

Dangers of Superabundance: Pieter Pietersz, Mennonites, and Greed during the Dutch Golden Age¹

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In his popular depiction of the mercantile quarters of Amsterdam, first published in 1662, the Dutch historian and gazetteer, Melchior Fokkens, included richly detailed descriptions of wealth. He noted the opulent and sumptuous wares available in the merchant shops and took great pleasure in describing the houses of the well-heeled business owners with their priceless ornaments that made them seem more like royal palaces. Many of them, he said, contained “splendid marble and alabaster columns, floors inlaid with gold, and the rooms hung with valuable tapestries of gold- or silver-stamped leather....” He suggested that some of the household furnishings might be worth fifty or even a hundred thousand guilders.²

Historian Simon Schama questions some of Fokkens’s grandiose estimations of wealth, but notes that at the very least they provide a window through which one can view the attitudes of the Dutch about worldly goods and pleasures during their seventeenth-century Golden Age. He concludes that, indeed, there was a lust for consumption that

permeated all levels of society. Even in less extravagant households, Dutch sensibilities “veered toward profuseness, elaboration and intricate detail.”³

It is well known that the Dutch economy could support generous amounts of extravagance. By the mid-seventeenth century, the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands had become an economic superpower. Economic success of this magnitude was exhilarating for an emerging independent Republic that had just recently expelled its foreign Spanish overlords. And this exhilaration was often supported by religious sentiment. With the Old Testament in view, Dutch Calvinists in particular saw themselves, like the children of Israel, as a chosen people delivered from the enemy and blessed with prosperity because of Divine intervention and covenantal relationship.

Wealth could also pose as an irresolvable predicament, however, especially for those with religious scruples who wondered whether it was “possible to be both rich and saved?”⁴ Good Calvinist theology justified wealth by suggesting that it was a part of a divine preordained plan and a sign of God’s election, but the Reformed preacher in the pulpit did not hesitate to point out the dangers of *overvloed*, of superabundance, that could so easily lead to the worship of Mammon and Baal. Across the land the clergy repeatedly warned of the perils of consumerism, often alluding to the Golden Calf among the tents of Israel, and the harm that the sin of avarice could do. The *predikants* pointed out that if the Dutch were to stray from the paths of righteousness, the nation could easily lose its special covenantal relationship with God. They reminded their congregants that the very scripture that promised blessings also included warnings for those who strayed from the conditions of the covenant. Thus, far from tacitly endorsing finance capitalism, the church often did its level best to proclaim its disapproval of the way in which capital was being wielded.⁵ At times it was even willing to use disciplinary means to achieve its goals. For instance, an ordinance of 1581 excluded various financiers from communion together with a long list of undesirables such as pawnbrokers and brothel keepers. Banker’s spouses were permitted at the Lord’s Table as long as they publicly expressed disapproval of their husband’s profession. The States of Holland only managed to convince the church to rescind this humiliating prohibition in 1658.⁶

In this context, Mennonites too had to come to terms with the dangers of superabundance. To be sure, there were the poor who came to church dressed in humble clothing, yet most members maintained an average standard of living, and a sizeable number could be counted among the Dutch elite, dominating the whale and herring fisheries, excelling in weaving and textiles industries, thriving in agriculture, and some would even succeed in the arena of shipbuilding and

foreign trade.⁷ Yet, like many Calvinists, Mennonites felt uneasy about the excesses of their present age. Their theological tradition had underlined the importance of discipleship, simplicity and following Christ to the point of suffering and even martyrdom. Now, in times of toleration and plenty, these theological virtues were seemingly being set aside. This was at least one of the points that Thieleman J. van Braght (1625-1664) tried to bring across in his *Martyrs Mirror* of 1660, which was intended to prick the consciences of the wealthy.⁸ Other leaders, such as Hans de Ries (1553-1638) and Galenus Abrahamsz (1622-1706), joined in this form of prophet-critic, with Galenus suggesting that the devil had found a new devious scheme for leading Mennonites astray: he had brought their persecution to an end and had succeeded in interesting them in material things.⁹ In December of 1651 the Amsterdam preacher Jacob Cornelisz also felt compelled to preach three sermons on excessive ostentation that he observed in Mennonite houses, celebrations and clothing, which he perceived to be in direct conflict with simplicity, a core virtue of Mennonite faith.¹⁰

Perhaps the most sustained critic of emerging Dutch-Mennonite capitalism was the Waterlander Mennonite preacher from De Rijk and Zanddam, Pieter Pietersz (1574-1651). For a time Pietersz was a carpenter and builder of windmills, but eventually he became known for his devotional books, tracts, and sermons, especially his popular work entitled *Way to the City of Peace (Wegh na Vreden-stadt: waer in ghewesen wordt hoemen die Vrede mach bekommen)*.¹¹ Another significant essay of his—this one addressing economic matters and the temptation of avarice—was his *Mirror of Greed (Spiegel der Gierigheidt)*, first published in 1638.¹² The *Mirror* was included in the author's "complete works," his *Opera*, published in 1651, and then further printed in several subsequent editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it was translated and published in the German language. Christian Neff and Nanne van der Zijpp note that Pietersz's works were not only eagerly read both by Mennonites and non-Mennonites in the Netherlands, but they were also very popular among Mennonites living in the Palatinate, in Prussia, southern Russia and in North America. Especially the *Kleine Gemeinde*, a break-away group that had formed a separate community of churches in Russia and had settled in Manitoba in the 1870s, was fond of Pietersz's writings.¹³

Although scholars have given scarce attention to this treatise, the *Mirror* likely stands as one of the most well-known essays on the dangers of wealth written by a Mennonite during the Dutch Golden Age. It is also an important representative document of a less-known circle of seventeenth-century Mennonite reformers, the *Vredestadsburgers* (burghers of the City of Peace), who called for an ethical and

devotional reformation and the restoration of former religious and ethical values at a time when traditional Mennonite norms seemed to be fading. Like the Rijnsburg Collegiants of the *Nadere Reformatie* (a Dutch Pietist reform movement),¹⁴ the *Vredestadsburgers* often met in conventicle-like groups to discuss and promote their causes. A number of Mennonite preachers, such as Claes Jacobsz, were part of the movement, along with the poet and hymn writer Jan Philipsz Schabaelje. Pieter Pietersz, it appears, was a part of the movement from its inception.¹⁵ Both Schabaelje and Pietersz cultivated an inner devotion inspired by the popular mysticism of “Thomas a Kempis, Meister Eckhardt and Johannes Tauler, which could also be found in the early Anabaptist spiritualism of Sigmund Salminger and Christian Entfelder, and the mystical-spiritualism of the Familists and Matthias Weyer.”¹⁶

In what follows, I will introduce the main themes of Pieter Pietersz’s *Mirror of Greed* with the intention of bringing into view its main line of argument and theological reasoning.¹⁷ It was noted above that Dutch Calvinists drew on Old Testament covenant theology that was meant to be applicable for society as a whole. We shall see that the *Mirror of Greed*, as a representative Mennonite document on economics, placed greater emphasis on Christology and presumed an ecclesiology distinct from wider society.

A further line of argument that will be pursued is the relationship between the interior and exterior spiritual dimensions of life in Anabaptism. Robert Friedmann is perhaps best known for his publication, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries*, in which he argued that while Anabaptism and Pietism seemed to have much in common, the similarities were actually deceptive. In his view, these two movements began with contrasting premises in that Pietism tended to focus on grace and individual or inner personal experience, while Anabaptism gave attention to the outer “bitter” Christ of obedience, discipleship, suffering and martyrdom.¹⁸ In the following, I will counter the Friedmann thesis, at least as it applies to Pieter Pietersz who, as we shall see, emphasized both the heartfelt yearnings common to early seventeenth century pietism, yet also embraced the “bitter” Christ that calls Christians to radical discipleship. C. Arnold Snyder has recently noted how Anabaptists, especially at the beginning of their movement, tended to give equal attention to both the inward life of the spirit and the outward life as expressed in discipleship.¹⁹ This study extends the argument to the seventeenth-century context where we encounter a stream of Anabaptism that continues to hold together these two spheres.²⁰

The Assault on Greed

When Pieter Pietersz took aim at the economic evils in his day, he was not introducing something new. His apprehension concerning the dangers of superabundance resonated with Christian tradition and was firmly in continuity with his own tradition. Sixteenth-century Anabaptist views on economics underlined sufficiency in life, not surplus.²¹ The earliest Anabaptist economic pattern attempted to put into practice the apostolic examples as described in Acts 2, 4, and 5, although there was no consensus as to whether the sharing of possessions should be voluntary or legislated.²² The Hutterites in Moravia and the Münsterites of northern Europe preferred to legislate the practice of community of goods, while the Swiss and Dutch Anabaptists who prevailed over time preferred the practice of voluntary sharing and mutual aid. The practice of mutual aid was taken with utmost seriousness and became an indispensable mark of the Christian life. The Dutch-Anabaptist reformer Menno Simons observed that since Christians were members of one body through their baptism and through participation in the breaking of bread, it was expected that they would care for one another.²³ True evangelical faith could not lie dormant, but would inevitably manifest itself in works of love, within the Christian community and beyond, by clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, sheltering the destitute, and by “becoming all things to all men.”²⁴ By far the vast majority of Anabaptists followed this line of thinking. True Christianity avoided the accumulation of capital and demonstrated a concern for those in need “within and outside the baptized body of Christ.”²⁵ Even during times of great misfortune and hardship, the concern for others was considered imperative, as was the case in the underground Anabaptist church in Augsburg,²⁶ or as exemplified by individuals such as Michael Sattler and Soetken van den Houte, who did not refrain from showing concern for the physical and material needs of others even at a time when they were imprisoned for their Anabaptist convictions and facing their own imminent deaths.²⁷

When times improved and there were more opportunities to acquire wealth, Anabaptists continued to be generally suspicious of trade and commerce. The Swiss and South German branch of the movement tended to believe that Christians should only participate in agricultural work and in the manufacturing of household crafts. Menno Simons also preferred agrarian work, but admitted that it was possible for Christians to be merchants. Nevertheless, he wrote to warn persons in commerce lest they be overcome by avarice.²⁸ And, along with virtually all other Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, he rejected the practice of charging interest for loans. Such practice was understood as usury—a form of theft.²⁹

These views on capital and commerce would re-emerge in subsequent years in Anabaptist confessional statements. Anabaptists near Cologne, for example, were explicitly critical of greedy preachers who craved high salaries.³⁰ In their faith statement in Hesse, the Swiss Brethren, while allowing for the possibility of Christians owning private property, nevertheless stressed the importance of caring for the poor, avoiding “useless merchant enterprises,” and keeping away from the practice of usury.³¹ The practice of usury and the attitude of greed were condemned again in future confessions of faith such as in the Concept of Cologne of 1591³² and in the Thirty-Three Articles of 1617.³³ And again some of these themes would re-emerge in future confessional statements such as in the Dordrecht Confession of 1632 and in the Prussian Confession of 1660³⁴

Overall, we can observe a fairly consistent position among first, second and third generation Anabaptists. They assumed that regenerated Christians, born from above, who took seriously the teachings of Christ and had separated themselves from the world to become members of the true body of Christ, would pursue honest work, avoid the practice of usury and would demonstrate works of love, including providing for those in need. Wealth was not condemned outright, but Anabaptists believed that sufficiency, not surplus, was the goal of honest work. Christians might hold material possessions, but ultimately these belonged to God and should be shared with others. When we move forward to the seventeenth century, to the Dutch Golden Age, we observe Pieter Pietersz in his *Mirror of Greed* representing similar views.

As he did in several of his writings, Pietersz utilized the didactic device of the dialogue to bring his ideas across to the reader. The conversation partners in the *Mirror* were between a greedy man by the name of Gerhard, who sought only wealth and worldly honours, and a pious Christian brother by the name of Friedrich, whose primary aim it was to seek after “the Kingdom of God and its righteousness.” By the end of the conversation Gerhard was shown the errors of his ways and experienced a conversion experience that realigned his economic priorities in keeping with the teachings of the New Testament.

In his preface, Pieter Pietersz stated that his primary objective was to bring to the reader’s attention the destructive root of greed so as to avoid Divine condemnation. Given his earlier occupation as builder of windmills, Pietersz himself would likely have had access to surplus capital, yet he resisted developing a theology that in some way justified or legitimized the accumulation of wealth. He noted that money was not inherently evil and suggested that acquiring much was not the same as being in the state of greed. However, he insisted that being tied to wealth, so that one is unable to part with it, should be viewed as sin.

The basis of Pietersz's argument was the New Testament, especially the teachings of Jesus and the writings of the Apostle Paul.³⁵

A significant dimension of the *Mirror* was a series of counter-arguments against those who might try to mount an argument in favour of accumulating capital. For instance, Pietersz considered the common sense realist position and noted that while it may be a natural human inclination to cling to temporal goods, Christianity was, first and foremost, about seeking the kingdom of God and God's righteousness. Citizens of heaven should seek the heavenly, not the earthly. One cannot serve two masters by simultaneously desiring both the riches of the world and the riches of heaven. In the spirit of the Anabaptist tradition, Pieters argued that true knowledge of Christ amounted to acknowledging God's promises, embracing Christ's teaching and taking his ethical directives seriously.³⁶

Pietersz also countered the view that Christianity is first and foremost about the interior life. He noted that the ethical imperatives and commands of Christ encompassed the whole of life and must be followed literally. It would do no good for a Christian to simply follow the inward impulse that concentrated solely on the well being of the soul. True Christianity should involve attending to all areas of life. It was important to resist the temptation of spiritualizing the ethical directives of Scripture. These could not remain a part of the interior life without manifesting themselves in outward, tangible ways. The commands of Christ as they were outlined in the New Testament were to be followed literally, even though the rest of society was unwilling to do so. With perhaps his Calvinist counterparts in mind, Pietersz insisted that true Christians were a part of an alternative culture that abided by rules different from those of the mainstream.³⁷

Pietersz also considered practical issues, such as the importance of managing one's own household and investments, and the question of leaving behind a sizeable inheritance for one's descendants. Pietersz was aware of the wider social consequences when parents did not adequately plan for the well being of the next generation. He was cognizant of the fact that children left in poverty might very well become welfare recipients and a burden on society. He concluded, nevertheless, that showering wealth onto children would inevitably produce negative consequences and would ultimately bring some form of evil upon them. Rather than leaving wealth to posterity, Pietersz insisted on echoing the words of Jesus in Matthew 25: that Christians must think in the first place of the hungry and the naked; for insofar as the hungry were fed and the naked clothed, Christians also did these things unto Christ.³⁸

Pietersz acknowledged that the accumulation of capital was a central preoccupation of society. He noted that all efforts and all

calculation appeared to be focussed on the accumulation of wealth, as persons invested in the money markets with the hope of making yearly gains. He also observed that persons everywhere seemed to be willing to take great risks and expend enormous amounts of mental energy in order to achieve their economic goals. The world's interest in accumulating capital was so intense, he noted, that it seemed possible in his day to chase people through fire merely to gain a handful of money.³⁹ Pietersz reminded his readers, however, that true Christians were to share radically different objectives. They should deny themselves the desires of the world with an acute awareness that their ultimate destiny was the heavenly Jerusalem.⁴⁰

The desire to store up treasures on earth was a great temptation that would lead to folly. As Pietersz noted from the sayings of Jesus, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter into the kingdom of God" (e.g. Matthew 19:24).⁴¹ Of course, the road of self-denial that leads to the heavenly Jerusalem would not be easy either, but Pietersz insisted that Christians could trust that God would empower his true followers to follow through in giving up their attachment to possessions. In fact, for those who had experienced a change in heart, the Christian life was not a matter of giving in to Divine coercion, but of genuinely experiencing joy, consolation and comfort that flowed from inner conviction.⁴² It was a natural response to the work and blessings of God within the individual.

In the Calvinist worldview, wealth was a sign of God's blessings. The patriarchs of ancient Israel were showered with material abundance as a reward for their faithfulness to the Divine covenant. Pietersz acknowledged that the Scriptures included people who were wealthy and were blessed by God—the patriarchs of Israel, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were all blessed with abundant material possessions. Yet he did not link material wealth with covenantal faithfulness. Blessings that came from God, he noted, were spiritual. In his view it would be delusional to associate wealth with blessing even though many Christians were being misled by this kind of reasoning. The rich complemented themselves this way, but they were simply disguising their greed.⁴³ Wealth may have been present among the patriarchs, but Pietersz viewed them to be a part of the old dispensation governed by Mosaic law, which Jesus had put to an end. The end of the law was Christ and the new community was the church. In the present age the people of God did not experience wealth and power, but suffering and death.⁴⁴ There could be no marriage between the Christian and the mainstream. In contra-distinction to Calvinist views or those of the Republic, the Christian life should assume a decidedly counter-cultural position.

This was the essence of true Christianity (*waere Christendom*)⁴⁵ where, in truth, believers became one bread and one body. As various

kernels of corn are brought together with water and then baked through fire without exuding differences, so also true Christendom consisted in the unity of Christians formed to become one bread. That being the case, it was no longer possible for rich Christians and poor Christians to live alongside one another, where the social and economic discrepancies and injustices were blatantly obvious. When such situations should arise, true followers of Christ would change their ways, deny themselves their material possessions and prepare themselves to carry the cross of Christ.⁴⁶

Such counter-cultural positioning did not mean that Christians would be entirely removed from the affairs of this world. Pietersz recognized that even true Christians would participate in commercial endeavours, such as in the fisheries and mercantile industries.⁴⁷ Nowhere, however, did he suggest that riches gained through commerce might be a sign of blessing, or an outcome of a positive covenantal relationship with God. Christians might receive wealth through their economic endeavours, but this state of affairs did not give license to bask in the riches and comforts of life. To the contrary, acquiring surplus became the occasion for helping the other. For an employer it meant an opportunity to pay workers fair wages.⁴⁸ For a parent it meant trusting that God would take care of the next generation, who in turn would avoid unnecessary luxuries, expensive clothing, or excesses of food and drink. Even wedding ceremonies would be simplified.⁴⁹ As pilgrims in this world, Christians were mere guests; their ultimate destiny being the heavenly Jerusalem, the kingdom of heaven.

Balancing the Interior and Exterior Religious Life

Scholars have placed Pietersz in the mystical, pietistic, or spiritualistic traditions of the Waterlanders and have noted his central place among the reforming *Vredestadsburgers*, who emphasized “an ascetic type of devotion characterized by interiorisation and spiritualisation... .”⁵⁰ Robert Friedmann was of the opinion that this form of piety eschewed the life of suffering and radical discipleship. Clearly, Pietersz betrayed his interest in the interior life when he longed after the heavenly city and the kingdom of heaven, and when he took great efforts in preparing his readership for the life to come. Yet, as we have seen, Pietersz’s spirituality did not stop with otherworldly concerns. The “pietist reform” that Pietersz advocated had social and economic implications. While he clearly emphasized the heart-felt yearnings common to seventeenth-century pietism, his mixture of pious exhortation and moral instruction was intended as a

critique of the mainstream and a call to an alternative life style to be lived in the world. It was an evangelical spirituality embracing both contemplation and action.

Perhaps the one area where Pietersz's balancing of the "inner" and "outer" fell short was in the realm of hermeneutics. It is apparent that Pietersz's religious expression was firmly grounded in Scripture in that he appealed almost exclusively to the outer Word of God for his moral reasoning, virtually ignoring the realm of the inner Word, which had been of interest among his associates. In Pietersz's lifetime the Waterlanders had argued for the legitimacy of both the inner and outer Word of God,⁵¹ and they had, in fact, written a confession of faith supporting the two-fold Word.⁵² While Pietersz may have been closely associated with the so-called "liberal, mild-minded sensibilities of Hans de Ries, who advocated a two-fold-Word approach, Pietersz, in his *Mirror*, appeared to lean in the direction of emphasizing only the outer Word.

Was his approach strategically employed to communicate the interests of popular religious expression that was more comfortable with the *sola Scriptura* formulation of mainstream Protestantism? Or, as was common among Mennonites of the period, was he feeling the need to create ideological distance between himself and the excessive spiritualist impulses of the Münsterites of an earlier century? These sorts of questions deserve further investigation. Whatever conclusions may be reached concerning Pietersz's motivations, there is no denying that his literal hermeneutical approach to scriptural interpretation was uncompromising.⁵³

What sort of influence did Pieter Pietersz's *Mirror of Greed* have on those around him? Studies have noted that during the Dutch Golden Age wealthy Mennonites took care of the poor in their midst and that they also concerned themselves with their Swiss Anabaptist counterparts who were experiencing political and economic hardship.⁵⁴ Whether the Dutch concerns for social and economic justice were a direct result of Pietersz's work is unclear. Moreover, the question of the extent to which Pietersz's exhortations may have shaped and influenced readers in places such as Prussia or southern Russia, or even North America in the last two centuries, to my knowledge is also not well established and would benefit from further historical investigation.

The *Mirror of Greed* is a centuries-old document that comes to most of us from a foreign land, and in a language that does not communicate easily in our contemporary setting. Pietersz's exegetical work seems wooden and uncompromising; his rhetorical style brings a level of discomfort to the middle-class reader. Nevertheless, the *Mirror* may also have something important to say in our time, in a period of economic

volatility, perhaps not unrelated to over-borrowing, excessive spending and greed.

Notes

- ¹ I wish to thank John Thiesen, Archivist at Bethel College, North Newton Kansas, for his assistance in making key primary source documents accessible for this study.
- ² Melchior Fokkens, *Beshryvinge der Wijdt-Vermaerde Koop-Stadt Amstelredam...*, 3rd edition (Amsterdam, 1664), 395, taken from Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 303.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 304.
- ⁴ The question posed in this way comes from Mary Susan Sprunger, "Rich Mennonites, Poor Mennonites: Economics and theology in the Amsterdam Waterlander congregation during the Dutch Golden Age" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1993), 43.
- ⁵ Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 94, 330.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 330.
- ⁷ The number of the very elite in the congregation in Amsterdam may have been limited since their pacifist convictions may have kept them from participating in the lucrative East Indian trade. See Sprunger, "Rich Mennonites, poor Mennonites," 93-96.
- ⁸ Thieleman J. van Braght, *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians*, trans. Joseph F. Sohm, 5th ed. (Scottsdale, PA.: Herald Press, 1950). Already in 1631 the introduction to the martyr book "expressed regret that the modern, free times of material prosperity brought many divisions to Anabaptism and led the believers away from the true *imatio Christi*" (Piet Visser, "Mennonites and Doopsgezinden in the Netherlands, 1535-1700," in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521-1700*, eds. John D. Roth and James M. Stayer [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007], 325).
- ⁹ Cornelius J. Dyck, *Introduction to Mennonite History*, 3rd edition (Scottsdale, PA.: Herald Press, 1993), 131.
- ¹⁰ Sprunger, "Rich Mennonites, Poor Mennonites," 82. Sprunger helpfully summarizes several significant writings of the period that focussed on economics and wealth. See *ibid.*, 43-80.
- ¹¹ First published in 1625. See *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Pietersz, Pieter," 175. For an English translation see "The Way to the City of Peace," in Cornelius J. Dyck, tr. and ed., *Spiritual Life in Anabaptism* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1995), 231-283. A helpful assessment of this work has been provided by Tom Harder in his article "The Way to the City of Peace: The Anabaptist Utopia of Pieter Pietersz," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 78 (2004), 525-542.
- ¹² Hoorn 1638. See *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Pietersz, Pieter," 175.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* P.M. Friesen notes that "Pietersz' writings were widely read among the Russian congregations. The fact that a pietistic revival came to pass in this region about 1860 (the *Mennonitische Brüdergemeinde*) makes it not improbable that the volume under discussion was asked for by this awakened group. When the Russian Mennonites emigrated to the United States, they brought Pietersz' books along with them..." See Robert Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety through the Centuries: Its Genius and Its Literature* (Eugene OR.: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1998), 110.
- ¹⁴ English Puritanism as well as late medieval popular mysticism directly inspired the *Nadere Reformatie*, sometimes referred to as the Second or Further Reformation. See Visser, "Mennonites and Doopsgezinden," 325.

- ¹⁵ Piet Visser, *Broeders in de Geest: De Doopsgezinde bijdragen van Dierick en Jan Philipsz Schabaelje tot de Nederlandse stichtelijke literatuur in de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 1 (Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1988), 459-460.
- ¹⁶ Visser, "Mennonites and Doopsgezinden," 325.
- ¹⁷ The textual basis of this study will be based on the following: Pieter Pietersz, *Spiegel der Gierigheyd* (Schagen, 1650) in Piet Pieters, *Opera* (Harlingen: Willem Symonsz. Boogaert, 1651), 291-322; Peter Peters, "Spiegel der Gierigkeit," in *Ausgewählten Schriften* (Elkhart, IN.: Mennonitischen Verlagshandlung, 1901), 125-174.
- ¹⁸ Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries*, especially pp. 11-13, 72-76, 85-88.
- ¹⁹ See, for example, C. Arnold Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ: The Anabaptist Tradition*, Traditions of the Christian Spirituality Series (Maryknoll, NY.: Orbis Books, 2004); *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Kitchener, ON.: Pandora Press, 1995).
- ²⁰ This also extends the argument that I have made in connection with the Anabaptist-Mennonite confessional tradition. See Karl Koop, *Anabaptist-Mennonite Confessions of Faith: The Development of a Tradition* (Kitchener, ON.: Pandora Press, co-published by Herald Press, 2004).
- ²¹ C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 227.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 237. James M. Stayer has provided a helpful background to this discussion, linking the notion of communalism to the German Peasants War. See his *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).
- ²³ Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 245.
- ²⁴ Leonard Verduin, tr. and J. C. Wenger, ed., *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons* (Scottsdale and Kitchener: Herald Press, 1956, 1984), 307, 1034.
- ²⁵ Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 247.
- ²⁶ On the Augsburg Anabaptists see Jeni Hielt Umble, "Mutual Aid Among the Augsburg Anabaptists, 1526-1528," in Willard M. Swartley and Donald B. Kraybill, eds., *Building Communities of Compassion: Mennonite Mutual Aid in Theory and Practice* (Scottsdale, PA.: Herald Press, 1998), 103-118.
- ²⁷ See Michael Sattler, "Imprisonment: Letter to Horb," in John Howard Yoder, tr. and ed., *The Legacy of Michael Sattler*, Classics of the Radical Reformation, vol. 1 (Scottsdale and Waterloo: Herald Press, 1972), 55-65; Soetken van den Houde, "A Testament of a Devout Woman who loves God" in Elizabeth Bender, tr. and Leonard Gross, ed., *Golden Apples in Silver Bowls: The Rediscovery of Redeeming Love* (Lancaster, PA.: Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 1999), 149-161.
- ²⁸ Sprunger, "Rich Mennonites, Poor Mennonites, 46-47.
- ²⁹ Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 248.
- ³⁰ See article 4 of the Kempen Confession in Karl Koop, ed., *Confessions of Faith in the Anabaptist Tradition 1527-1660* (Kitchener, ON.: Pandora Press, 2006), 100-105.
- ³¹ See articles 32-35 in the Swiss Brethren Confession of Hesse, 1578 in *ibid.*, 84-89.
- ³² See "Concept of Cologne" in *ibid.*, 121-122.
- ³³ See article 24 in "Thirty-Three Articles," in *ibid.*, 235.
- ³⁴ See article 9 of "Dordrecht Confession," in *ibid.*, 300-302 and art. 6 of the Prussian Confession in *ibid.*, 318-19.
- ³⁵ *Spiegel der Gierigheyd* (Dutch version), 291-294; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit* (German version), 125-128.
- ³⁶ *Spiegel der Gierigheyd*, 296-297; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 130-132.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ *Spiegel der Gierigheyd*, 296-97, 305-306; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 130-133, 145-147.
- ³⁹ *Spiegel der Gierigheyd*, 298; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 134
- ⁴⁰ *Spiegel der Gierigheyd*, 298-99; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 134-135.

- ⁴¹ *Spiegel der Gierigheydt*, 300; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 138.
- ⁴² *Spiegel der Gierigheydt*, 299; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 136.
- ⁴³ *Spiegel der Gierigheydt*, 321; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 174.
- ⁴⁴ *Spiegel der Gierigheydt*, 302-303; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 140-43.
- ⁴⁵ “Dit is een klaere uytbeelkinghe van’t waere Christendom.” *Spiegel der Gierigheydt*, 316; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 164-165. The reference to “True Christianity” is perhaps related to Johann Arndt’s classic work that appeared in four volumes (Magdeburg, 1610). See Johannes Wallmann, “Johann Arndt (1555-1621)” in Carter Lindberg, *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Malden, MA.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 25.
- ⁴⁶ *Spiegel der Gierigheydt*, 317; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 166.
- ⁴⁷ *Spiegel der Gierigheydt*, 304; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 144.
- ⁴⁸ *Spiegel der Gierigheydt*, 319; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 169.
- ⁴⁹ *Spiegel der Gierigheydt*, 304-305; *Spiegel der Gerigkeit*, 145.
- ⁵⁰ Visser, *Broeders in de gheest*, 460.
- ⁵¹ For background discussion see Sjouke Voolstra, “The Path to Conversion: The Controversy between Hans de Ries and Nittert Obbes,” in Walter Klaassen, ed., *Anabaptism Revisited: Essays on Anabaptist/Mennonite studies in honor of C. J. Dyck* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1992), 98-114.
- ⁵² See “The Thirteen Articles,” in Koop, *Confessions of Faith*, 159-163.
- ⁵³ To what extent his hermeneutical trajectory is more in line with Nittert Obbes than Hans de Ries cannot be addressed here, but perhaps deserves further examination. See Voolstra, “The Path to Conversion,” 98-114.
- ⁵⁴ See, for example, Nanne van der Zijpp, “The Dutch Aid the Swiss Mennonites” in Cornelius J. Dyck, *A Legacy of Faith: A Sixtieth Anniversary Tribute to Cornelius Krahn* (Newton, KS.: Faith and Life Press, 1962), 136-158; David J. Rempel Smucker and John L. Ruth, eds., *Documents of Brotherly Love: Dutch Mennonite Aid to Swiss Anabaptists Vol I, 1635-1709*, introduced, transcribed, translated and annotated by James W. Lowry (Millersburg, OH.: Ohio Amish Library, 2007); John D. Roth, “Mutual Aid Among the Swiss Brethren, 1550-1750” in Swartley and Kraybill, eds., *Building Communities of Compassion*, 119-143.

