 12); needy members shall receive from the brotherhood as among the Christians at the time of the apostles (Acts 2, 4, 5; 1 Corinthians 11, 12; Ephesians 4; Proverbs 5; Matthew 8, 15, 16, 17, 19; Luke 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 18; 1 John 1, 2, 3, 4; Mark 3, 10, 12; Galatians 6; Hebrews 13; Daniel 4, 8; Luke 6, 8; 1 Timothy 1; 1 Corinthians 14, 16; Romans 6, 18; James 1; Philippians 2).

recognize that in the early church at Jerusalem the sharing of goods was a voluntary matter and further observe what took place after the dispersion of the church from there. Even Paul wrote about sharing material possessions and community of goods (Romans 15:25 ff.; 1 Corinthians 16:1 ff.; 2 Corinthians 9:1 ff.) and we likewise in true apostolic character are to pay heed that the bride and flock of Christ be not forced, but may be lead and fed voluntarily. Therefore the one who gathers funds [*Steuer-sammler*] is to pay heed, to accept the smallest gift without despising it, just as he does the greater (Luke 21:1-4) from both the rich and the poor, and faithfully thank both God and the giver. After that leave it to the Lord. For even though someone says, with worldly wisdom, "Ah, after all everyone has agreed to this and committed himself to it, why not diligently demand whatever is necessary?" we answer: The order of the Holy Spirit will not permit it. This work is not of man, just as it was not the flesh which initially promised or agreed. Therefore it must be

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6. All gluttony shall be avoided among the brothers who are gathered in the congregation; serve a soup or a minimum of vegetable and meat, for eating and drinking are not the kingdom of heaven.

8. In the eighth place: when the brethren assemble they shall not fill up with eating and drinking, but avoid expenses [reduce expenditures] to the least, [eat] a soup and vegetable or whatever God gives (1 Corinthians 11; 1 Peter 4; Galatians 5; Romans 13; Ephesians 5; Ecclesiastes 37; Luke 21), and when they have eaten, all the food and drink shall again be removed [*Geschichtbuch*: "from the table"] (John 6; Matthew 4; Luke 9; Mark 6), for one should use with thanksgiving and moderation the creatures which God has created, pure and good, for our subsistence.

sought not in the fleshly nature but in the spiritual. Otherwise we disrupt the voluntary nature of God's relation to his people.

4. Fourthly: since there is a shortage of faithful workers who correctly, wisely and in good conscience faithfully seek for the lost and labor for the Lord in his vineyard (1 Thessalonians 5:12f.) and in turn daily causes much confusion, error and offense, there is an urgent need that when such a faithful worker is found and detected he be given due respect (Hebrews 13:7) and obeyed, for he is worthy of a double honor (according to the words of Paul, 1 Timothy 5:17). Share with him every good thing (Galatians 6:9f.) and all the support possible, as he may need in addition to work he is able to do on the side, so that he may not depreciate the messengers and workers of the Lord for whom we pray daily (Luke 10:2) lest the Lord allow us to be scattered abroad without shepherds. This applies not only for the sake of the ones who have seen the truth but also for the sake of the weak, milk-drinking vegetarians

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7. The Lord's Supper shall be held as often as the brothers are together, thereby proclaiming the death of the Lord, and thereby warning each one to commemorate, how Christ gave His life for us, and shed His blood for us, that we might also be willing to give our body and life for Christ's sake, which means for the sake of all the brothers.

11. When brethren and sisters are together, being one body and one bread in the Lord and of one mind, then they shall keep the Lord's Supper as a memorial of the Lord's death (Matthew 26; Mark 14; Luke 22; 1 Corinthians 11), whereby each one shall be admonished to become conformed to the Lord in the obedience of the Father (Philippians 2, 3; 1 Peter 2, 4; Romans 8; 1 John 2. Obedience: Romans 2; Philippians 2; 2 Corinthians 2, 10; 2 Thessalonians 1; 1 Peter 1).

1 Corinthians 3:2; Hebrews 5:12; Romans 14:2) and for the sake of those who in the future will be gathered to the Lord.

7. Seventhly: concerning teaching, baptizing, and the Lord's Supper, these are to be observed according to the content of the commission and practice of the Lord and his apostles, nor changed or perverted, nor anything to be added or taken from it (Deuteronomy 4:2; 12:32; Proverbs 30:6), as it happens among the antichrists and the falsely renowned. At all times each brother and sister is to be guided in all their actions by the secrets of the essential Christian faith, and whatever the Lord has entrusted to him to bear before the world with a clear conscience, to prevent the blasphemy of Christ's name, Word and honor. Whatever other matters and errors arise in daily life, they are to perceive them and act with godly fear according to the gospel of Christ (Philippians 1:27), corresponding to the faith and serving for the improvement and edification of everyone. We are to follow him faithfully and renounce

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all unrighteousness of words, works and manner of life, flee from it, abstain and separate ourselves from it (2 Corinthians 6:17). To the honor of God and of our bridegroom Jesus Christ in order that when he comes we may joyfully appear before him in holy adornment arrayed in the Holy Spirit (Matthew 24) so that he may fully possess what he acquired for us and prepared through his precious blood (John 14). Therefore we pray to our heavenly father that he may help us to accomplish this and achieve it through Jesus Christ his beloved son, our Lord, to whom be praise, honor, and majesty in the Holy Spirit from eternity to eternity. Amen.

In Christ the Lord, a brother by grace and a servant of the truth, also a partner in the tribulation which is in Christ, *Leupolt Scharnschlager*.

5. The elders [*Vorsteher*] and preachers chosen for the brotherhood shall with zeal look after the needs of the poor, and with zeal in the Lord according to the command of the Lord extend what is needed for the sake of and instead of the brotherhood (Galla-

3. Thirdly: when assembled in this manner, a leader if present (if not, any other elderly brother [1 Corinthians 14]) shall remember for the sake of the Lord the poor members with words that are wise, sincere, gentle, transparent, not pressuring and yet earnest, em-

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tians 2; 2 Corinthians 8, 9; Romans 15; Acts 6).

phatic words, that thereby hearts may be moved to a voluntary expression of compassion and grow into the nature and power of love which is genuine and pleasing in the sight of God. Above all, there should always be present a brother with a purse of money known to all the members of the church, so that each member either in the meeting or after, when the Lord admonishes him to, may know where to place his free-will offering and his gift of gratitude so that at all times when the need arises the poor can be assisted according to the amount available at the time. Then the brother who cares for the fund shall distribute it with a good conscience and in the fear of God, paying diligent heed, whether they are needy or not, whether greedy or not, not as the world deals with the poor without testing and inquiring about their manner of life and walk. For this is a holy commission (Acts 6:1 ff.).

*Additional Articles
 in the Discipline with no
 precise overlap.*

9. In the ninth place:
 what is officially done

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among the brethren and sisters in the brotherhood [*Geschichtbuch*: "or is judged"] shall not be made public before the world. The good-hearted [an interested but not yet converted or committed] person, before he comes to the brethren in the brotherhood shall be taught [*Geschichtbuch*: "the Gospel"] (Mark 16; Romans 1; Colossians 1). When he has learned [*Geschichtbuch*: "understood"] and bears a sincere desire for it, and if he agrees to the content of the Gospel, he shall be received by the Christian brotherhood as a brother or a sister, that is, as a fellow member of Christ (Mattehow 7; Proverbs 19, 29; Colossians 4; Romans 14; 2 Corinthians 6; 1 Corinthians 10; 1 Timothy 6; Matthew 10). But this shall not be made public before the world to spare the conscience and for the sake of the spouse (1 Corinthians 9, 10; Matthew 15).

10. In the tenth place: all the brethren and sisters after they have committed themselves, shall accept and bear with patience all that He sends us [*Geschichtbuch*:

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"accept with gratitude and bear with patience" (Romans 6; John 13; Matthew 16; Luke 9; 1 Peter 4; 2 Corinthians 12), and [shall] not let themselves be easily frightened by every wind and cry.

12. In the twelfth place: as we have taught and admonished the brethren and sisters we shall always watch and wait for the Lord that we may be worthy to enter the kingdom with Him when He comes, and to escape or flee from the evil that will come to the world. Amen. (Matthew 25; Luke 21; 1 Thessalonians 5; 1 Peter 5; 2 Peter 3; Romans 2).

Arranged by Werner O. Packull, using the *Swiss Order* as a reference point.

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