Discipleship in Early Anabaptist Tradition: Inspiration for Today[1]

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This article explores some ideas and practices of discipleship in the early Anabaptist tradition which function as a source of inspiration for the present. What will we see, when as believers within baptistic communities we mirror our present convictions against the historic faith and practice of the radical believers of the sixteenth century? The article focuses on three aspects of discipleship: Christ-centredness and yielding to the Lordship of Christ, the communal dimension of obedience, and suffering as an expression of identifying with Christ.

The argument pursued in the following pages suggests that the Anabaptist discipleship experience in the sixteenth century has a potential not only to inspire, but also to enrich and deepen – perhaps even to correct – aspects of the understanding of discipleship in today's evangelical churches. In addition, the Anabaptist notion of 'following Christ' or *Nachfolge Christi* touched areas of Christian spirituality which in the twenty-first century are seldom linked with discipleship, such as baptism and the Lord's Supper, as well as embracing persecution. Talking about the Christian life, the post-Enlightenment evangelical traditions tend to use a language which is more rational and dogmatically loaded. In addition, an ethicist Glen Stassen describes extreme individualism as a modern spiritual problem: 'If I believe I am entirely self-sufficient, that I am disconnected from others … then I am much less likely to be open to experiencing God's presence in my life.'[2]

The Radical Reformation believers, instead of trying to create a systematic theology, 'tended to be pragmatic over intellectual, focusing on obeying Scripture rather than analyzing and categorizing its doctrines'. It is obvious that their 'main confessions concentrated on ecclesiological and ethical issues, not on theological matters.'[3] This inevitably meant that both individual and communal expressions of discipleship were orientated towards practical spirituality, instead of theological analysis, though the movement produced its own theologians. However, it is evident that these believers were convinced that the call for discipleship in the New Testament should be understood in a simple, straightforward and pre-critical way. This approach, though with variations, is shared by many dissenters who have been directly or indirectly influenced by the Anabaptists. James Wm McClendon has captured this approach in his famous key-phrase – 'this is that' – which underlines a kind of dynamic biblicism which he believed constitutes a 'baptist vision': 'The church now *is* the primitive church; *we* are Jesus' followers; the commands are addressed directly to *us*.'[4]

One could argue that pre-modern understanding of discipleship and a modern view of discipleship are located in different coordination points on the map of the Christian life. Early Anabaptist discipleship belongs rather to primary theology: it is less rationalised, more embedded in everyday practices of Christian faith, and lacking layers of scholarly argumentation. Modern approaches are often characterised by attempts that are more typical of secondary theology: striving to intellectually grasp the meaning and importance of discipleship, and in some cases following a system of set beliefs or principles rather than living the words of Jesus Christ. The second approach to discipleship may sometimes take a form of learning a list of propositional statements, 'core truths' of Christianity, Bible verses and catechetical 'mini-lessons'. Examples of this latter approach can be found easily from materials used in discipleship courses of present-day evangelical churches.[5] The language here is more of a 'learning by reading and reflecting' than that of a 'practice and apprenticeship'. The Anabaptist notion of discipleship focused on the person of Christ, on

obedience, and was seeking in practical ways to yield 'to God's will in all things as Jesus did'.[6] It was experiential. And it was costly – in the sense that it was often tested in hostile environments.

This is not to say that a rational-scholarly element was missing in sixteenth-century radical discipleship – the theological writings of Anabaptists, which were meeting both apologetic and identity shaping tasks, prove the ability of Anabaptists to biblically and logically argue their case. One may even say that, paradoxically, these documents of secondary theology are the major windows which allow a researcher today to explore the lived-out convictions of these believers. While making an effort to describe and interpret the primary theological beliefs of early Anabaptists, the scholars today rely mostly on the sources that bear the character of theological discourse which in one way or another have as a goal the presentation of the radical believers' views in a systematic way. The lived-out experience, the dynamics of grass roots-level *Nachfolge*, is mediated to us by predominantly written sources of apologetic, didactic or pastoral character.

There were, no doubt, a number of areas of discipleship – both personal and communal – in the early Anabaptist life. The three areas which will be touched upon in the following pages have not been chosen arbitrarily. The central role of Christ in discipleship, communal aspects of the Christian life, and awareness of suffering as part of a believer's journey, all pose a challenge for present-day evangelicals; these are topics which require continuous interpretation and reinterpretation in the course of Christian belief and practice. This is where the early Anabaptists can be helpful conversation partners.

Discipleship Centred in Christ

The sixteenth-century Anabaptists shared a conviction that 'a truly Christian life must begin in a recognition of the truth about human existence and the path back to God'.[7] This process included humble repentance and submitting oneself to God's sovereignty. Hans Denck wrote that a person has to come to God in repentance, not relying on 'his works or his faith'. The means to approach God in repentance is Christ, 'whom none may truly know unless he follow after him with his life'.[8] Hans Schlaffer, an Austrian Anabaptist, exclaimed in 1527: 'O Almighty and Merciful God! Because all of humanity lives in evil, blindness and error, and hatred fills the world, I pray to you to save all tenderhearted people from such blindness and error. Draw us to your wonderful light.'[9] The major error, as Schlaffer continues to argue in his treatise 'Instruction on Beginning a True Christian Life', was that his contemporaries, the 'so-called Christians' as the treatise said, did not 'show the slightest trace of Christian deeds'. However, the Anabaptist groups believed that a spiritual radical change, renewal of the Spirit or 'new birth', is needed to enable a person to live a life of discipleship. Indeed, everybody should know that 'in his own power it is impossible to live and do as a true believer or Christian should'.[10]

To explore a little more closely the question of *Nachfolge* that begins and centres in Christ, and requires a redemptive overcoming of human alienation from God, I will turn briefly to Balthasar Hubmaier's arguments. Certainly, Hubmaier does not encapsulate in his writings the full spectrum of Anabaptist spirituality. However, as a major proponent of early Anabaptist positions, he is a good starting point for further study of this topic. As a scholar he analysed and biblically explained the tasks and goals of the Christian life. As a radical believer, who was part of the dynamic early movement, his hermeneutical-theological method was linked both to biblical texts and to the radical believers' experience. Hubmaier has often

been 'regarded as a prototype of the Baptist movement', though 'there can be no talk of a direct historical and doctrinal continuity' between Hubmaier and the later Baptists.[11]

For Hubmaier, as well as for the Anabaptists in general, discipleship was not an isolated phenomenon, but was closely linked with the work of salvation in Christ. Without help and light from Christ a fallen human being was 'sickened and wounded ... and completely perplexed', and unable to perceive and do good; he was 'like an injured or feverish man'.[12] Heinz-Günther Süssdorf points out that Hubmaier uses the image of healing to describe the process of salvation and, as a consequence, 'salvation leads a repentant believer into a new life of commitment to Christ'.[13] Hubmaier states: 'Through such words of comfort the sinner is enlivened again, comes to himself, becomes joyful and henceforth surrenders himself to the physician.'[14] In this way, discipleship is a consequence of salvation; it follows from 'new birth' as the Anabaptist use of language expresses it. Through this salvific healing a human being is made capable of deeds of love and service.

Discipleship is deeply rooted in the believer's relationship with Christ, characterised by commitment, obedience and imitation of Christ. Arnold Snyder points out that for the sixteenth-century radical groups, 'saving faith must be manifested by a holy life of obedience';[15] however, it is important to remember that it is Christ who enables the believer to act according to God's will. Even if the Scripture is an important source of instruction for Christian life, it is nevertheless submitted to Christ whom the Scripture represents, 'since it is the friend of God'. 'The element of orientation towards Christ in discipleship becomes a hermeneutical key for Hubmaier.'[16]

For Hubmeier, *Nachfolge* involved both individual growth and commitment as well as communal spirituality. The personal aspect was expressed by the emphasis on the imitation of Christ. In the 'Eighteen Articles' in 1524, the pastor of Waldshut, himself still developing towards the more radical positions, wrote: 'The faith alone makes us pious before God.' The reference here is to holy character, not the legal connotations of *Gerechtigkeit* which was the general Protestant Reformation position. The central question for mainline reformers 'was whether a sinner was pardoned by God, having received mercy through faith'.[17] The central question for the early Anabaptists was whether faith was living or dead. The dead faith was unfruitful, the living faith 'produces the fruits of the Spirit and works through love'.[18] The main focus for this approach was not on *Gerechtigkeit* but on *Gelassenheit*, not on righteousness but on obedience.

Obedience to Christ was not separated from the obedience to the local church or 'brotherhood'. 'Brotherly admonition' and church discipline were inseparable from being obedient to Christ, indicating horizontal dimension of discipleship besides vertical relationship to Christ. However, the Anabaptists clearly rejected any physical violence in implementing corrective discipline in the believers' community.[19] 'Church is the arena of discipleship' – this is where a believer learns and experiences how to live a life of obedience to Christ's commands.[20] This understanding of discipleship had communal aspects which were expressed in mutual spiritual care as well as in practical help and support.

For Anabaptists, also, acceptance of ban and even excommunication were expressions of communal obedience. To stick to the example of Hubmaier, a reference to his use of Matthew 18 is appropriate as an illustration:

> When one sees his brother sin, he should go to him lovingly and reprove him fraternally in secret ... If he is not successful, let him take two or three witnesses with him, and reprove the offence before them on the second occasion. If the man submits, all is well; if not, let it be told to the church. The church will call him to appear before it and reprimand him a third time.[21]

In this perspective, obedience to Christ is not only a spiritual link with the Saviour, but also a visible mark of obedience to the community of brothers and sisters. As Thomas Finger explains: 'Faith is hardly individualistic, even though it is deeply personal.'[22]

In the twenty-first century when the practice of one's faith has shifted towards the private sphere of life, instead of the public and communal context, the Anabaptist conviction that the faith community has a say in Christian discipleship is an important reminder. This allows evangelical-baptistic traditions to evaluate their historical continuity and present integrity. Recently, this has been pointed out by Glen Stassen who argues for 'a thicker Jesus' – a practice in which incarnational discipleship is 'not merely a theoretical ideal', but 'a regular practice'.[23] Stassen argues for Christian involvement in the social and political arenas, which the early Anabaptists rejected. But this is another story. It is sufficient to underline here that for these sixteenth-century radical groups – at least for those who survived the test of time – the relationship with Christ was closely linked with supportive and obedient relationships between brothers and sisters.

In the following subsections some further areas of Anabaptist discipleship will be explored: baptism and the Lord's Supper as part of obedience, and suffering as an expression and practice of discipleship. I have selected these topics because they potentially help to expand the present evangelical notion of discipleship which, as already stated, too often lapses into individualism and rational interpretation.

Communal Aspects of Discipleship: Baptism and the Lord's Supper

The early Anabaptists, somewhat surprisingly for their present day soul mates, were seeking fellowship and interconnectedness in a number of spiritual practices which today are perceived predominantly as belonging to individual spirituality. For example, they certainly read the Bible for personal spiritual nourishment, but the interpretation of Scripture took place in a framework that has been described as 'communal hermeneutics' or 'congregational hermeneutics'. Although they had their own significant leaders and theologians, Anabaptist beliefs about the church and the work of the Spirit 'logically required a communal approach to biblical interpretation'.[24] The understanding of church as a brotherhood and certain patterns of communal living are widely associated with Anabaptists. And rightly so. What is illuminating for the present believers from evangelical circles is the fact that communal aspects in Anabaptist life helped to give meaning even to baptism and the Lord's Supper, which free church members tend to see today mainly from an individual faith perspective.

William Estep, the author of *The Anabaptist Story*, underlines that baptism was an important expression of obedience to Christ and an act of discipleship for Anabaptists. Not only did many Anabaptist leaders, such as Conrad Grebel, Balthasar Hubmaier, Hans Hut, Menno Simons and others, write about believer's baptism, but practising it under 'adverse circumstances' they chose the way of Christ and put their convictions into action. 'Indeed, understanding the place of baptism in Anabaptist life may well be the key to interpreting the Anabaptist views of discipleship and the church,' concludes Estep.[25]

Estep also says that baptism was 'the symbol of corporate discipleship of the visible church'.[26] I would argue that Estep was too modest in his wording. Baptism for Anabaptists was more than a symbol – it was a practical way of being obedient to the community, the brotherhood. While being 'a public confession and testimony of an inward faith' it was also an act of entering into a relationship of mutual support and admonition. A symbol is a concept or object that represents something else. There is not only similarity but also a significant distance between a symbol and what it signifies. For early Anabaptists the act of baptism not only represented the reality of being obedient to Christ and the community, but it was the 'thing' itself. This was a way of being obedient.

This obedience and commitment had two inseparable facets: they were oriented both towards Christ and towards members of the gathered community. Hubmaier said:

> Where baptism in water does not exist, there is no Church, no brother, no sister, no fraternal discipline, exclusion or restoration ... For there must be some outward sign of testimony by which brothers and sisters know one another, though faith be in heart alone. By receiving baptism, the candidate testifies publicly that ... he has submitted himself to his brothers and sisters – that is to the church. If he transgresses, they have power to admonish, punish, exclude and restore.[27]

Faith and inner transformation in the Spirit was expected from the baptismal candidate: 'There must be wine in the cellar before one hangs out the sign or the hoop of the keg, or it is a falsehood. Thus one must believe before one hangs out the sign of faith, or it will be hypocrisy.'[28] Michael Sattler emphasised a couple of years later another aspect: 'Baptism shall be given to all those who have been taught repentance and the amendment of life and [who] believe truly that their sins are taken away through Christ, and to all those who desire to walk in the resurrection of Jesus Christ and be buried with him in death, so that they might rise with him.'[29] Reference to Romans 6:4 is obvious.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in evangelical-baptistic circles, baptism was considered increasingly as an expression of inner regeneration and a personal witness to the newly found faith in Christ. This has been the widely accepted interpretation, with some exceptions, such as attempts by British Baptists to find more sacramental dimensions of baptism.[30] However, the Anabaptist interpretation adds an important dimension – baptism functioned as a venue for practising commitment in the brotherhood. Though the focus was on the work of Christ, and the language of 'public testimony' was used explaining this ordinance,[31] nevertheless, baptism served also as a way of submission to brothers and sisters – the church.

A similar element of relating to 'brothers and sisters' was present also at the Lord's Supper. The Lord's Supper was, on the one hand, 'a remembrance of the love of Christ which expressed itself in dying for his own', and on the other hand it was 'seen as a celebration of the oneness and unity of the church brought about by Christ's death'.[32] However, the sacrifice of Christ was mirrored in a practical way in the lives of the believers. Unity was not only a spiritual wish or a doctrinal theory, but a practical goal that was to be achieved and expressed by coming together, asking for forgiveness and giving forgiveness. The Lord's Supper 'is an expression of fellowship', as Conrad Grebel wrote in a letter to Thomas Muntzer.[33] It was an ordinance that was never to be used 'without the rule of Christ in Matt 18:15-18, otherwise it is not the Lord's Supper, for without that rule every man will run after the externals'.[34] William Estep is convinced that 'the ethical dimension of the Lord's Supper', an act and sign of 'commitment to one another to walk together in love' and to extend this love to neighbours,

'may have been the most significant contribution of the Anabaptists to the theology and practice of the Lord's Supper'.[35]

The striking difference, when compared to the present day, is the Anabaptist linkage between Jesus' words of initiation – bread … given for you, blood … poured out for you – and mutual support and obedience to suffer for each other as members of Christ's body. Balthasar Hubmaier put this in the following way: The Lord's Supper is 'a public sign and testimonial of the love in which one brother obligates himself to another before the congregation that just as they now break and eat the bread with each other and share and drink the cup, likewise they wish now to sacrifice and shed their body and blood for one another; this they will do in the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ'.[36]

When the Schleitheim Confession emphasises that those who partake in the table of the Lord have to be 'united in the one body of Christ' it is not only a statement about the agreement regarding what is the communion, but it is a statement about what this communion calls for in practical discipleship. In the context of the beginnings of the Radical Reformation this meant both mutual help and support, but more explicitly it meant willingness to be warned or admonished in the congregation, especially before the Lord's Supper, 'so that we may all in one spirit and in one love break and eat from one bread and drink from one cup'.[37] It is not surprising that some present-day Mennonites find the historical insights helpful. John Roth has pointed out that if the communion 'restores to wholeness' and 're-members us as a community bearing witness to be the living body of Christ in the world' then a more frequent celebration of communion should be recommended.[38] Also other baptistic believers would benefit from intentionally continuing the conversation with the Anabaptist tradition – in addition to reflecting on the wider Protestant or revivalist experience.

While present-day Baptists admit congregational dimensions of communion, they often limit these to certain emphases, such as 'what the congregation does is as important as what the minister does' and communion must 'take place within the context of free church worship'.[39] For the early Anabaptists, the communal dimension of the Lord's Supper was much more related to discipleship and serving of each other. Pilgram Marpeck mentioned that in the Lord's Supper 'the believers and baptized are to remind one another to be mindful of such love' as Jesus showed in his death. 'He commanded that we love one another as He loved us, and He goes on to point to death as the culmination of His love: no one has greater love than he who stakes his soul on behalf of his friend.'[40]

This takes the discussion to the third aspect of early radical believers which potentially can inspire and open new avenues of understanding and spiritual experience of discipleship, namely the role of suffering and persecution.

Suffering as an Expression of Obedience and Discipleship

In much Western culture, suffering is considered as something that preferably should be avoided – physical and psychological suffering with the help of medical care and therapies, social and economic suffering by the welfare systems of the state. Taking this position over from the wider culture and applying it to the Christian life, the Christian church, including the evangelical part of the church, is increasingly forgetting about the words of Jesus that a disciple has to take up the cross and follow him (Matt. 10:38), a verse – and its variations – often quoted by Anabaptists. Seldom – if at all – is an evangelical church community ready to wrestle with questions such as, 'What does suffering and persecution mean for the present-

day Christian life, practice and growth in faith?' The early Anabaptist answer to this question is somewhat disturbing and perhaps even difficult to understand for a twenty-first-century evangelical. Suffering was seen by these radical believers as a natural and unavoidable part of following Jesus. Leonhard Schiemer wrote in 1527: 'It is given to you that you not only believe in Christ but also suffer for him and fight the same battle.' Schiemer supports his view by referring to Matthew 10:24–5: 'That is the lot of all Christians for the disciple is no greater than the master.'[41]

Suffering and even martyrdom was not unheard of in Christian history, nor in the story of the medieval church. Ascetic and monastic movements also represented attempts to identify in certain ways with the suffering and passion of Jesus. No doubt some of these models, besides their lived experience and biblical interpretation, influenced Anabaptist spirituality. However, while the monastic life was a calling only for some Christians in the body of Christendom, the early Anabaptists made the elements of anguish and tribulation a part of their idea of following Jesus for every believer. In this sense, the number of martyrs is not the primary importance, though a significant number (about 2,000–2,500) of Anabaptists made this supreme sacrifice in the sixteenth century. Even more important was 'the centrality of martyrs for the sense of identity' in the Anabaptist movement.[42] And identity, in its turn, was inseparably linked with ethics, discipleship, and understandings of how the biblical message of following Jesus should be implemented in everyday life.

For early Anabaptists, broadly speaking, there were two areas where obedience in suffering was expected from a disciple. First, a believer had to face the dilemma and tension of living in a world that is limited, corrupted by sin, and where a believer 'must await the work of God through the cross of Christ which we must carry and follow in the footsteps of Christ'.[43] This requires patience, and patience can be painful. Hans Hut adds that the process 'where the Word has been born and become flesh in us' is a process that 'can happen only through pain, poverty, and distress inside and out'.[44] Reference to Mary 'when she heard the will of God from the angel' is relevant in this image of Hut, as it also alludes to the obedience and willingness for the Word to take shape and become incarnate in a believer's life. However, while this is pleasing to God, these people become 'a stumbling block to the whole world' and 'they are called enthusiasts and Beelzebub'.[45] This vision for discipleship is rather that of a struggle and a journey, instead of emphasising static confidence in faith or Jesus as a guarantee for happy living.

Another aspect of suffering as an expression of obedient discipleship was related to external pressures that Anabaptists faced in their cultural context. Suffering and persecution was seen by these believers less as a witness for Christ, and more as a way of being identified with Christ. One can even say that it was Christ who brought suffering into a believer's life. If a Christian was called to imitate Christ and live in oneness with the Lord, then suffering could not be avoided in a disciple's life. Suffering was the lot of the Master. And a disciple is not greater than the Master. Though, for example, the term 'baptism with blood' was associated with 'daily mortification of the flesh until death'[46] – this no doubt also had connotations with physical suffering, imprisonment and martyrdom. In some cases, the early Anabaptists seem to admit a more mystical view that Christ continues to suffer in his disciples. Leonhard Schiemer states that 'Christ's suffering destroys sin but only if he suffers in man'. In some cases, reference is made to Jesus' words about loving and losing one's life, as Hans Schlaffer suggests when he quotes the biblical text: 'Whoever loves his life will lose it, and whoever hates and denies his life in this world for my sake will preserve it for eternal life.'[47]

Present-day evangelical scholarship has drawn links between suffering and missional witness. Scott Sunquist from Fuller Theological Seminary has stated that 'our identity in Jesus Christ includes our call to suffering with him'. However, he avoids mystical interpretation or a suggestion that the church should seek out suffering. 'Our call to suffering simply reveals the reality that the mission of Jesus Christ, which is now the mission of God carried out by the church, will be resisted.' Suffering is 'an expression of missional spirituality closely related to humility, gentleness, and obedience' and 'Christian spirituality is centred on humble witness through suffering.'[48] This logic shows the present emphases: suffering, when it happens, is an opportunity for witnessing and mission, and it shapes Christian character. The early Anabaptists, while in their argumentation and in their practice obviously agreeing with these interpretations, added a more mystical and inevitable approach to suffering. It was not a question of if 'it happens'. Rather for disciples who seek communion with Christ, suffering is not caused only by external pressures, but essentially by the presence of Christ – the suffering God – himself. Yieldedness or *Gelassenheit* to the will of God means participation in both the sorrow and joy, the cross and glory. 'Yes, cross and tribulation truly adorn the children of God,' said Jacob Hutter, offering words of encouragement that for modern ears, perhaps, do not sound like an encouragement at all.[49]

Conclusion

Harold Bender, in his famous lecture in 1943 describing the 'Anabaptist vision', stated: 'First and fundamental in the Anabaptist vision was the conception of the essence of Christianity as discipleship.' They sought to live a 'life patterned after the teaching and example of Christ', and they could not understand Christianity which made regeneration and love only a matter of doctrinal belief or subjective experience 'rather than one of the transformation of life'.[50] Even if the 'vision' is obviously more multifaceted than Bender depicts, he has convincingly pointed out discipleship as a central feature of the radical believers' tradition. However, this is not only a characteristic, but also a constant challenge and a goal of Christian life in the baptistic movement. In this constant task of being faithful to the model found in Christ and strengthened by the relationship with him, the early Anabaptist story can function as an inspiration and as a conversation partner.

This article has argued that the present practice of discipleship in evangelical churches would be enriched and enlivened by the Anabaptist focus on the dynamic relationship with Christ as a source of *Nachfolge*, by the emphasis on communal aspects of Christian life in the age of individualism, and – last but not least – by reinterpreting the role of suffering in the course of the Christian journey towards maturity and Christ-likeness. The last aspect has been widely avoided or forgotten by many Western evangelical churches in the context of religious freedom. Nevertheless, the need to be able to face the issue of persecution has been brought to the forefront again by recent events in the Middle East, as it has been in the awareness of those who try to look beyond the present European situation, either into the history of European totalitarian and atheistic stories, or into the realities of being a Christian in some Asian countries.

The present article has also paid attention to the aspect that the perspectives of discipleship for early Anabaptists permeated into areas that in contemporary free church spirituality and theology are often more narrowly understood: for example, regeneration or 'new birth' was for these radical groups a healing process, a starting point for a practical journey of obedience, rather than a matter of a clearly defined moment of 'making a decision' or saying a 'sinner's prayer'. Anabaptist views on baptism and the Lord's Supper, likewise, potentially expand

present day believers' horizons towards more communal dimensions of faith, instead of remaining in the realm of giving an individual witness or expressing individual faith.

Neal Blough, analysing Pilgram Marpeck's theology of discipleship, stated: 'Contemporary interest in spirituality and the desire to more fully integrate ethics and spiritual life open up new possibilities, and perhaps can help us to read the sixteenth century texts with new questions.'[51] One can only agree with Blough's remark: questions emerging in our present context help us to look into the radical tradition with new insights, and – hopefully – some ideas and practices mirroring back from the historical tradition help us to have a deeper connection with our identity.

Notes

[1] This was originally published in *Baptistic Theologies* 7.2 (Autumn 2015) and is used by permission.
[2] Glen H. Stassen, *A Thicker Jesus: Incarnational Discipleship in a Secular Age* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), p. 101.
[3] Stuart Murray, *Biblical Interpretation in the Anabaptist Tradition* (Kitchener, Ont: Pandora Press, 2000), p. 21.
[4] James Wm McClendon, *Systematic Theology: Ethics* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1986), pp. 32–3.
[5] For example, see *Growing in Christ: A Thirteen-Week Course for New and Growing Christians* (Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress, 2007); Greg Ogden, *Discipleship Essentials: A Guide to Building Your Life in Christ* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007).
[6] Arnold Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ: The Anabaptist Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2004), p. 138.
[7] Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ*, p. 29.
[8] George Williams and Angel Mergal, eds, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), p. 108.
[9] Daniel Liechty, trans. and ed., *Early Anabaptist Spirituality: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994), p. 99.
[10] Liechty, *Early Anabaptist Spirituality*, p. 100.
[11] Torsten Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier: Anabaptist Theologian and Martyr* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1978), p. 46.
[12] Quoted in Heinz-Günther Süssdorf, 'The Concept of Discipleship in the Theology of Balthasar Hubmaier', (unpublished master's thesis, Baptist Theological Seminary, Rüschlikon, 1988), p. 14.
[13] Süssdorf, 'The Concept of Discipleship', p. 17.
[14] Quoted in Süssdorf, 'The Concept of Discipleship', p. 17. Hubmaier calls Christ also 'true physician' – referring to the story of Good Samaritan; Wayne Pipkin and John H. Yoder, trans and eds, *Balthasar Hubmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism* (Scottdale, PA, and Kitchener, Ont: Herald Press: 1989), p. 446.
[15] Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ*, p. 26.
[16] Süssdorf, 'The Concept of Discipleship', pp. 31–3.
[17] Euran Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 115.
[18] Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Kitchener, Ont: Pandora Press, 1995), pp. 88–9.
[19] Walter Klaassen, ed., *Anabaptism in Outline* (Waterloo, Ont: Herald Press, 1981), pp. 211–2.
[20] Süssdorf, 'The Concept of Discipleship', p. 49.
[21] Klaassen, *Anabaptism in Outline*, p. 214.
[22] Thomas Finger, *A Contemporary Anabaptist Theology* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2004), p. 252.
[23] Stassen, *Thicker Jesus*, p. 40.
[24] Murray, *Biblical Interpretation,* p. 157.
[25] William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story* (Grand Rapids, MI, and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1996), p. 201.
[26] Estep, *Anabaptist Story*, p. 210.
[27] Quoted in Estep, *Anabaptist Story*, p. 211; see also Pipkin and Yoder, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, p. 127.
[28] Pipkin and Yoder, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, p. 212.
[29] Klaassen, *Anabaptism in Outline*, p. 168.
[30] See, for example, Stanley K. Fowler, *More than a Symbol: The British Baptist Recovery of Baptismal Sacramentalism* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2002).
[31] Pipkin and Yoder, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, p. 349.
[32] Klaassen, *Anabaptism in Outline*, p. 190.
[33] Williams and Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, p. 76.

[34] Williams and Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, p. 77.
[35] William R. Estep, 'Contrasting Views of the Lord's Supper in the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century', in *The Lord's Supper: Believers Church Perspectives* (ed. Dale R. Stoffer; Scottdale, PA, and Waterloo, Ont: Herald Press, 1997), pp. 58–62.
[36] Pipkin and Yoder, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, p. 354 (pp. 398–9).
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