

SUOMEN KIRKKOHISTORIALLISEN SEURAN  
FINSKA KYRKOISTORISKA SAMFUNDET

# VUOSIKIRJA ÅRSSKRIFT

93  
2003

*Jahrbuch der Finnischen Gesellschaft für Kirchengeschichte  
Mit Zusammenfassungen*

HELSINKI 2003

SUOMEN KIRKKOHISTORIALLINEN SEURA  
SOCIETAS HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE FENNICA

## Formulas for the Distribution of Holy Communion in the Reformed Agendas of 16th – 17th century Poland and Lithuania Compared with other Protestant Liturgies of the Same Period

The formulas of distribution in the Reformation liturgies provide us with a verbal record of the development of the understanding of the Holy Communion in the Reformation churches. An examination of these formulas describes for us the development of various theological understandings of the Supper of the Lord. The formulas indicate the nature of the gifts of Communion and their relationship to Christ's active redemption on the cross.

In the earliest period such formulas are not found in every liturgy. Martin Luther's (1483–1546) *Deutsche Messe* 1526 includes no such formula. Further Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558) in the numerous church orders produced advises against the use of any formula at the time of distribution. "When one gives the sacrament let him say nothing to the communicants, for the words and the commandments of Christ already have been said in the ears of all, and he cannot improve upon them" (Schleswig Holstein [1546]).<sup>1</sup> Nor are such formulas lacking only in Lutheran liturgies. One finds no distribution formula in the Communion service of Lukas of Prague (1460–1528) *Zprávy při službách úřadu kněžského v Jednotě Bratrské...* 1527, even though his order otherwise has provided lengthy and very exact rubrics concerning the distribution. We find the same in the John Calvin's (1509–1564) *La liturgie de sainte cène dans La Forme der Prières et Chantz ecclésiastiques* 1542.<sup>2</sup> Here the recitation of the Institution and the exhortation to the communicants is followed by the distribution of the bread and the sharing of the cup, but there is no formula of distribution.<sup>3</sup> We may note that a formula was added in the later 1545 edition.

In the early Middle Ages the Roman church dropped the earlier practice of both the Eastern and Western churches of accompanying the distribution with specific formulas identifying the gifts. Joseph Jungmann, in *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development* notes this and details the new appearance of a number of variant formulas of distribution beginning in the 8th century in the Frankish church.<sup>4</sup>

The weight of the evidence might lead us to conclude that the formulas of distribution generally were not thought to be an important concern. Such a judgment would be too hasty. Formulas play a significant role in a number of important liturgies. Luther's *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensi* 1523 includes words to be spoken at the time of the administration of the sacrament, and in Ulrich Zwingli's

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from: *Luther D. Reed The Lutheran Liturgy. A Study of the Common Liturgy of the Lutheran Church in America. Revised Edition. Philadelphia 1947, 375.*

<sup>2</sup> Hereafter refer to as: „The Form of Prayers and Manner of Ministering the Sacraments according to the Usage of the Ancient Church“.

<sup>3</sup> *La liturgie de sainte cène dans La Forme der Prières et Chantz ecclésiastiques 1542 de Jean Calvin. – Coena Domini I. Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16./17. Jahrhundert. Spicilegium Friburgense 29. Freiburg 1983, 361.*

<sup>4</sup> *Joseph A. Jungmann The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia). Vol. II. Dublin 1986, 389.*

(1484–1531) *De canone missae Epicheiresis* 1523 we find the traditional formula. As opposing theological positions become entrenched the formulas of distribution begin to take on importance as indications of the theology and piety of the opposing parties. This may explain why some of the churches whose agendas had been prepared by Bugenhagen later added distribution formulas (Lubeck 1647, et al).<sup>5</sup> The history of the appearance of these formulas and their wording become important to our understanding of the theologies of Reformation churches and the manner in which that theology was expressed and practiced.

### *Historical overview of the distribution formulas before the Reformation*

In the ancient sources we find a variety of formula, beginning with the very simple: “The body of Christ” with a corresponding formula at the giving of the cup. These words serve to indicate what gift is given and received in the consecrated species. Richer formulas are also found pointing to the confessional nature of the words which accompany distribution. In the same cases the formulas declare also what benefit the gifts convey along with a prayer that the communicant might receive that full benefit.

The essential purpose of these formulas is to bear witness to what is given and received as the *Arabic Testamentum Domini* explicitly indicates: “Sacerdos testimonium perhibeat id esse corpus Christi.”<sup>6</sup> Hence the special stress was laid upon the recipient’s answer of “Amen.” The similar pattern is found in the canon of Hippolytus who at the distribution says: “Hoc est corpus Christi.”<sup>7</sup> Even in this simple formula we observe a two fold emphasis; the nature of the gift is said to be the Body of Christ, and the instrument of its reception – the consecrated bread. We find the same pattern in the Egyptian church order. The bread is “The bread of heaven, the body of Jesus Christ.”<sup>8</sup> Here may be a two fold analogy. The bread is the heavenly manna to which Saint Paul makes reference in 1 Corinthians 10 and there may also be an allusion to the words of Christ in John 6 “I am the bread which came down from heaven”. The same phraseology is used in the Ethiopian anaphora of the apostles of the Abyssinian Jakobites: “The bread of life, which came down from heaven, the body of Christ.”<sup>9</sup> Another of the several Ethiopian distribution formulas has: “The body of Jesus Christ, which is of the Holy Ghost, to hallow soul and spirit.”<sup>10</sup>

Other formulas are somewhat richer in their expression, calling particular attention to the purpose for which Communion is offered and received. In the general Syrian tradition the recipient is named, and a petition is offered for his worthy reception. “The Servant of God, N., receives the worthy and holy body and blood for the forgiveness of his sins and life eternal.”<sup>11</sup> Here we find a three fold expression – gift, recipient, and benefit are combined in one formula, namely, the body and blood of the Lord is declared to be given to a named individual to accomplish the purpose for which God has given his sacramental gifts. We see further evidence of the use of a formula speaking of the benefit in the Anti-Nestorian writings of Markus Eremita: “The Holy Body of Jesus Christ, to Life eternal.”<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Reed 1947, 375.

<sup>6</sup> Jungmann 1986, 388.

<sup>7</sup> Jungmann 1986, 388.

<sup>8</sup> Georg Rietschel Lehrbuch der Liturgik. Band. I. Die Lehre vom Gemeindegottesdienst. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage von Paul Graff. Göttingen 1951, 335.

<sup>9</sup> Jungmann 1986, 388.

<sup>10</sup> Jungmann 1986, 388.

<sup>11</sup> Jungmann 1986, 389.

<sup>12</sup> Jungmann 1986, 388.

In the Western church during the same period we note a return to the use of simple formulas. In both Pseudo Ambrosius and Augustine of Hippo the formula is simply "The body of Christ" and "The Blood of Christ."<sup>13</sup> We have no witnesses to the use of formulas during this same period in the Mass at Rome. Jungmann states that "In the liturgy of the city of Rome in the early Middle Ages the old tradition of handing out the sacramental species with a corresponding phrase seems to have been broken."<sup>14</sup> The later formulas which we find representing Roman, Galician and other Western uses are varied. The Galician rite of the 7th century has: "The body and blood grant you the remission of sins and life everlasting."<sup>15</sup> The Milanese rite: "The body of our savior Jesus Christ which is given for me and for all as a sacrifice for life and eternal happiness."<sup>16</sup> The Mozarabic rite: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserves my body and soul to life everlasting."<sup>17</sup> The Troyes Missal (about 1050 AD): "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ be a blessing and keep your soul to life everlasting. The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hallow your body and soul to life everlasting."<sup>18</sup> The Western formulas are characteristically terse and concise.

We have noted various formulas both Eastern and Western which although worded differently build upon the same general plan and make clear Christ's words of Institution. Some formulas say no more than "Body of Christ," other orders speak more specifically concerning the connection between the consecrated bread and wine and the gift conveyed by means of them. Finally, in some instances there is a specific mention also of the fruit of Communion – forgiveness of sins and life everlasting.

### *Reformation period*

In the earliest days of the Reformation era those who took up the task of reforming the liturgy set for themselves the goal of recreating what they understood to be the simple Communion service of the apostolic times. A whole mark of the Renaissance was the slogan *ad fontes* and Ulrich Zwingli, a trained Renaissance scholar, built his liturgical work upon the assumption that the earliest congregational celebrations of the Holy Supper emulated the simple gathering of Jesus and the apostles in the upper room.

We possess two liturgical works of Zwingli: *De canone missae Epicheiresis* 1523 and the *Action oder bruch des nachtmals, gedechtnus oder dankagung Christi, wie sy uff osteren zu Zürich angebet wirt, im jar, als man zalt 1525*. The earlier of these works is a Latin Communion service. It is clearly a transitional rite in which the traditional sacrificial prayers of Roman Canon have been replaced by prayers Zwingli's own composition. *Yngve Brilioth* suggests that the conservative nature of this Latin rite reflects the unwill-

<sup>13</sup> *Rietschel* 1951, 335.

<sup>14</sup> *Jungmann* 1986, 389.

<sup>15</sup> "Corpus et sanguis prosit tibi ad remissionem peccatorum et ad vitam aeternam."

*Rietschel* 1951, 336.

<sup>16</sup> "Corpus D. n. J. Chr. proficiat mihi sumenti et omnibus pro quibus hoc sacrificium obtuli ad vitam et gaudium sempiternum."

*Rietschel* 1951, 336.

<sup>17</sup> "Corpus et sanguis Dom. n. J. Chr. custodiat corpus at animam meam in vitam aeternam"

*Rietschel* 1951, 336.

<sup>18</sup> "Corpus D. n. J. C. maneat ad salutem et conservet animam tuam in vitam aeternam. Amen. Sanguis D. n. J. C. sanctificet corpus et animam tuam in vitam aeternam."

*Jungmann* 1986, 390.

<sup>19</sup> *Yngve Brilioth* *Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic*. London 1953, 160.

ingness of the city Council of Zürich to introduce novelties at this time.<sup>19</sup>

Zwingli's *Epicheiresis* includes the traditional distribution formula: "Corpus domini nostri Iesu Christi prosit tibi ad vitam eternam. Sanguis domini nostri Iesu Christi prosit tibi in vitam eternam."<sup>20</sup> One unfamiliar with Zwingli's thinking concerning the sacrament might assume that the use of this formula supports a traditional Western understanding of the Real Presence Christ's body and blood in the material elements. Zwingli's writings of this period clearly indicate that this is not the case, and we must ask why he has chosen to include them.

According to *Yngve Brilioth*, Zwingli continued his public profession of the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation up to 1523.<sup>21</sup> However, according to Zwingli's own testimony this public profession indicates only external conformity: "In my opinion no one has ever believed that he eats Christ bodily and essentially, though almost all have taught this, or at least pretended to believe it".<sup>22</sup> Beginning in 1523 he begun publicly to attack this doctrine and to make public his own belief that the believing Christian "eats Christ" in the sense that in sacrament Christ mysteriously descends to enter the soul of the believer. While speaking in some sense of the presence of Christ he does not identify his presence with the bread and wine of the Supper. Here we have a clue to the sense in which his distribution formula is to be taken.

A clearer indication of Zwingli's position is his elimination of the distribution formula from 1525 German rite. Here the Lord's prayer and the words of Institution are preceded by an admonition in which Zwingli speaks of the members of the congregation as desiring to eat the bread and drink the cup according to the Institution and order of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is an active remembrance of glorifying and giving thanks that he suffered death on their behalf.<sup>23</sup> The service itself is understood to be a social meal of believers who by their participation identify themselves with Christ's saving work. *Corpus Christi* is understood to be *Corpus Misticum* – the church assembled to celebrate the Supper, rather than the *Corpus Verum*, the very body, as it had been understood in the older church tradition to identify the consecrated bread.<sup>24</sup>

Zwingli's *Epicheiresis* appeared in the same year as Luther's publication of his *Formula missae et communionis pro Ecclesia Vuittembergenci* 1523. Luther includes no formula of distribution as such but includes the prayer to be said at the distribution: "Corpus domini etce. custodiat animam meam, vel tuam, in vitam aeternam" and "sanguis domini nostri custodiat animam tuam in vitam aeternam."<sup>25</sup> Luther does not prescribe the use of these words, but he suggests that their use would be appropriate. This is in keeping with the tenor of Luther's rite, which he does not want to be taken as obligatory. Indeed, Luther indicates that he has been reluctant to publish this order at all, both because of the weakness of those who are accustomed to the old order and the fickleness of those who delight in novelty and will use Luther's order as an excuse for the publication of a multitude of

<sup>20</sup> De canone missae Epicheiresis 1523. – Coena Domini I 1983, 188.

<sup>21</sup> Brilioth 1953, 104.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted from: Hermann Sasse This is my Body. Minneapolis 1959, 121.

<sup>23</sup> „Ietz wöllend, wir lieben brueder, nach der ordnung und ynsatz unsers herren Jesu Christi das brot essen und das tranck trincken, die er geheyssen hat also bruchen zû einer widergedächtnus, zû lob und dancksagung daß, das er den tod für uns erlitten und sind blû: zû abwäschung unser sünd vergossen hat... Ouch nieman sich an der gantzen christenlichen gemeyn, die ein lyb Christi ist, verstündige“.

Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals, Gedechtnus oder Dancksagung Christi, wie sy uff Osteren Zû Zürich Angehebt wirt, im Jahr 1525. – Coena Domini I 1983, 194.

<sup>24</sup> Sasse 1959, 132.

<sup>25</sup> Formula missae et communionis pro Ecclesia Vuittembergenci. Martini Luther. Vuittembergae. MDXXIII. – Coena Domini I 1983, 35.

<sup>26</sup> An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg, 1523. – Luther's works. Vol. 53. Liturgy and Hymns. Philadelphia 1965, 19.

new orders.<sup>26</sup> He suggests that his readers may either imitate the Wittenberg service or improve upon it. What is most important is that the words of Christ be publicly spoken or sung over the bread and wine in a loud clear voice. The optional words at the distribution are appropriate in that they clearly identify the nature of the gift and flow freely from the words of Christ.

Luther published his *Deutsche Messe* 1526 in order to present a liturgy which manifests a true German character as he had suggested in his treatise *Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments*.<sup>27</sup> He does not wish that the Latin Mass be discontinued, but Latin and German Services should be used side by side. Here too no distribution formula is included, since Luther has already spoken of the gifts given and distributed in the admonition which precedes the words of Institution: "I admonish you in Christ that you discern the Testament of Christ in true faith and, above all, take to heart the words wherein Christ imparts to us his body and his blood for the remission of our sins. That you remember and give thanks for his boundless love which he proved to us when he redeemed us from God's wrath, sin, death, and hell by his own blood. And that in this faith you externally receive the bread and wine, i.e., his body and his blood, as the pledge and guarantee of this. In his name therefore, and according to the command that he gave, let us use and receive the Testament."<sup>28</sup>

The strength of this admonition, together with the strong impression given by the public speaking or singing of Christ's words in the consecration render an additional distribution formula superfluous. Zwingli has omitted the formula because he no longer believes in the bodily presence of Christ in sacrament, but Luther omits it because Christ's own words over the bread and cup bear strong and clear testimony to the Real Presence.

The witness of the liturgy of Lukas of Prague, *Zprawy při službach vrzadu Knězskeeho w Gednotie Bratrske* ... 1527, is especially important to us because of the significant role which the Unitas Fratrum subsequently played in Polish and Lithuanian Protestantism. Close study of this liturgy is very rewarding. Great emphasis is placed upon the ceremonial aspects of the rite. There are a number of admonitions, preparatory prayers of blessing and thanksgivings. The words of Institution are placed in the context of a lengthy "Kanon v Pripominani Paně" and are accompanied by precise instructions concerning the manual acts. Again and again the congregation is admonished to worthily receive with pious and thankful hearts and to have confidence that the body and blood of Christ are present in a sacramental manner. The meaning of these words, however, is not made clear. Amid the many specific directions given for the administration of the bread and wine we find no distribution formula declaring the nature of the gifts. In the "Po przigimanij rcyž k lidu" after Communion the congregation is reminded that in this food and drink they have the pledge of their participation in the body and blood of Christ, that they are one bread and one body for they have all eaten of the one bread of Christ and have all shared in the one cup.

Of special interest are the rubrics "Při pŕigimani" describing the distribution and the disposition of the reliquiae. Here the remaining elements are referred too as the Body and Blood of the Lord, and this would seem to support a doctrine of corporal eating and

<sup>27</sup> "I would gladly have a German mass today. I am also occupied with it. But I would very much like it to have a true German character. For to translate the Latin text and retain the Latin tone or notes has my sanction, though it doesn't sound Polish or well done. Both the text and notes, accent, melody, and manner of rendering ought to grow out of the true mother tongue and its inflection, otherwise all of it becomes an imitation, in the manner of the apes."

*Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments*, 1525. — *Luther's works*. Vol. 40. Church and Ministry II. Philadelphia 1958, 141.

<sup>28</sup> The German Mass and Order of Service, 1526. — *Luther's works* 1965, 79–80.

drinking.<sup>29</sup> However, the catechism of 1520 speaks in other terms, rejecting the adoration of the sacrament and leaving the nature of the gift unclear. How are we to reconcile such apparently diverse positions? Does the inclusion of this rubric respond to Luther's criticisms about Bohemian unclarity concerning the nature of the sacramental gifts? In his *The Adoration of the Sacrament 1523*, Luther had admonished the Bohemians because of the lack of clarity in their catechism concerning the bodily nature of Christ in the bread and wine.<sup>30</sup> Whatever is the case, we know that restoration of friendly relations between Prague and Wittenberg was finally accomplished in 1533.

Important for our understanding of the liturgical expression of Protestant Eucharistic theology is the work of Martin Bucer (1491–1551) of Strasburg. His *The Psalter with complete Church Practice 1539* represents the fruit of his association with both Zwingli and Luther. With Luther he affirms that communicant receives the body and blood of Christ, but with Zwingli he shares the teaching that the presence of Christ's body and blood are not directly connected with the bread and wine of the sacrament. His Zwinglian position no doubt accounts for John Calvin's subsequent affinity with Bucer. In Bucer's liturgy the words of Institution are concluded with an admonition to the communicants: "Believe in the Lord, and give eternal praise and thanks to him".<sup>31</sup> He then distributes the bread and wine to the communicant saying "Remember, believe and proclaim that Christ the Lord died for you, and gives himself to you for food and drink to eternal life."<sup>32</sup> Bucer does not place emphasis on the bread and cup, as though it were in them that the communicant would find the benefit of the Supper. He points instead beyond the elements to the cross and to the Christ who gave himself for them there and now gives himself to them for spiritual nourishment.

John Calvin's understanding of the Eucharist seeks to bridge the golf between Zwingli's and Luther's understandings of the Eucharistic presence of Christ. He does not direct the attention of the communicants to the earthly elements, but beyond them. However he speaks of a spiritual Communion of the body and blood which moves well beyond that of Zwingli.

Calvin in *La liturgie de sainte cène dans La Forme der Prières et Chantz ecclésiastiques 1542* includes no formula of distribution. In the admonition preceding the distribution he has stated that Christ's body and blood are not to be identified with the bread and wine. "With this in mind, let us raise our hearts and minds on high, where Jesus Christ is, in the glory of his father, and from whence we look for him at our redemption. Let us not be bemused by the earthly and corruptible elements which we see with the eye, and touch with the hand, in order to seek him there, as if were enclosed in the bread or wine. Our souls will only then be disposed to be nourished and vivified by his substance, when they are thus raised above all earthly things, and carried as high as heaven, to enter the kingdom of God where he dwells. Let us therefore be content to have the bread and the wine as signs and evidences, spiritually seeking the reality where the word of God promises that we shall find it".<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Lukáš Pražský W tčchtu položený gsau knihach popořadku zprawy při službach vrzadu Kněžskeeho w Gednotie: Bratrské: (Zprawy tyto wsseho vřadu kněžskeho spolu y po mocnikuo k Imprimowani dane Leta. M. CCCCC. řivij Skrz Gřřka Sstysu w Boleslawi nad gizerau wčtyr mezcymu hodinu na den. S. Martina wytisknutim dokonany gsu.) [=1527], cxxxvi.

<sup>30</sup> "Now a little book in Latin has been sent to me by Mr. Lucas, but in this matter of the sacrament it is not so clear and unambiguous as I could have wished. For that reason I have not had it translated or published as I had promised, because I am afraid that I should not render correctly some of the obscure words and so not do justice to your meaning."

The Adoration of the Sacrament, 1523. – *Luther's works* 1958, 275.

<sup>31</sup> Jasper R. C. D. & Cuming G. J. *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*. Minnesota 1990, 211.

<sup>32</sup> Jasper & Cuming 1990, 211.

<sup>33</sup> Jasper & Cuming 1990, 218.

Calvin does not equivocate. Christ's body is not to be found in bread and wine, for it is in heaven at the right hand of the Majesty on High. In the Supper communicants receive the body and blood of Christ in a spiritual manner, i. e. the reception of the elements is the occasion of Communion with Christ. Here the Zwinglian understanding has been raised to a higher plan. After the admonition we find the following directive: "The ministers distribute the bread and cup to the people, having warned them to come forward with reverence and in order."<sup>34</sup> What call for reverence is the solemn dignity of the occasion, not the nature of the earthly elements.

Of special importance for Polish Reformed theology and its liturgical expression is the work of Johannes a Lasco (1499–1560), the Polish Reformed theologian whose work had left a deep impression in Holland and London. He appears to have had a great deal of theological and liturgical impact upon Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's (1489–1556) Prayer Book formulations. His greatest influence is seen in the Polish and Lithuanian liturgical writings of the period. His principal liturgical work is *Forma ac Ratio* published in Frankfurt am Main in 1555.<sup>35</sup> The same order appeared in the Dutch language in 1554 in the translation prepared by Martin Micron (1523–1559) under the title *De christlicke Ordinancien der Nederlantscher Ghemeinten te Londen [Emden 1554]*. An important characteristic of this rite is Lasco's attempt to recreate and reenact the original Lord's Supper on the basis of prevailing notions.

In Lasco's liturgy the recitation of the Institution narrative is followed by a lengthy admonition to the congregation and this in turn is followed by an invitation to the communicants. "Behold dear brothers, Christ is our Passover is sacrificed for us. Let us therefore celebrate the feast not with the old leaven or with the leaven malice and wickedness but with the unleavened bread, namely, of sincerity and truth through the same Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior. Amen."<sup>36</sup>

In the fraction which follows this invitation the minister identifies the bread with the body of Christ and distributes it with the formula: "Take, eat, and remember the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was given into death for us on the cross for the forgiveness of all our sins."<sup>37</sup> When all have received the bread, the minister takes the cup into his hand and speaks the words of Saint Paul in declarative form: "The cup of blessing which we bless is the Communion of the blood of Christ" (in Dutch: "The cup of thanksgiving with which we give thanks is the Communion of the blood of Christ"). The cup is then distributed with a formula which is virtually the same as that with which the bread was distributed, but now the invitation to eat is replaced by to drink.<sup>38</sup>

We do not find in Lasco the same degree of sacramental development that we found in

<sup>34</sup> Jasper & Cuming 1990, 218.

<sup>35</sup> *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici Ministerii, in peregrinorum, potissimum vero Germanorum Ecclesia: instituta Londini in Anglia, per Pientissimum Principem Angliae etc. Regem Edwardvm, eius nominis Sextu: Anno post Christum natum 1550. Addito ad calcem libelli Priuilegio suae Maiestatis.* [Frankfurti ad Moenam, anno MDLV]. – *Coena Domini I* 1983, 435.

<sup>36</sup> "Ecce iam, fratres dilecti! Pascha nostrum immolatus est pro nobis Christus. Itaque festum celebremus, non in fermento veteri, neque in fermento malitiae ac versutiae, sed in panibus infermentatis, nempe synceritate et veritate, per eundem ipsum Iesum Christum, Dominum et servatorem nostrum. Amen."  
*Forma ac ratio* 1550. – *Coena Domini I* 1983, 446.

<sup>37</sup> "Accipite, edite et memineritis, corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis in mortem traditum esse in crucis patibulo ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum."  
*Forma ac ratio* 1550. – *Coena Domini I* 1983, 447.

<sup>38</sup> "Poculum laudis, quo laudes celebramus, communio est sanguinis Christi.  
*Moxque porrigens bina ad utrumque latus pocula, alterum post alterum, ait:*  
Accipite, bibite et memineritis sanguinem Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis fustum esse in crucis patibulo ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum."  
*Forma ac ratio* 1550. – *Coena Domini I* 1983, 448.

Calvin. His work appears to run more in the line of Ulrich Zwingli. Lasco's Communion service is an act of commemoration and Communion is a meal of fellowship. However, contrary to *Y. Brilioth's* evaluation,<sup>39</sup> we should note that here the element of mystery is not altogether missing. Lasco speaks of a mysterious participation and consideration in his words of distribution: "Believe and do not doubt, all who are participating in the remembrance of the death of Christ while reflecting upon its mystery, that you have a sure and salutary Communion with him in his body and blood, unto life everlasting. Amen."<sup>40</sup> He does not, however, speak of the nature of the relationship between the bread and wine and the Communion of the body and blood. In his distribution formula he gives the strongest emphasis to the act of remembering rather than the taking and eating.

The formula of Cranmer's three English Communion services – the Communion service of 1548, and those of the Prayer Books of Edward VI 1549 and 1552, show the unfolding of an understanding of Eucharistic presence in which center of emphasis on the heart of man is coming more and more into focus.

No particular Eucharistic doctrine is articulated in the Prayer Books, however the 1548 and 1549 Communion service include distribution formulas which are quite traditional. The priest who gives the sacrament of the body of Christ says to each communicant: "The bodye of oure Lorde Jesus Christ which is geuen for the, preserue thy body unto euerlastyng life"<sup>41</sup> and at the giving of the sacrament of the blood he says: "The blud of oure Lorde Jesus Christ which was shed for the[e], preserue thy soule unto euerlastyng life."<sup>42</sup> These words of distribution raised a problem: Is the "body" of Christ given only for man's body, and the "blood" only for his soul? This distribution formula was altered in the 1549 order. Here the priest says to each communicant: "The body of our Lorde Jesus Christe which was geuen for thee, preserue thy bodye and soule unto euerlasting lyfe" and "The bloud of our Lorde Jesus Christe which was shed for thee, preserue thy bodye and soule unto euerlastyng lyfe."<sup>43</sup> We find the most significant change in the 1552 order, in which the strong influence of the continental Reformed theologians, and most particularly Martin Bucer, John Calvin, and Johannes a Lasco are evident.<sup>44</sup> The minister (not identified as the priest) says at the distribution: "Take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ dyed for thee, and feede on him in thy hearte by faythe, with thankesgeuing," and "Drinke this in remembraunce that Christ's bloude was shed for thee, and be thankfull."<sup>45</sup> Here the words of distribution do not identify the earthly elements with the Lord's body and the blood. The new formula is strongly reminiscent also of Johannes a Lasco's administration formula.

<sup>39</sup> *Brilioth* 1953, 185.

<sup>40</sup> In Lasco's word after the absolution he points beyond the outward Supper. Lasco speaks of the participation in the Supper as including things unseen:

"Credite et ne dubitate omnes, qui Coenae huic Dominicae in memoriam mortis Christi participastis cum mysterii sui reputatione, habere vos certam et salutarem cum ipso communionem in corpore et sanguine suo ad vitam aeternam. Amen."

Forma ac ratio 1550. – *Coena Domini* I 1983, 451.

<sup>41</sup> The words of Institution were from the Roman Communion of the sick with the Lutheran editions "given for thee" and "shed for thee." Cranmer was influenced by the Consultation of Archbishop Hermann von Wied of Cologne (1543) and the Ordnung der Kirchen zu Cassel (1539) and Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533). *Jasper & Cuming* 1990, 226–227.

<sup>42</sup> The order of the Communion 1548. – *Coena Domini* I 1983, 393.

<sup>43</sup> The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of the Sacramentes, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church after the Use of the Church of England. Londini in Officina Edouardi Whitchurche. Anno Do. 1549, Mense Martii. – *Coena Domini* I 1983, 403.

<sup>44</sup> *Jasper & Cuming* 1990, 245.

<sup>45</sup> The Boke of Common Prayer 1552. – *Coena Domini* I 1983, 407.

It is an unsolved puzzle whether, or to what extent, these formulas represent Cranmer's movement away from a traditional understanding of "Real Presence" to a new understanding which may be called "True Presence" and in which we may see the influences of Bucer, Lasco, and Calvin. Together with Cranmer these three continental Reformed theologians work from a common philosophical perspective in which material and spiritual stand in mutual opposition to each other. The material elements in the sacrament, whether they are bread and wine, or the body and blood of Christ can in no case provide spiritual benefit to the communicant. This benefit is received by the heart and soul when the communicants fix their attention upon the cross and sacrifice of Christ. Carnal eating cannot benefit the soul; the true benefit of the Supper is spiritual eating in which both heart and the soul of the believer are blessed.<sup>46</sup>

This understanding is most clearly indicated in the distribution rubric and formula of the 1552 Prayer Book. The rubric speaks only of bread and wine and the formula speaks of the faithful remembrance of Christ passion and a spiritual partaking by the faithful, thankful heart. This recalls Lasco's formula, in which "accipite," "edite" and "bibite" are all clearly secondary to "memineritis."

We see also a clear connection with the Bucerian position. Bucer's attempt to steer a middle course between the Lutheran understanding of corporal presence and the Zwinglian notion of a signifiatory understanding of the Communion which we can see emerging in Calvin and Lasco finds its full fruit in the Prayer Book formula of 1552. Those who recall the benefits of Christ are joined together with him and are spiritually fed and nourished with his body and blood. Later at his trial in Cambridge Bucer said: "For the sacramental bread and wine be not bare and naked figures, but pithy effectuous, that whosoever worthily eateth them, eateth spiritually Christ's flesh and blood, and hath by them everlasting life."<sup>47</sup>

Special attention must be given to the Prussian Church Orders of 1525, 1544, and 1568. Relevant portions of these orders were translated and to put to work in the Polish and Lithuanian Lutheran communities in Prussia.<sup>48</sup> This influence is also found in Livonian communities as in the case of the *Kirchendienstordnung und Gesangbuch der Stadt Riga 1530*.<sup>49</sup> The first Prussian Lutheran church order, *Artickel der Ceremonien und anderer Kirchen ordnung 1525* was issued by Georg Samland (1478–1550) and Erhardt Pomesan.<sup>50</sup> It is not a detailed order and contains no exact formula for the consecration, but specific directions are given with reference to the formula of distribution. The priest is directed to say individually to each communicant receiving the body and blood of Christ: "Take and eat this is the body which was given for you," "Take and drink this is the blood which was shed for you."<sup>51</sup> More detail is provided in the 1544 church order in which the Communion of the body of Christ follows immediately after the consecration of the

<sup>46</sup> The shape of the argument is set down by: Peter Brooks Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist. An Essay in Historical Development. London 1965, 72–109.

<sup>47</sup> Brooks 1965, 104.

<sup>48</sup> These orders were to have a strong influence on Martynas Mažvydas when he produced his Catechism, the first book written in Lithuanian language, and other liturgical materials including Baptismal rite, Matins and Vespers offices, and Holy Communion formulas. Portions of the Prussian agendas also were published in Polish in Königsberg in 1560, 1571, and 1615.

<sup>49</sup> Kirchendienstordnung und Gesangbuch der Stadt Riga nach den ältesten Ausgaben von 1530 flagg. kritisch bearbeitet und mit einer geschichtlichen Einleitung hrsg. von Johannes Geffcken. Hannover 1862, 4.

<sup>50</sup> Artickel der Ceremonien und anderer kirchen ordnung. Vom 10. Dezember 1525. [Nach dem Originaldruck Königsberg. Hans Weinreich 1526.]. – *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 7/II. Das Herzogthum Preussen. Polen. Die Ehemals Polnischen Landestheile des Königreichs Preussen. Das Herzogtum Pommern. Leipzig 1911, 30.

<sup>51</sup> Artickel der Ceremonien 1525. – *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* 1911, 33.

bread and the administration of the chalice follows immediately after its consecration. The priest is not to elevate the sacrament because this elevation would be superfluous. The priest gives the sacrament of the body before the chalice has been blessed, and he says to each communicant: "Take and eat this is the Lord's body which was given for you." After the singing of a hymn the chalice is consecrated. Then is followed by the singing of the *Agnus Dei* in German and then without interruption the sacrament of the blood of Christ is given but apparently without comment since no distribution formula is provided.<sup>52</sup>

In the 1568 order the Christ's body and blood are distributed together. The communicants approach the altar during the singing of the hymn, and receive in turn the consecrated bread and chalice which are described in the rubrics as the essential body and blood of Christ, to be received with all reverence and veneration, as a public witness before the whole world that this food and drink is the true body and blood of the Lord and are higher and different from every other meal on earth.<sup>53</sup> The priest speaks the following formula to each communicant "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ Jesus which was given for you which strengthens you to life everlasting," "Take and drink this is the blood of Christ Jesus shed for you poor sinner, which strengthens you to life everlasting."<sup>54</sup> In 1544 the form was very simple and no form was provided for the administration of the chalice, but in this later liturgy the formula of distribution has been raised to more prominent position. Here great care is taken with the wording of the formula and careful attention is given to the manner in which it is given and received. There is little room for doubt concerning the nature of the sacrament because for it is emphasized that is "waren" and "wesentlichen leib." In addition the priest is directed to speak the whole formula to each communicant so that no one may remain in doubt as to what and for what purpose it has been given.

In our review of the Reformation orders we observe that in the earliest period no great attention appears to have been paid to the formulas of distribution. Where a formula is included, it may take the traditional form common from pre-Reformation times: "The body of Jesus Christ preserve you to everlasting life," "The blood of Jesus Christ preserve you to everlasting life" (Zwingli 1523), or it may take the form of a Prayer: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my (or thy) soul unto life eternal" (Luther 1523), or it may take the form of an invitation "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ which is given for you..." (Prussian 1525).

In some orders no provision is made for the inclusion of the formula (Zwingli 1525, Luther 1526, Lukas 1527, and Calvin 1542). However in later times greater attention is given to the formulas. Disagreements in the doctrine of the Holy Communion among the

<sup>52</sup> Ordnung vom eusserlichen gotsdienst und artickel der ceremonien, wie es in den kirchen des hezogthums zu Preussen gehalten wird. 1544. [Nach dem Originaldruck Weintrich. Königsberg]. – *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* 1911, 65.

<sup>53</sup> „Unterdess gehen die mannspersonen zuerst, nachmals die frauenpersonen fein ordelichen und züchtig zu dem altar, nemen erstlich das gesegnete brot, nachmals den gesegneten kelch und damit den waren, wesentlichen leib und blut Christi mit aller reverenz und ehrerbietung, damit offentlichen für aller welt bezeugende, das sie allhie diese speise und trank als den waren leib und blut des herrn gar hoch und weit von aller anderer speise auf erden unterscheiden, und damit ein jede person des zu irem trost und lere erinnert werde, spricht der priester zu einem jeder insonderheit.“

Kirchenordnung und ceremonien, wie es in übung gottes worts und reichung der hochwirdigen sacrament in den kirchen des hezogthums Preussen sol gehalten werden. [Nach dem Druck 1568. Königsberg bei Johann Daubmann.]. – *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* 1911, 82.

<sup>54</sup> „Bei dem gesegneten brot:

Nim hin und isse, das ist der leib Christi Jesu, der für dich gegeben, der sterke dich zum ewigen leben. *Bei dem gesegneten kelch:* Nimm hin und trinke, das ist das blut Christi Jesu, für dich armen sündler vergossen, der sterk dich zum ewigen leben.“ Kirchenordnung und ceremonien [1568]. – *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* 1911, 82.

Reformers and their followers made the public confession of the nature and benefits of the gifts an important consideration. Lasco articulates a spiritual view: "Take, eat, and remember the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was given into death for us on the cross for the forgiveness of all our sins" (1550), and Bucer: "Remember believe and proclaim that Christ the Lord died for you, and gives himself to you for food and drink to eternal life" (Bucer 1539), and Cranmer: "Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." It is clear that the Reformed formulas draw attention away from the earthly elements of bread and wine, so that the heart and mind may contemplate the cross of Christ without diversion. The Lutheran orders speak of a one-to-one relationship between the bread and body, cup and blood, with increasing clarity. Among the Reformed theologians we see a progressively clearer emphasis away from the bread and wine to a spiritual eating of the body and blood. The Lutheran orders do not give evidence, of a shift in interpretation, but come to express their understanding of bodily eating and drinking with increasing clarity.

We found several instances in which, departing from Medieval tradition, the distribution of the bread follows immediately upon its consecration before the consecration of the cup (Luther 1526, Lukas 1527, Lasco 1555, and Prussian order 1544). This apparently is the result of an imprecise exegesis of the Lukan phrase "after they had supped" (Lk.22,20). It had been a stated desire of Luther as well as others that the administration of the sacrament should follow as closely as possible the pattern established in the upper room.<sup>55</sup>

Paul Graf in his *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* differentiates five categories of distribution formulas in churches of the Reformation.<sup>56</sup> He distinguishes among them:

- (1) Those in which the traditional formula of the Roman Mass continues in use: "The body (the blood) of Jesus Christ preserve you to everlasting life."
- (2) Those in which the communicants receive the invitation: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ which is given for you."
- (3) Those in which an enriched formula of a blessing is added to the invitation: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ which is given for you. This strengthen and preserve you in the faith to life everlasting."
- (4) Those in which we find referential formulas e.g. "The Lord Jesus said: take and eat..."; "Remember that the body of Christ was given into death for you"; "Our Lord Jesus Christ said: take and eat e. t. ..."
- (5) The Reformed churches which build upon the words of Saint Paul: "The bread which we break is the Communion of the body of Christ..."

This is a valuable analysis of the developed Communion formulas of the Lutheran and

<sup>55</sup> "It seems to me that it would accord with [the institution of] the Lord's Supper to administer the sacrament immediately after the consecration of the bread, before the cup is blessed; for both Luke and Paul say: He took the cup after they had supped, etc. [Luke 22:20; 1 Corinthians 11:25]." The German Mass and Order of Service, 1526. – *Luther's works* 1965, 81.

<sup>56</sup> "(1) "Der Leib (das Blut) Jesu Christi bewahre dich zum ewigen Leben. Amen" (2) "Nimm hin und iß, das ist der Leib Christi, der für dich gegeben ist. Nimm hin und trink, das ist das Blut des neuen Testaments, das für deine Sünde vergossen ist." (3) "Nimm hin und iß, das ist der Leib Christi, der für dich gegeben ist, der stärke und erhalte dich im Glauben zum ewigen Leben. Nimm hin und trinke, das ist das Blut Jesu Christi, das für deine Sünde vergossen ist, das stärke und bewahre dich im rechten Glauben zum ewigen Leben. (4) "Der Herr Jesus sagt: Nehmet hin..." (Lützelstein 1605); "Gedenk, daß der Leib Christi für dich in den Tod gegeben ist." (Erbach 1560); "Gedenk, glaub und bekenn, daß Christus für dich gestorben ist..." (Waldeck 1556) (5) "Das Brot, das wir brechen, ist die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi, der Kelch der Danksagung, damit wir dank sagen, ist die Gemeinschaft des Blutes Christi" (Kurpfalz 1563)" *Paul Graf Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*. Band 1. Göttingen 1937, 198–199.

Reformed churches, but we do not see clear indications of five such distinct groups in the period covered in this study.

The texts we have studied cover just the formative years of the Reformation era, the period in which the Eucharistic doctrine was being formulated and was beginning to be articulated in the Protestant liturgies. Our examination shows that the liturgies of this period either perpetuated the formulas inherited from before the Reformation or made no comment about the use of formulas. It was as the Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Bucerian positions came to be more clearly differentiated that we find the inclusion of formulas which direct the attention of the communicants the appropriate understanding of Holy Communion and Communion reception.

### *Distribution formulae in the Reformed liturgies in Lithuania and Poland*

In 1569 political necessity moved Poland and Lithuania into the Union of Lublin creating a single Polish Lithuanian Kingdom with a united leadership and a common defense against foreign powers. However the individual character, tradition, and languages of these two peoples were little affected.

Polish and Lithuanian Protestants were continued to have their own synods, to use their own distinct liturgies and pursue there distinct theological traditions which require separate attention.

### *Liturgical developments in the Kingdom of Poland*

The Reformation in the Kingdom of Poland shows largely Lutheran influences in the earliest period, due to the strong German influences in many parts of the country. In many Polish cities there were large number of German business men and merchants who brought the Lutheran Reformation with them and established Lutheran congregations which remained faithful to the evangelical Lutheranism in subsequent generations. Particularly large areas of Lutheran influence were found in Prussia which was under Polish control and the area around Poznań close to the German border.<sup>57</sup> Generally the Polish nobility and the Polish speaking peasantry showed little interest in Lutheranism. They found Reformed notions more congenial to their station in life.

In Minor Poland – the area of our primary concern we see the intention to establish in irenic Melanchthonian Lutheranism. The first concern of the Polish Protestants in that area was to establish themselves as the Church without primary reference to doctrinal allegiance. Subsequently at the synod of 1550 in Pińczów, the first synod of the Minor Poland Protestants, Franciscus Stancarus (1501–1574) recommended that the young Protestant community establish its theological and liturgical basis by adopting the pattern of the “consultation of Cologne” of 1543.<sup>58</sup> This document had been prepared for Archbishop Hermann von Wied (1477–1552) by Martin Bucer on the basis of the Brandenburg

<sup>57</sup> Paul Fox The Reformation in Poland. Some Social and Economic Aspects. Baltimore 1924, 21–33, deals with this period in detail.

<sup>58</sup> “Hoc tempore Franciscus Stancarus obtulerat iisdem ministris Reformationem Coloniensem, quam in primo motu susceperant; videbatur enim esse tolerabilis pro infirmis fratribus. Quae Reformatio plurimum in se complectebatur ex ritibus missationis papisticae.”

Najwcześniejsze zjazdy synodalne 1550–1555 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce*. Tom I (1550–1559). Opracowała Maria Sipaylo. Warszawa 1966, 2.

Nürnberg church order and other German Lutheran orders. In November the same year a next synod was held in the same town at which Jacob Silvius (†1583) led Protestant liturgy.<sup>59</sup> It is probable that its basis was the church order of Cologne 1543. Stancarus made a further attempt to unite the fractions by recommending church wide acceptance of the Augsburg confession.<sup>60</sup> It may be assumed that he had in mind the Melancthon's *Variata* which would provide some what more latitude in the understanding of the Eucharist than the original, unaltered Augsburg confession of 1530.

This Lutheran influence did not long prevail. Other influences soon became evident. The Polish nobility now begun to take interest not only in Herman von Wied's liturgical work but also in the Anglican church models as well.<sup>61</sup> At the same time we see in Minor Poland a movement away from the acceptance of a bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements and an increasing interest and acceptance of the theology of Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin and other Reformed theologians.<sup>62</sup> In Niedźwiedz a certain Albert was already celebrating Communion according to the rites of the Swiss Reformed.<sup>63</sup> Still, there was much disorder. We find during this period no order which is generally accepted throughout the region. The lack of doctrinal and liturgical consensus was paralleled by the appearance of Antitrinitarianism and other separatist theological positions.

This variety of theological opinions expressed was not conducive to the development of an over arching consensus of opinion on church teaching. Synod of Słomniki 1554 suggested that the community develop closer ties with the Bohemian brethren, a diverse group whose church had developed a strong sense of unity and discipline.<sup>64</sup> Union with the Bohemians was established at the Convocation of 1555 in Koźminek.<sup>65</sup> This brought with it the use in many places of a translation of Lukas of Prague 1527 church order. However the union itself was tentative and fragile. Its purpose was to bring into fellowship many Polish Protestants whose doctrinal positions were incompatible. In the same period a group within the church begun to express a greater interest in the theological positions of John Calvin.<sup>66</sup> Within one year the initial enthusiasm of the union had given way to grumbling and increasingly vocal disagreement on Eucharistic teaching. At the synod of Pińczow in 1556 some Polish groups begun to look with skepticism at the theological position and confession of faith of the Bohemian brethren and initiated a more thorough study of the theological teachings of the Swiss Protestants.<sup>67</sup>

The Poles had no center figure capable of providing a clear path. So they turned for help to Johannes a Lasco, and in the synod of Pińczow 1556 they officially invited him to help them formulate a theological position and accomplish the organization of the church

<sup>59</sup> "Eodem anno 25 Novembris publice missa papistica cum suis superstitionis idololatriis deposita et penitus abiecta est in ecclesia Pinczoviensi per eosdem superius notatos ministros Iesu Christi, Cena vere Dominica primo publice celebrata est per Iacobum Sylvium tunc ecclesiae Pinczoviensis pastorem..."

Najwcześniejsze zjazdy synodalne 1550-1555 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1966, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Zjazd Koźminku 24. VIII. – 2. IX. 1555 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1966, 35.

<sup>61</sup> Zjazd Koźminku 24. VIII. – 2. IX. 1555 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1966, 36.

<sup>62</sup> Stanislas Lubieniecki History of the Polish Reformation and Nine Related Documents. Minneapolis 1995, 104

<sup>63</sup> Stanislas Oricovii. Annales 1553. Posnaniae 1854, 79.

<sup>64</sup> „Tertio, quidam ex fratribus commendabant ecclesias Bohemorum fratrum, quos quidam Valdenses vocant. Horum fratrum commendabatur religiosa in omnibus reformatio, scilicet in doctrina, in ritibus et in disciplina ecclesiastica ex verbo Dei. Ex eo tempore institutum fuerat invisendas esse eorum ecclesias, ut probentur meliora et adiuvante Dei misericordia amplectantur.” Najwcześniejsze zjazdy synodalne 1550-1555 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1966, 3.

<sup>65</sup> Zjazd Koźminku 24. VIII. – 2. IX. 1555 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1966, 18–45.

<sup>66</sup> Synod w Pińczowie 24. IV. – 1. V. 1556 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1966, 73–74.

<sup>67</sup> Synod w Pińczowie 24. IV. – 1. V. 1556 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1966, 73–74.

around it.<sup>68</sup> Lasco's influence was considerable. He envisioned a general Protestant union comprising not only the various Reformed groups but also Lutherans and Bohemians. This goal was not achieved in his life time, although later a consensus agreement was concluded at the general synod of Sandomierz 1570. The union which was fragile, and in later years it was repeatedly repudiated by the Polish and Lithuanian Lutherans.

Lasco's work *Forma ac Ratio* was dedicated to the King of Poland Sigismund Augustus II (1520–1572). In his letter of December 1555 he expresses the opinion that the work which he had done of behalf of the London congregation might also be of great value for his homeland.<sup>69</sup> Lasco planed a church organization patterned after the Reformed church in Friesland with a form of church government comprised of superintendent, preacher, deacon and presbyter. It seems that many congregations made use of his *Forma ac Ratio*. His influence was most evident in Minor Poland, however, he was not able to accomplish the acceptance of a uniform order in all places. During his later years the synod of Włodzisław sought again to achieve uniformity.<sup>70</sup> Within days of his death the ministers at the synod of Pińczow petitioned their seniors for the acceptance of a uniform form of worship. They were advised to continue to follow the directives of Lasco until such time as God would see fit to show mercy to the Polish land and the church would be Reformed in such a manner that uniformity of worship would be achieved.<sup>71</sup>

By the end of 16th century the Polish Reformed had successfully curtailed the influence of Antitrinitarians in the larger church and effected a measure of theological unity. Now a new figure emerged – general superintendent Krzysztof Krański (1556–1618), a learned theologian and church administrator published *Porządek nabożeństwa kościoła powszechnego Apostolskiego...1599*. Almost all spheres of the ceremonial life of the church are considered. Krański does not claim to have produced a new work. His purpose has been to create form of worship on an apostolic basis, taking into account the valuable contributions of Swiss, English, Hungarian and other liturgical writings.<sup>72</sup> A corrected volume built on the basis of more witnesses appeared in 1602. The appearance of this agenda awakened a general awareness of the need for appropriate liturgical and ceremonial provisions. The publication of a new order in 1614 indicates the wide spread acceptance of the theological and liturgical paths being followed throughout Minor Poland. This document was later to play a pivotal role in the liturgical unification of Polish and Lithuanian Reformed communities. The agenda was reviewed by the Polish and Lithuanian super-

<sup>68</sup> Acta lcgationis as synodum Pinczoviensem A.D. 1556 Legati Fr. Matthias Czerwenka, Ioannes Lorentius, Ioannes Gelecki – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1966, 66.

<sup>69</sup> *Joannis a Lasco Opera* tam edita quam inedita. Accedit vitae auctoris enarratio a A. Kuyper. Vol. I. Amstelodami 1866, 347 et seq.

<sup>70</sup> "Quarto, hospites petierunt pro uno summe necessario promovendi regni Christi in nostra Polonia servandam esse uniformitatem in ministerio publico tam in doctrina quam in ritibus; disconvenientia enim horum plurimos scandalizat et offendit infirmiores fratres maxime vero in sententia sacramenti Cenae Dominicae et ritu eius. " Synod we Włodzisławiu 4-15.IX.1558 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1966, 271.

<sup>71</sup> "Petierunt, ut in omnibus ecclesiis uniformitas rituum servetur. Responsum: Quandoquidem Deus per suam mirabilem gratiam nobis apostolum Patriae nostrae, d. Ioannem a Lasco miserat ad nostras ecclesias instaurandas, dignum ergo esse videtur, ut eius formula omnes utantur interim, donec Dominus misereatur nostrae Patriae, ut unanimes sit ecclesiarum constitutio et reformatio."

Synod w Pińczowie 13-16 I 1560 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce*. Tom II (1560–1570). Opracowała Maria Sipayllo. Warszawa 1972, 4.

<sup>72</sup> PORZĄDEK nabożeństwa kościoła powszechnego Apostolskiego / słowem Bożym zbudowanego y vgrunтованого ná Jezusie Chrystusie: który iest Bogiem Izraelskim / Synem Bożym przedwiecznym społistym z Oycem / Zbawicielem / Káplanem / Przyczynią iedynym namiestniká nie máiącym / y dosyć vczynieniem zá grzechy ludzkie. Spisány ku chwale BOGV W TROYCY iedynemu: Roku 1598. Przez Xiędzá KRZYSZTOFA KRAŃSKIEGO, superintendentá Kościołow reformowanych w maiej Polsce / zá rádą i dozwozeniem bráciej Distriktu Lubelskiego. Drukowano w Toruniu / Roku 1599, 83.

intendents and pastors and corrected at the general convocation in 1633, in Orla, 1634 in Włodawa, and the general meeting of Polish and Lithuanian superintendents in 1636, in Toruń and it was finally accepted as the standard agenda.<sup>73</sup> The representatives of the Polish Bohemian congregations also participated fully and approved the work for use in their churches. The result was the publication of the Danzig Agenda of 1637. Today this work is often described as monumental. However, at that time the work was not well received in Lithuanian Reformed church, as we will note later.

### *Liturgical developments in Lithuania*

Lutheranism came first to Lithuania mainly through the strong influence of the Prussians and the founding of the university of Königsberg in 1544, which brought with it a strong Lutheran emphasis in doctrine and liturgy. Lithuanians Stanislaus Rapagelanus (Stanislavas Rapolionis) (a. 1485–1547) and Abraomus Culvensis (Abraomas Kulvietis) (a. 1509–1545) were the first professors appointed to serve in this university, both of whom had taken their theological degrees at Wittenberg university. S. Rapagelanus, who had defended his doctoral theses under Martin Luther, was the first dean of Königsberg's Theological faculty. Both were responsible for translating hymns into the Lithuanian language. The first book in Lithuanian language was produced by Martinus Mossvid (Martynas Mažvydas) (a. 1520–1563), a native of Western Lithuania, whose writings included a complete Catechism, a large number of hymns and important liturgical elements taken from Prussian agendas and ultimately dependant upon the Wittenberg traditions. During the period 1551–1556 Lithuanian nobles expressed strong interest in Lutheranism.<sup>74</sup> However under the leadership the cousins Radziwiłł the Black (1515–1565), and Radziwiłł the Brown (1512–1584) soon found Reformed Protestantism more congenial to their notions of nobility. In this they were followed by other Lithuanian nobles.

Radziwiłł the Black had first opened his castle in Brześć Litewsk to Protestant worship in 1553. We have no information concerning the form of this worship. It is known that a portrait of Dr. Martin Luther was given a prominent place in his palace, suggesting that the liturgy may have included some Lutheran elements.<sup>75</sup> This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that previously his younger brother Jan Radziwiłł (1516–1551), had converted to Lutheranism sometime between 1548 and 1550.<sup>76</sup> Subsequently Radziwiłł's the Black enthusiasm for Luther waned, and he moved toward the Reformed theological tradition. Under his leadership Lithuanian nobles looked to John Calvin, Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), Johannes a Lasco and other Reformed theologians for theological direction. Radziwiłł carried on a personal correspondence with John Calvin, who dedicated his *Commentarii in Acta Apostolorum 1560*<sup>77</sup> to him and with the a number of other important Reformed theologians and as a result begun the work of organizing a Reformed church in Lithuania. It was in Podlissia that the first signs of such organization became evident. Here under the leadership of Symon Zacjusz (1507–1591), Radziwiłł castle preacher, a

<sup>73</sup> AGENDA álbo FORMA PORZADKU USŁUGI SWIETEY, W ZBORACH EWANGELICKICH KORONNYCH Y WIELKIEGO XIESTWA LITEWSKIEGO Na wieczną część y chwałę Oycu, Synowi, y Duchu S. Bogu w Trocy jedynemu, zá zgodną Zborow wszystkich uchwałę, teraz nowo przyezrzana y wydána, WE GDANSKU Drukował Andrzej Hünefeldt. Roku Pańskiego, M DC XXXVII, 5.13.

<sup>74</sup> *Inge Lukšaitė* Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Mažojoje Lietuvoje. XVI a. trečias dešimtmetis – XVII a. pirmas dešimtmetis. Vilnius 1999, 259.

<sup>75</sup> *Lukšaitė* 1999, 250.

<sup>76</sup> *Lukšaitė* 1999, 250.

<sup>77</sup> *Der Briefwechsel der Schweizer mit den Polen*, hrsg. v. Theodor Wotschke. Leipzig 1908, 114 (Nr.200).

Protestant district was organized.<sup>78</sup> Meetings of nobles and leading citizens for the purpose of discussing reformational issues begun in Vilnius in 1557. The first synod of the Reformed church in Lithuania was held on December 14 of that year.<sup>79</sup> An important issue discussed at that synod was the nature of Christ's Eucharistic presence. The protocols of the synod indicate a preference for a Calvinistic orientation in Eucharistic matters.<sup>80</sup> There were a few Lutherans in attendance at this meeting, and Radziwiłł hoped that as a result of this synod successful mission work could be undertaken to bring Lutherans into the Reformed fold. Therefore the entire meeting was devoted primarily to a discussion of the Eucharist, as we see from the confession of faith *Wyznaniu wiary zboru Wileńskiego* which was published in Brześć, 1559.<sup>81</sup> At this same time a district was organized in the Vilnius region, the superintendent of which was S. Zacjusz.<sup>82</sup> A second synod was held in 1558 in Brześć Litewski. This marks the beginning of the emergence of a distinctly Lithuanian Reformed church.

Johannes a Lasco enjoyed an extremely good reputation among the Lithuanians during these years and carried on an extensive correspondence with Radziwiłł from 1555. It may be his influence which moved Radziwiłł the Black toward a more typically Calvinist confession.<sup>83</sup> Johannes a Lasco arrived in Polish Kingdom in December 1556 and soon became the dominant theologian.<sup>84</sup> In March 1557 he visited Vilnius to present himself to the king Sigismund Augustus II and plead for the reform of Polish and Lithuanian Roman Catholicism according to the theology of the Reformed churches.<sup>85</sup> His great vision was to establish a united Protestant church which would include Lutherans, Reformed and Bohemian brethren. During his visit in Vilnius he met with Radziwiłł the Black and the other prominent Lithuanian nobles to share his vision of the Reformation and inspire them to support its implementation.<sup>86</sup>

The first service of Holy Communion which comes to our attention is *Forma albo porządek sprawowania Świątości Pańskich...1581*, printed in Vilnius in the Polish language. The title of this volume indicates that it is a reprint of an earlier work which is no longer extant. A further reprint appeared in 1594 and 1598 and in 1598 Malcher Pietkiewicz (Merkelis Petkevičius) (a.1550–1608), secretary of the Vilnius region, published a Lithuanian edition with the hymnal and catechism. The service of Holy Communion was reprinted again in 1600. This form of worship exhibit the strong influence both, of Calvin's Geneva order of 1542 and Johannes a Lasco's liturgy *Forma ac Ratio 1550*. Some elements including exhortations and prayers are taken almost word for word from Lasco's work. His influence however is limited because we find Zwingli's prayer at the beginning of communion, and the directions in formula for distribution of the Communion are not those of Lasco but rather a traditional Western form.

The agendas of Kraiński became prominent in Minor Poland in the opening years of the 17 century. In 1614 a revised edition of his work was introduced for use throughout

<sup>78</sup> Lukšaitė 1999, 284.

<sup>79</sup> Lukšaitė 1999, 286.

<sup>80</sup> Akta to jest sprawy zboru krześciańskiego Wileńskiego, ktore się poszły Roku Pańskiego 1557 miesiąca decembra dnia 14. za sprawą Kxiedza Simona z Prossowic tego zboru superintendenta Kaznodzieie Oświeconego Książęcia pana Mikołaja Radziwiła Woicwody Willeńskiego etc. w Brześciu Litewskim MDLIX. – *Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae*. Serya X, Zeszyt I. Wilno 1913, 19.

<sup>81</sup> Akta to jest sprawy 1559. – *Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae* 1913, V.

<sup>82</sup> Akta to jest sprawy 1559. – *Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae* 1913, VI.

<sup>83</sup> Akta to jest sprawy 1559. – *Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae* 1913, I.

<sup>84</sup> Halina Kowalska Działalność reformatorska Jana Łaskiego w Polsce 1556-1560. Warszawa 1999, 36

<sup>85</sup> Kowalska 1999, 39.

<sup>86</sup> Akta to jest sprawy 1559. – *Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae*. 1913, I.

Minor Poland. The general introduction to the Danzig agenda of 1637 informs us that the 1614 agenda was used extensively also in Major Poland. Given the popularity of this work, we may assume that some of its provisions were used also in some Lithuanian Reformed congregations. Evidence of this is found in the protocols of the synods of 1621<sup>87</sup> and 1627<sup>88</sup>, both of which bare witness to a desire to unify usages of the churches in Lithuania and Minor Poland. At the general convocations in Orla in 1633 and Włodawa in 1634, and in the meeting of the superintendents in Toruń in 1636 representatives of the Lithuanian Reformed churches participated in the review and subsequent acceptance of the new agenda project. The Danzig Agenda appeared in print 1637, and it was to become the standard liturgical text in Lithuanian Reformed congregations. However, within 7 years a newly corrected text of the service of Holy Communion appeared. *Akt vshgi chrztv s. y s. wieczerezy panskiej... 1644* was published in the Polish language in Lubecz, under the authorization of the superintendent Nikolay Wysocki (\*1595) for use in the districts of Lithuania. The appearance of this book indicates that the Danzig Agenda was not acceptable to Lithuanians. Evidence of this is found in the letter, dated June 25, 1637, which was sent to the Poles by the representatives of the Vilnius provincial synod, over the signature of the superintendents of the districts of Podlussia, Vilnius an Samogitia. This letter states that the form of the worship found in the Danzig Agenda no longer congenial to the congregations. They described that the Lithuanians had long since abandoned such Roman Catholic terms as confession and Absolution, and the Roman Calendar and had no intentions of reintroducing them. In a subsequent letter the Poles were assured that the Lithuanians had not completely rejected the Danzig agenda. The Poles subsequently expressed great surprise with this action, since the Lithuanians in Włodawa (1634) had officially approved this work and authorized its use. The Bohemian Brethren sent an official letter to the Lithuanians after their synod at Leszno of 1638 expressing their astonishment at this action and reminding the Lithuanians that they must honor their previous agreements and pay their assigned portion of the costs of this work.<sup>89</sup> The Lithuanians did pay but remained firm in their convictions. Planned meetings between the Poles and Lithuanians to produce an agenda acceptable for both countries were thwarted by the

<sup>87</sup> Akta Synodów prowincjalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1611–1625. – *Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae*. Serya IV, Zeszyt II. Wilno 1915, 60.

<sup>88</sup> Stanisław Tworek Starania o ujednolicenie obrządku kalwińskiego w Polsce XVII wieku. – *Obrodozenie i Reformacja w Polsce*. Tom XVI. Warszawa 1971, 124.

<sup>89</sup> Despite the approval of the agenda project at the general convocation in Włodawa (1634), the Lithuanian Reformed did not want to accept the Danzig Agenda (1637). It is indicated in the following letter from the Synod of Leszno (Major Poland) in 1638:

„Nam wielce łaskawi w Chrystusie Bracia!

Na list synodu prowincjalnego wileńskiego anno superiori do nas die 25. Junii pisany, odpisaliśmy Jchmościom Panom i patronom ecclesiarum vestrarum in M. D. Lit. a przy Jch Mość i WM. naszym w Panu wielce łaskawym Braciom. Hoc vero satis mirari non potuimus, żeśmy i przy innych Jchmościach Chirografy WMościów w tym liście widzieli, WMościów, którzyście na konwokacyach przeszłych, a osobliwie włodawskiej z nami wespół agendy albo formy usług kościelnych, approbowali. Teraz, ut videmini, one z innymi Jchmościami retraktujecie i ręce swe rękoma własnym, zdania zdaniom i samych siebie sobie opoznujecie. Już to po czasie deliberować o tem, jeżeli agendy przyjąć, czyli nie, które od WMciów jako plenipotentów zborów litewskich approbowane i do zborów Bożych w Wielkiej i Malej Polsce już introdukowane. Teraz czas nie tylko je rekomendować Braci Ministrom i onych własnemu nągdemu w zborach pańskich używaniu powierzyć się, ale też i zapłacić te. Brat miły X. Paweł Orlicz założył tymczasem WMościów i zapłacił te wszystkie egzemplarze, które na stronę WMościów przejść miały, a uczynił to za wolą a rozkazaniem, jako on pisze, a my za prośbą i assekuracją waszą przedkiję zapłaty. Exsolvenda vobis fides et nostra et Reverendi Domini Dobranii i żebyście WMość autoritate Vestra w to potrafiłi, żeby pomienionemu Bratu X. Pawłowi Orliczowi jako najprędzej satysfakcja się stała, o co prosimy. Officium nemini debet damnosum, a dopieroż takie i na takowych ludzi publiczną affektacją i assekuracją etc.”

Józef Łukaszewicz Dzieje Kościołów wyznania Helweckiego w Litwie. Tom II. Poznań 1843, 259–260.

destruction of the Vilnius church by a Jesuit led mob in 1639. Representatives of all three provinces finally met in general convocation in Orla in August 1644. This resulted in the publication of the three most commonly used forms: Baptism, Lord's Supper and Marriage. It was hoped that an entire agenda could be produced sometime in near future. 250 copies were produced of "Akt usługi...": 100 for Lithuanians, 100 for Minor Poles and 50 for Major Poles.<sup>90</sup> War with Russia and the increased power of the counterreformation meant that the unification of the rites came to be seen as a minor issue. The full agenda was never published. However, the text of 1644 was apparently widely used. It was included in the *Sześć AKTOW... 1742* published in Königsberg, sometimes also called the "Minor Agenda." This work is a compilation of 6 liturgical ceremonies, most of which come from the Danzig agenda.

It is most striking that only once was the text of the Holy Communion printed in Lithuanian language, in 1598. In all other instances the Polish language which is used. This is accounted for by the fact that conversion to the Reformed church was largely limited to the Polish speaking nobility. Reformed theology and liturgy had little impact among the Lithuanian speaking peasantry. This greatly facilitated the work of the Jesuits in reclaiming Lithuanian speaking people to the Roman Catholic church. Three years before the appearance of Pietkiewicz Catechism the Jesuit Mikalojus Daukša (1613†) published his Catholic Catechism in the Lithuanian language 1595, and Catholic Postilla 1599.

### *An examination of the Distribution formulae*

The earliest extant source for the study of the liturgy in Poland and Lithuania is: *FORMA Albo porządek sprawowania Świątości Páńskich / iáko Krztu świętego / y społeczności Wieczery Páńskiej / przytym y inszych Ceremoniy álbo posługowania Zboru Bożego / ku potrzebie pobożnym Pasterzom / y prawdziwym Ministrom Páná Krystusowym / z nowu wydána y drukowana w Wilnie. Roku od národzenia Syná Bożego / 1581*. The Polish scholar Karol Estreicher (1827–1908) in *Bibliografia Polska* knows only the edition of this work which published in Vilnius in 1600.<sup>91</sup> However, a copy of the 1581 edition has been found in Scaffhausen and the 1594 edition has recently been discovered at the library at the University of Uppsala and in the library of the University of Vilnius there is an edition published in Vilnius in 1598. This important source corresponds to the text found in Malcher Pietkiewicz Catechism, which was translated into Lithuanian in 1598. Catechism consists in standard catechetical material, together with a hymnal and agenda of pastoral acts and the liturgy for use in congregations. In the Pietkiewicz catechism we find the Polish text and its Lithuanian translation in parallel columns.

Here we find the traditional distribution formula: "Take, eat, this is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ which he gave into death for us and for our salvation," "Take drink from this all of you this cup is the New Testament of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which for the redemption of our sins is shed on the cross".<sup>92</sup> Although Lasco's work left a strong mark on this liturgy, the distribution formula does not appear to run in line with the litur-

<sup>90</sup> Tworek 1971, 135.

<sup>91</sup> Karol Estreicher Bibliografia polska. Szczęść III. Tom V. Kraków 1898, 259.

<sup>92</sup> „Bierźcie / iedźcie / to iest ciáło Páná nášzego / Jezusá Krystusá / ktore zá nas iest ná śmierć wydáne dla zbáwienia nášzego... Bierźcie / pićcie z tego wszyscy / ten Kubek iest Nowy Testáment we krwi Páná nášzego Jezusá Krystusá / ktora dla nas iest wylána ná krzyżu / na odpuszczenie wszystkich grzechow nášzych...“ *FORMA Albo porządek sprawowania Świątości Páńskich / iáko Krztu świętego / y społeczności Wieczery Páńskiej / przytym y inszych Ceremoniy álbo posługowania Zboru Bożego / ku potrzebie pobożnym Pasterzom / y prawdziwym Ministrom Páná Krystusowym / z nowu wydána y drukowana w Wilnie. Roku od národzenia Syná Bożego / 1581*, Dd.

gical work of Lasco, for whom remembrance occupies the central place and no clear connection is made between bread and body, cup and blood. In distinction from Lasco's work in this formula the Eucharistic gifts occupy the central place, and no specific reference is made to the faith of participant. Only after Communion does the minister exhort those who have participated to a faithful remembrance which will preserve to them the benefits of the gifts they have received: "Believe and do not doubt, all of you who for the remembrance of the sufferings of the Lord have become partakers in this Holy Communion, that you have a true and salutary fellowship in the body and blood of our Lord unto eternal life." These words are strongly reminiscent of Johannes a Lasco's work.<sup>93</sup>

A second extant source is *PORZĄDEK nabożeństw w kościołach powszechnego Apostolskiego / słowem Bożym zbudowanego y vgruntowanego na Jezusie Chrystusie : który iest Bogiem Izraelskim / Synem Bożym przedwiecznym spolistnym z Oycem / Zbawicielem / Káplanem / Przyczyną iedynym namiestniká nie máiącym / y dosyć wczynieniem zá grzechy ludzkie. Spisány ku chwale BOGV WTROYCY iedynemu : Roku 1598. Przez Xiędzá KRZYSZTOFA KRAINSKIEGO, superintendenta Kościołow reformowanych w małej Polsce / zá rádk i pozwoleniem bráćiej Distriktu Lubelskiego. Drukowano w Toruniu / Roku 1599*. This book was prepared by Krzysztof Krański (1556–1618), Superintendent of the Reformed congregations in Minor Poland. Although Toruń is identified as the place of publication, the book was actually published elsewhere. Krański gave Toruń as the place of publication in order to cover up the fact that his work had been published by the Antitrinitarian Rodecki in Kraków.<sup>94</sup> This extensive work of 497 pages, approved for use in the district of Lublin, Belz and Chelm, includes forms covering every aspect of ministerial activity and congregational life. Extensive marginal notes quote both the scriptures and the fathers of the ancient church, indicating that the author intends to produce a scholarly work which stands in continuity with the apostolic and post apostolic eras. It appears that the author seeks to contradict Roman Catholic claims that the Protestants are a new sect which has introduced novel doctrines and ceremonies. At the same time Krański counters the claims of Antitrinitarians and other radicals who deny or neglect church's traditional doctrinal confession of the Holy Trinity and reject traditional liturgical worship. In his introduction the author notes that in the preparation of his work he had made extensive use of French, English, Scottish, Hungarian, Swiss, Dutch and other Protestant agendas which bore witness to a common Reformed Protestant faith.<sup>95</sup>

Krański's work exhibits remarkable elements. In addition to the traditional recitation of Christ's Testament, quoted from 1 Corinthians 11, there is a separate setting apart of the elements in which the Dominical words are repeated. This additional setting apart is included under the heading: "Blessing, breaking, distribution, eating". First the words of Paul "The bread which we break is the Communion of the body of Christ" are recited with a strong voice. Following this the minister says: "Our Lord Jesus Christ when he came to his suffering sat together with his disciples at Supper as the Holy evangelists say. He

<sup>93</sup> „Bierżcie a nie nie wątpić wy wszyscy / ktorzyście na pamiętkę męki Pańskiej / tey światey Wieczerczey uczestnikami sie stali / że macie pewną a zbawienną społeczność w ciele y we krwi Pana Krystusowey /u żywotowi wiecznemu / Amen.“

*FORMA Albo porządek* 1581, Dd.

„Credite et ne dubitate omnes, qui Coenae huius Dominicæ in memoriam mortis Christi participastis cum mysterii sui reputatione, habere vos certam et salutarem cum ipso communionem in corpore et sanguine suo ad vitam æternam. Amen.“

*Forma ac ratio* 1550. – *Coena Domini I* 1983, 451.

<sup>94</sup> *Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa* Ariańskie oficyny wydawnicze Rodeckiego i Sternackiego dzieje i bibliografia. Wrocław 1974, 160.

<sup>95</sup> *Porządek nabożeństw* 1599, 83.

took bread (the minister takes bread), gave thanks, and broke it, saying: take, eat this is my body. This do in the remembrance of me". The minister distributes the bread, saying: "This same I also say unto you in the name of Christ: "Take, eat, this is the body of our Lord Christ which is given for you"". After the minister speaks the words of Paul over the cup: "The cup of blessing which we bless is the Communion of the blood of Christ", he repeats the words of Christ as found in the gospel according to St. Luke: "After Supper [he] took the cup and gave thanks and gave it to them saying: 'Drink, all of you, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you for the forgiveness of sins. Do this as often as you drink it in remembrance of me.'" Then he distributes the cup with the words: "This same I also say unto you in the name of Christ: 'Take, drink, this is the blood of our Lord Christ which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins'."96 A Communion hymn from the catechism is sung during the distribution. It is noted that if the blessed bread and cup are not sufficient for the number of communicants, the words of consecration are to be repeated over the additional supplies.

In most respects the formula appears to be quite traditional. However, upon close inspection an important question arises: how are we to understand the statement "This same I also say unto you in the name of Christ: 'Take, eat, this is the body of our Lord Christ which is given for you'""? Two possibilities present themselves. On the one hand the minister may be understood to be speaking in the place of Christ and repeating his words. He speaks the words of Christ over the elements, and by means of these words Christ consecrates the elements. This interpretation would be congenial to the position in Article VII of the Formula of Concord. It is more likely, however, that this formula simply avoids the necessity of making a strong statement concerning the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper and the benefits which accrue to reception.

A question arises also concerning the close relationship between the consecration and distribution. First the words of Christ are spoken over the elements, and then the words of Paul are recited accompanied by the fraction at the immediate distribution of the bread. After all have received the bread, the same order is followed with reference to the cup. This pattern is frequently met in orders for the Communion of the sick but does not appear in public Communion services exception Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, the liturgy of Lucas of Prague 1527, and the Prussian Church Order 1544. Provision for the separate distribution of the elements is also made in Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* in its unusual "table sitting." No order, excepting only Lasco's, makes reference to words of Paul concerning

<sup>96</sup> „Po śpiewaniu weźmie chleb w ręce, a łamiąc będzie mówił słowá apóstolskie głosem po trzykroć, y będzie kładł ná Pátynę. Páwél ś. pisząc do Koryntow / w Liście pierwszym / a w kápitułé 10. mówi te słowá. Chleb który łamiemy / Jzali nie iest społecznościá ciáła Christusowego: Poloży i rzecze głosem:

Pan náš Jezus Christus / idąc ná mękę / á siedząc z uczniami swymi przy Wieczerzy / mówią święci Ewángelistowie: Wziął chleb / *Weźmie chleb.* á podziękowawszy łamał / i dawał im / mówiąc: Bierźcie / jedźcie / Toć iest ciáło moje: To czynćie ná pámiaćkę moje.

To rzeksz, *podawiając Sakrament stojącym rzecze:* Tákże y ia tobie mówię imieniem Christusowym : Bierz / jedz / To iest ciáło Pána Christusowe / które iest zá cię wydane.

A kiedy się odprówią, *weźmie Kielich, y głosem mówić będzie po trzykroć słowá Apostolskie:* Páwél święty pisząc do Koryntow / w Liście pierwszym á w kápitułé dżiesiątej / mowi te słowá: Kielich błogosłáwienia który błogosłáwimy / Jzali nie iest społecznościá krwi Christusowej:

*Poloży i rzecze głosem:*

A gdy było po Wieczerzy / mowi Lukasz święty / wziął Kielich / *weźmie Kielich.* y dżięki uczyniwszy dał im / mówiąc: Pryćie z tego wszyscy / Ten Kielich iest on Testáment nowy przez krew moję / która dla wielu ich bywa rozlana ná odpuszczenie grzechow. To czynćie ilekroć będziecie pić ná pámiaćkę moje.

To rzeksz, *podawiając stojącym Kielich rzecze:*

Tákże i ia tobie mówię imieniem Christusowym : Bierz / piy / To iest krew Pána Christusowá / która iest zá cię wylana ná odpuszczenie grzechow".

*Porządek nabożeństwá 1599, 172–174.*

the bread and cup and includes the fraction. The shadow of Lasco rests upon all the Polish and Lithuanian rites. Some provisions of his *Forma ac Ratio*, such as his provision for table sitting were not followed in Lithuania and Poland because of the use of this form of reception by the Antitrinitarians. But from him comes the form of distribution and the important place given to the words of Paul.

Three years after the publication of this work another new agenda appeared in Minor Poland. The synod of the district of Chmielnik of 1600 called for a revision of Kraiński's work to bring it into a line with the work of Johannes a Lasco.<sup>97</sup> It appeared in 1602 under the title: *PORZĄDEK NABOZENSTWA KOŚCIOŁA Powszechnego Apostolskiego, Słowem Bożym vgruntowanego y zbudowanego na IEZVSIE KRYSVTVSIE. Spisany ku chwale BOGV W TROYCY IEDYNEMV: ROKV 1602. Przez Stársze Kościołow reformowanych w małej Polsce, za radą y dozwoleнием Synodu Prouinciálního Ożarowskiego y Włodzisláwskiego. FORMA ODORAWOWANIA WIECZERZY PAŃSKIEY*. The place of publication is not noted. This agenda was approved by the synods of Ożarów, Włodzisław and Łańcut for use throughout all the districts of the Reformed Church in Minor Poland. The book identifies itself as a lineal descendent of Kraiński's work. The general pattern of the book, including the testimony of the ancient fathers, follows the earlier pattern but the book is far shorter, and the Communion service has been significantly revised.

The words of the Testament, from 1 Corinthians 11,23–29 are made the occasion of the setting apart of the bread and wine for the Supper. Included are the Manual Acts. At the words "he took bread", the minister takes the bread in his hand, and at the words "after the Supper", introducing the words of Christ over the cup, he lifts up the cup. The Manual Acts strengthen our impression that we are dealing here with more than a mere historical recitation. The distribution is preceded by the singing of the three-fold *Agnus Dei*. The section entitled "Blessing, Breaking, Distributing, Eating" is retained, but the words of the Testament are not repeated. In their place are the words of Saint Paul from 1 Corinthians 10. "Saint Paul in the first letter to the Corinthians, chapter ten, speaks these words: 'The bread which we break is it not the Communion of the body of Christ?'"<sup>98</sup> Then the minister distributes the blessed bread with the words: "Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Christ, which is given for you".<sup>99</sup> After the distribution of the bread he says similarly concerning with cup: "Saint Paul in the first letter to the Corinthians, chapter ten, speaks these words: 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the blood of Christ?'" This is followed by the administration of the cup with the words: "Take, drink, this is the blood of the Lord Christ, which is shed for the remission of sins".<sup>100</sup> During this distribution a Holy Communion hymn from the catechism is sung.

We noted above that in the 1599 order the impression was given that the elements are consecrated elements. As is typical in Reformed liturgies there is a recitation of the Pauline account on the Institution of the Lord's Supper. But in this liturgy the actual consecration comes much later, with a repetition of Christ's words over the bread and cup. Between the historical recitation and the setting apart of the gifts we find the following

<sup>97</sup> "Forma x. Krzysztofowa aby była korygowana według Formy sławnej pamięci x. Jana Łaskiego mutatis mutandis, a to co najbliższy słowa Bożego." Synod dystryktowy w Chmielniku 21 IX 1600 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce*. Tom III (1571–1632). Opracowała Maria SipayHo. Warszawa 1983, 215.

<sup>98</sup> *PORZĄDEK NABOZENSTWA KOŚCIOŁA Powszechnego Apostolskiego, Słowem Bożym vgruntowanego y zbudowanego na IEZVSIE KRYSVTVSIE. Spisany ku chwale BOGV W TROYCY IEDYNEMV: ROKV 1602. Przez Stársze Kościołow reformowanych w małej Polsce, za radą y dozwoleнием Synodu Prouinciálního Ożarowskiego y Włodzisláwskiego*, 40–41.

<sup>99</sup> *PORZĄDEK NABOZENSTWA* 1602, 41.

<sup>100</sup> *PORZĄDEK NABOZENSTWA* 1602, 41.

prayer: "Even now God's people, coming to the Lord's table, rising hearts to heaven, we ask our high bishop and Lord Jesus Christ that he would be present with his holy power at his holy action, we ask that he himself would consecrate this bread and wine and that he would make us worthy and acceptable to eat his body and drink his blood. This we do kneeling and praying: O worthy of praise, most high Lord Jesus Christ, pastor and bishop of our souls, ... we humbly ask you to consecrate with your word this bread and this wine, as you consecrated it for the disciples, when you sat together with them at the table."<sup>101</sup>

In the 1602 agenda the words of the Testament are spoken only once, after a similar prayer which asks that the Lord would by his word consecrate the bread and cup. In this case the words of Christ may seem to have an almost consecratory significance and therefore they do not need to be repeated a second time, as Krański had done in the agenda 1599. That the *Verba Testamenti* to be more than a mere historical recital of the first Supper is further indicated by the presence of the of the „manual acts“, in which the minister takes the bread into his hand while speaking of Christ's blessing of the bread, and in like manner takes the cup during the cup words. There is no specific provision for the setting apart additional elements, therefore we cannot say with certainty whether additional supplies were blessed with the words of Christ. This omission is corrected in the 1614 order where additional supplies are to be set apart by recitation of the *Verba Testamenti*. Here we have the liturgical expression of a movement towards a theological definition of the nature of the sacrament. The 1614 order also directs that the minister is to consume any remaining consecrated gifts.<sup>102</sup>

We must now address the question of the meaning of these formulas in the context of the Reformed theological tradition. If we would correctly understand the petition "consecrate this bread and this wine with your word",<sup>103</sup> we must determine how these words are to be understood from the Reformed perspective. Are we to understand that the bread and wine are here identified with the body and blood of the Lord? If so, how does this differ from Luther's doctrine that the bread is the body and the wine is the blood, in contradiction to the Reformed maxim *Finitum non capax infiniti*? If that is the case, we may ask if this is indeed a proper Reformed liturgy. We must further ask whether, or in what sense one may speak of a consecration of the elements in the Reformed liturgical tradition.

An examination of the Reformed liturgical tradition must begin with evaluation of the work of Ulrich Zwingli. He eschews the notion of the consecration of the bread and wine and regards it as a Catholic peculiarity which must be repudiated. For him it goes hand in hand with the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation. Further, he states that the consecration of the bread and wine is in no case necessary, since earthly elements cannot bring spiritual and saving benefits. He is philosophically bound to insist upon disconti-

<sup>101</sup> „Już teraz ludu Boży przystępując do stołu Bożego / podnaszając serce ku niebu / prosimy najwyższego Biskupa Pána Jezu Christá / aby przy tym Akcie świętym raczył być obecnym mocą bóstwa swego świętego: prosimy go aby nam ten chleby to wino sam poświęcił / y aby nas godne y sposobne uczynił do używania ciała swego / y do picia krwi swoicy. Co uczynimy pokłękawszy: Tak się modlimy. O Chwalebny / á najwyższy Pasterzu Biskupie dusz naszych / Pánie Jezu Christe ... prosimy cię nędzncy / poświęć nam ten chleb y to wino słowem twoim / iákoś poświęcił uczniom swoim / siedząc z nimi zá stołem.“  
*Porządek nabożeństw 1599*, 167–168.

<sup>102</sup> „A ieśliby co pozostało ná Pátynie, y w kielichu, według napierwszego, y nasłuszniejszego zwyczáiu, Minister ono zconsumie.“ *PORZĄDEK NABOŻENSTWA KOŚCIOŁA POWSZECHNEGO APOSTOLSKIEGO, Słowem Bożym vgruntowanego y zbudowanego Ná IEZUSIE KRYSZUSIE Spisány, ku chwale BOGU W TROYCY JEDYNEMU: ROKU 1602*. Przez Stársze Kościółow reformowanych w małej Polsce, za radą y dozwoleńiem Synodu Provincialnego Ożarówskiego, Włodzisławskiego, y Łañcutskiego. Powtoro Drukowano / Roku 1614, 55.

<sup>103</sup> *Porządek nabożeństw 1599*, 167–168.

nuity between the earthly elements and the body and blood of Christ, which are locally found only at the right hand of the Father in heaven. This sets the pattern of thought which becomes a distinctive mark of Reformed theology and its liturgical expression. Those who are regarded as Zwingli's theological descendants take great care to speak of the body and blood of Christ in a way which does not identify with the bread and wine. Luther in his 1527 essay *That These Words of Christ, "This is my Body," etc., Still Stand Firm Against the Fanatics* groups Zwingli together with Andreas Karlstadt (1480–1541) and Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531), saying that all three are agreed that Christ's words do not mean what they say.<sup>104</sup> Whether primary attention is focused on "this" or "is" or "my body", the outcome is the same – the finite element is understood to be incapable of communicating the body of Christ. In his major study *This is my body* Hermann Sasse observes, that "Zwingli and all Reformed churches reject the idea that the elements are consecrated by reciting the words of Christ. In fact, for Zwingli as for Karlstadt, the Lutheran idea of a consecration of bread and wine was a sure proof that Luther's understanding of the Sacrament was still Papistic, and the Reformed churches have followed Zwingli in this verdict, whatever their opinion on Zwingli's theology otherwise may be. This is born out by the fact that none of the classical liturgies of the Reformed churches contains a consecration in the proper sense. The Words of Institution are rather understood as a historical narrative addressed to the people."<sup>105</sup>

Calvin, while stressing the spiritual Communion of Christians with their Lord in his Supper, does not clearly identify that spiritual Communion with the earthly elements in the Supper. The bread and wine serve as signs which point beyond themselves to the heavenly body and blood in such a way that the Communion of the elements becomes the occasion of spiritual Communion with Christ but not its inevitable cause. Therefore for Calvin too, the words of Christ are regarded as a historical recitation rather than a consecratory act.

Luther's understanding of the words of Institution and their power to consecrate proceeds from an entirely different base. Indeed, one may say that for Luther the words of Christ are to be taken as they stand and their meaning is not to be determined on the basis of philosophical notions concerning the relationship between heaven and earth, God and man, spiritual and material. Christ's power to accomplish his presence by the power of his word is not to be denied because of our inability to explain it. According to Luther, the words retain forever the same power as when Christ's first spoke them. These words are now spoken by the priest with the same result, as when Christ first spoke them in the presence of the disciples. The sacramental union is accomplished by the words of Christ spoken over the bread and wine. Before the consecrating words of Institution the bread is mere bread and the cup is mere wine. However, by virtue of the words of Christ the bread and wine are consecrated to be the body and the blood of Christ.

"This his command and institution can and does bring it about that we do not distribute and receive ordinary bread and wine but his body and blood, as his words read, 'This is my body,' etc., 'This is my blood,' etc. Thus it is not our word or speaking but the command and ordinance of Christ that, from the beginning of the first Communion until the end of the world, make the bread the body and the wine the blood that are daily distributed through our ministry and office."<sup>106</sup>

The Formula of Concord, Article Seven, states that it is simply restating Luther's posi-

<sup>104</sup> *That These Words of Christ, "This is my Body," etc., Still Stand Firm Against the Fanatics, 1527.* – *Luther's works* 1961, 41–42.

<sup>105</sup> Sasse 1959, 164–165.

<sup>106</sup> Concerning the private mass and the consecration of Priests. – *Luther's works*. Vol. 38: Word and Sacrament IV, Philadelphia 1971, 240, 8 ff.

tion when it says:

"This is to be ascribed only to the almighty power of God and the Word, institution, and ordinance of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the truthful and almighty words of Jesus Christ which he spoke in the first institution were not only efficacious in the first Supper but they still retain their validity and efficacious power in all places where the Supper is observed according to Christ's institution and where his words are used, and the body and blood of Christ are truly present, distributed, and received by the virtue and potency of the same words which Christ spoke in the first Supper. For wherever we observe his institution and speak his words over the bread and cup and distribute the blessed bread and cup, Christ himself is still active through the spoken words by the virtue of the first institution, which he wants to be repeated".<sup>107</sup>

Here we observe two quite different estimates of the words of Institution and the role they play in the churches' liturgies. In the Reformed tradition the words are valued as an historical recital of the Institution of the Lord's Supper in the upper room. The words themselves have no consecratory significance. Luther on the other hand centers everything in the words of Christ's Testament. These words, recited or sung over the bread and wine, make them what the Lord says they are, mainly his body and blood, given and shed once on the cross and now present in the elements for Christians to eat and drink. Therefore the words of Institution are central and essential to every Lutheran celebration of the Supper.

We may see something of this same emphasis on the words of Christ in the Liturgy of Lukas of Prague 1527, although Luther and other German reformers of the same period noted a certain breadth of interpretation among the Bohemian Brethren. However in any case it is clear that the 1527 liturgy of Lukas from Prague does not show any Zwinglian influence and cannot be clearly identified as standing within Reformed tradition.

Where are Kraiński and the redactors of the 1602 agenda to be placed in this theological and liturgical spectrum? We have seen that in this liturgy the minister calls upon God to make present the body and blood of Christ by the power of Christ's own word. This word can only be understood only as the word which Christ spoke over the bread and wine over the first Supper. This is consistent with the provisions of the 1599 liturgy which includes not only the traditional historical recitation of the Testament but also provide for the additional recitation of the words of Christ over the bread and cup. That the words of Christ are here understood to be consecratory can be seen from the provision that the blessed bread is to be distributed immediately after the bread words of Christ and Communion of the blessed cup is to follow immediately upon the recitation of Christ's cup words.<sup>108</sup> Such a notion finds support in Bullinger's Second Helvetic Confession of 1561 upon which the confession of Sandomierz of 1570 was based. For Bullinger the consecration has been effected once and for all by Jesus Christ. His words are repeated by the ministers that the people might in faith look to their own Lord.<sup>109</sup>

It appears that the Polish Reformed were one of the first among the continental Reformed churches to give consecratory significance to the words of Institution. Leaving to one side the complicated question of Reformed influences in the Church of England, we find in liturgies proposed for use in the Church of Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century also exhibit a high view of the words of Institution. In the *Booke of Common Prayer* pre-

<sup>107</sup> The Formula of Concord: 2, VII, 75. – The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran church. Philadelphia 1959.

<sup>108</sup> Porządek nabożeństwa 1599, 173.

<sup>109</sup> The Second Helvetic Confession 1561. Chapter 19. Of the Sacraments of the Church of Christ. The Consecration of the Sacraments.

pared in 1618 by bishop William Cowper (1568–1619) of Galloway, the Words of Institution are repeated after the Lord's Prayer for the purpose of "consecrating the elements". "The prayer ended the minister shall repeat the words of institution for consecrating the elements, and say: The Lord Jesus the same night ...".<sup>110</sup> The appearance of the 1637 Scottish Book of Common Prayer provoked a negative reaction among the Reformed in Scotland by its inclusion of a prayer of consecration in which the Epiclesis asking that "the gifts and creatures of bread and wine ... may be unto us the body and blood ..." is followed immediately by the Words of Institution and Manual Acts.<sup>111</sup> The Reformed regarded this practice as imitative of Roman Catholic practice – "It hath the popish consecration, that the Lord would sanctify by his Word and by his holy Spirit, these gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of his Son, and then repeat the words of institution to God for that purpose."<sup>112</sup> The Poles do not appear to have reacted negatively to the use of the term "consecration" and this is a unique element in their liturgies.

The 1614 work is entitled: *PORZĄDEK NABOZENSTWA KOŚCIOŁA POWSZECHNEGO APOSTOLSKIEGO, Słowem Bożym vgruntowanego y zbudowanego Nā IEZUSIE KRYSTUSIE Spisany, ku chwale BOGU W TROYCY JEDYNEMU: ROKU 1602. Przez Starsze Kościołow reformowanych w małej Polsce, za rādą y dozwoleнием Synodu Prowincjalnego Ożarowskiego, Włodzławskiego, y Łańcutskiego. Powtoro Drukowano / Roku 1614*. The place of publication is not stated. This agenda was resolved in general convocation and the church-wide Synod of Bełżyce in the year 1613.<sup>113</sup> The introduction of the 1602 agenda is reprinted verbatim and authorized by the seniors of the districts of Minor Poland.<sup>114</sup>

A close examination of the contents reveals that there are in fact many changes. In the recitation of the Testament the minister not only takes the bread in his hands but also breaks it at the words "he broke bread." The section "Blessing, Breaking, Distribution, Eating" has been replaced with the simple title "Breaking for Distribution and Eating". As in 1602 the words of Paul in 1 Corinthians 10 are spoken before the distribution. After the words over the bread, during which the bread is again broken, the minister receives Communion first,

<sup>110</sup> Booke of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments with other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, as it was sett downe at first before the change thereof made by the Archbp. of Canterburie and sent back to Scotland [1618]. – *Coena Domini I* 1983, 484.

<sup>111</sup> „Then the Presbyter, standing up, shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth. But then, during the time of Consecration, he shall stand at such apart of the holy Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands. {...}

Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son; so that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of the same his most precious body and blood: (The Words of Institution followed).“

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Parts of Divine Service for the use of the Church of Scotland, 1637. – *Coena Domini I* 1983, 410–411.

<sup>112</sup> Anon., Reasons For Which the Service Booke, urged upon Scotland, ought to be Refused, no place, 1638, first page. – *Coena Domini I* 1983, 467, note 10.

<sup>113</sup> Konwokacja generalna i synod prowincjalny w Bełżycach 9–24 IX 1613 R. – *Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* 1983, 347.

<sup>114</sup> Agenda was authorised in general convocation and the provincial Synod of Bełżyce in the year 1613 by these seniors and superintendents: „Bełżyce X. Franciszek Stanker Superintendent Synodu prowincjalnego y Senior dystryktu Krakowskiego.

X. Jakub Pabianovius Senior dystryktu Sendomirskiego.

X. Jan Chocimowski Senior D. Ruskiego y Podolskiego.

X. Krzysztof Krański Senior D. Belskiego, Wołyńskiego y Kijowskiego.

X. Bartłomiej Bitnerus Senior D. Zatorskiego y Oświęcimskiego.

X. Jan Grzybowski Senior D. Lubelskiego y Chełmskiego.

*Porządek nabozenstwa 1614, (Przedmowa).*

saying in a loud voice: "In faith I eat the body of Christ for the salvation of my soul". Then he distributes the blessed bread to the communicants, who stand to receive it, saying: "Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Christ which is given for you. This do for the remembrance of his death." The recipient responds "Amen". Following the Pauline words over the cup the minister communes, saying aloud "In faith I receive the blood of Christ for the forgiveness of my sins". During distribution of the cup he says to the communicants: "Take, drink, this is the blood of the Lord Christ which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins. This do in remembrance of his death". The recipient responds: "Amen".<sup>115</sup> Restored from the 1599 liturgy is the provision for the setting apart of additional supplies with a note that the later distribution formula is to be repeated. Instead of the recitation of the whole of 1 Corinthians 11,23–29 only the last Supper narrative is spoken over the bread and wine, showing that these words are consecratory. The *Agnus Dei* continues in use but here it is sung before the people are invited to come to the Lord's Table. In addition, provision is made for the consumption by the minister of the reliquiae.

The most significant innovation in this liturgy is the recasting of the distribution formula. We find a reference to faith as the instrument of reception of the sacramental gifts. This we see in the words spoken by the minister at his Communion: "In faith I eat the body of Christ for the salvation of my soul". Even though the distribution to the communicants does not include the words "in faith", it is clear that the minister has set the pattern to be followed by the people. This is in line with the Calvinistic understanding that only those who receive in faith receive the body of the Christ. Further, new phrases are introduced concerning the purpose of Communion: "This do in remembrance of his death" and "This do for the remembrance of him". This follows Bucer, Lasco, and other theologians of the Reformed tradition for whom the act of Communion is primarily an act of obedient remembrance of the sufferings of Christ on the Cross. The *Agnus Dei* has been placed at the "Ofiara" (offering), where it follows the recitation of Paul's words identifying "Christ is our Passover...". Along with the *Agnus Dei* an alternative is provided, with the phrase: "O Son of God who takes away all the sins of the world here us". This is followed by an invitation to participant in the Lord's Table and the Lord's Prayer. Its inclusion here may be a general plea for Christ to hear the prayers of his people and grant them his mercy.

The Danzig Agenda of 1637 was a remarkable achievement. Today Polish and Lithuanian churches regard as the most comprehensive and definitive agenda in their liturgical history.<sup>116</sup> It follows the path set down in the earlier agendas of the Minor Poland Reformed church beginning with the work of Krański agenda in 1599. The work was printed in 1637 under the title: *AGENDA albo FORMA PORZADKU USEŁUGI SWIETEY, W ZBORACH EWANGELICKICH KORONNYCH Y WIELKIEGO XIESTWA LITEWSKIEGO Na wieczną cześć y chwałę Oycu, Synowi, y Duchu S. Bogu w Trojcy jednemu, za zgodną Zborow wszystkich uchwałę, teraz nowo przejrzana y wydána, WE GDANSKU Drukował Andrzej Hünefeldt. Roku Pańskiego, M DC XXXVII*. Among the Reformed this work of

<sup>115</sup> „A biorąc Sakrament ciała Krystusowego, mowi te słowa: Wiara porzywam ciała Krystusowego / na zbawienie dusze moiej. A podawiając stojącym mowi: Bierz, iedz, to iest ciało Pana Krystusowe / ktore iest za cie wydane. To czyń / ná Pamiątkę śmierci iego. R. Amen.

{...}

A biorąc Sakrament krwi Krystusowej, mowi: Wiara pięć krew Krystusowę / na odpuszczenie grzechow moich. A podawiając stojącym, mowi: Bierz, / piy: to iest krew pana Krystusowá / ktora iest za cie wylana ná odpuszczenie grzechow. To czyń ná pamiątkę śmierci iego. R. Amen.

*Porządek nabozenstwa* 1614, 50–51.

<sup>116</sup> „Agenda 1637 r. jest produktem szczerej wiary, głębokiej wiedzy, dojrzałych i wyrobionych umysłów. Po dziś dzień obo wiązuje wszystkich polaków ewangelików reformowanych, zwłaszcza w dziale prawa kościelnego.“

O Agiendach. – *Tarcza wiary*. Warszawa 1914–1920, 237–239.

over 400 pages came to be known popularly as the "Great Agenda".

As formerly the recitation of the Testament functions for the setting apart of the elements. But here the introductory words of Paul of 1 Corinthians 11, 23a and his words about unworthy eating and drinking 1 Corinthians 11,26–29 have been dropped. Only the verses pertaining to the words of Christ over the bread and Cup (1 Corinthians 11,23b–25) remain. This gives the Testament the outward form of traditional Words of Institution as they are found elsewhere in the classical Western liturgies. From 1614 the title "Breaking for Distributing and Eating" is retained, but the Words of Institution over the bread and cup are not repeated. As before, the distribution of the bread is introduced with the Pauline words concerning the breaking of the bread, but these now take the form of a statement rather than a question. The same holds true of the Pauline reference to the cup of blessing. The distribution formulas continue as they were in 1614. "Take, eat, this is the body of Lord Christ which is given for you. This do for the remembrance of his death", "Take, drink, this is the blood of Lord Christ which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins. This do in remembrance of his death".<sup>117</sup> There is no word of an oral response "Amen" by the recipient. An unspecified appropriate spiritual song is to be sung during the distribution. After the distribution the minister (God's servant) gives the blessing: "He, the living bread which has come down from heaven and which gives life to the world, our Lord Jesus Christ, who has fed us with his holy body and given us to drink his precious blood sanctify you completely that your spirit, soul and body remain without stain until Jesus Christ will come. May this be to his holy glory and your eternal salvation".<sup>118</sup> As in the 1594 order, at the conclusion of the distribution the minister admonishes the participants with words taken from Johannes a Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio*: "Strongly believe, all of you who came for the remembrance of the Lord's sufferings and in the Holy Supper became participants...".<sup>119</sup> Provision is made before the setting apart of additional supplies, but only the words of Paul concerning the bread and cup are spoken over them; Christ's words of Testament are not repeated.

References to the heavenly bread which came down from heaven indicate a Johanine cast, but joined to it is a strong element of remembrance which is more typically identified with Paul and the Synoptic evangelists. The placing of the *Agnus Dei* at the beginning of the service strengthens the separation between the earthly elements and the spiritual gifts. As we have already noted, Reformed liturgies do not typically include the *Agnus Dei*, as this hymn was thought to support the notion of the bodily presence of Christ in the earthly elements. The explanation to the Testament presents us with some significant points: "This is the Testament and command of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which he undoubtedly appointed and commanded that this twofold Supper should be eaten and drunk. The first is holy bread, earthly and visible, which he deigned to take into his holy hands, in order to bless, break, distribute it, and so to with the blessed wine in the cup, which he gave to be consumed by all. The other food and drink are heavenly and unseen, his true body given for us on the cross, and his precious blood, which worthily poured forth from his body for

<sup>117</sup> *Agenda albo forma porządku* 1637, 116–117.

<sup>118</sup> „Chleb on żywy / który z niebá zstąpił / y dawa żywot światu / Pan nasz Jezus Chrystus / nákarmiwszy was Ciałem swoim S. y nápoiwszy Krwią swoją drogá / niech was zupełnie poświęci: á cały Duch wász y duszá / y ciało niech będą bez nágány / ná przyście Páná nášzego Jezusa Chrystusá záchowane / á to ku chwale jego S. á wiecznemu zbáwieniu waszemu / Amen.”

*Agenda albo forma porządku* 1637, 117–118.

<sup>119</sup> „Wierźcie temu mocno wy wszyscy, którzyście na pámiątkę Męki Páńskiej y tey świętey Wiecezrey uczesnikami się stáli / że macie pewną a zbáwienią społeczność / w ciele y we krwi Páná Chrystusowey / ku żywotowi wiecznemu / Amen.”

*Agenda albo forma porządku* 1637, 118.

the forgiveness of our sins. This we should believe whole heartedly.”<sup>120</sup> This explanation of the twofold nature of the Holy Communion seems explicitly Calvinistic. The provision that only the words of Paul are to be spoken over the new supply is significant. Earlier 1599 and 1602 liturgies provided for the repetition of Christ's words of Testament over the new supply, but now that provision has been dropped.

Consecration terminology is still employed. It is evident that the notion of consecration of the elements has not completely disappeared. But the prayer which speaks of the consecration of the Supper has been removed from the context of the words of Christ to the prayer in which sins are confessed. With the exception of the introductory confessional words, the wording of the prayer remains as it had been. Those introductory words are most significant because they predicate consecration upon the faith of those who participate in the Supper: “believing that... we ask you, o most high Chaplain, to sanctify this bread and this wine with your holy word, as you sanctified for the apostles in Jerusalem, that these may be your sanctified gifts, the sacrament of your holy body and blood”.<sup>121</sup> It should be noted that this wording is very similar to that found in the Scottish Reformed liturgy, which was also issued in 1637. The Scottish liturgy prays that “the gifts and creatures of bread and wine ... may be unto us the body and blood ...”.<sup>122</sup> This wording met with strong criticism in Scotland. Criticisms were raised also among the Lithuanians, who had abandoned all terminology reminiscent of Roman Catholicism. The Poles raised no such objections.

7 years after the appearance of the Danzig agenda, another Reformed agenda made its appearance in Lithuania. *AKT VŠĽVGI CHRZTV S. Y S. WIECZERZEY PANSKIEY. Tãkãe AKT DAWANIA SLVBV MAŁEŃSKIEGO Dla prãtszego y czãstszego Vżywãnia Z AGENDY ZBOROW EWANGELICKICH KORONNYCH y Wielkiego Xšiestwa Litewskiego Wyiety. 1.Kor.14. v. 19.40. WE ZBORZE wołã piãć słow zrozumitelnie przemowiã, ãbym y drugich nãuczyl, niãeli dziešięć Tšięcy słow iãzykiem obcym. Wszytko siã niechay dzieie przystoynie y porãdnie. DRUKOWANO VV LUBECZU. Anno 1644.* The title of this book indicates that it was published in Lubecz in 1644. The claim is made that it reproduces the Danzig Agenda. But in fact it departs from the Danzig Agenda in very important points. Although the superscription notes that it has been authorized by superintendent Wysocki. This book was used throughout Lithuania and Poland as well. It continued in use for over one hundred years and was included in *Sześć AKTOW* in 1742.

The order of Holy Communion in the 1644 book differs in important respects from the Danzig Book. The prayer of consecration, which Danzig Book had joined to the confession of sins, is again removed to its formal place, preceding Christ's testamentary words. Two options are offered with reference to the testamentary words, the first of which calls for the reading of the Pauline narrative of the Institution 1 Corinthians 11,23–29, and the other of which provides for the reading only of the actual words of Christ and their immediate context 1 Corinthians 11,23b–24. The explanation of the Testament, continues

<sup>120</sup> „Toć jest Testãment / y ustãwã Pãnã naszãgo Jezusã Chrystusã / w ktorey niewãtpliwie / dwojãki pokarm y napoy miãnowãc y odkazãc nam raczył; jeden ziemski widziãlny / miãnowicie Chleb šwiety / ktory Pan w swoje šwiête rãce wziãc / błogosiãwiã / łamãc / y do pożywãnia podãc raczył; tãkãe kielich z winem pošwiãconym / ktory teã wziãł Pan / ã podziãkowawszy / do uãzywãnia wszystkim podał. Drugi zãš Pokarm y Napoy niewidziãlny ã niebieski / jest ciãłõ jego prawdziwe / zã nas nã šmiercã krzyãzowa wydane; y krew jego droga / hoynie z ciãłã jego wylãna / nã odpuszczenie grzechow naszycy. Cãemu my mocnie wierzyã mamy.“ *Agenda ãlbo forma porãdku* 1637, 112–113.

<sup>121</sup> „Cãemu my wszystkimu wierzãc prosimy ciã nawyãszy kãpłãnie / pošwiãc teraz ten chleb / y to wino słowem twojim šwiety; jãkõs był pošwiãcil y Apostolom w Jeruzalem / ãeby nam były te dãry / zã twojim pošwiãceniem / Sãkrãmentem ciãłã y krwi twojej šwiêtej.“ *Agenda ãlbo forma porãdku* 1637, 105–106.

<sup>122</sup> The Book of Common Prayer 1637. – *Cœena Domini* / 1983, 410–411.

in line with the Danzig Agenda. The breaking of the bread and the blessing of the cup are spoken before the congregation is invited to the Supper which coincides also with the Lithuanian Agenda of 1581. A permissive rubric allows for the singing of the *Agnus Dei* during the breaking of the bread. This provision had been omitted from the Danzig Agenda. In addition the reintroduction of an additional prayer from the 1581 agenda is permitted after the praying of the Lord's prayer. This prayer from 1581 order was used only among the Lithuanians and it was not found in the Polish orders.<sup>123</sup> As in the 1581 order the people are invited to the Communion only at the conclusion of these acts and prayers. Minister, deacons and lectors commune first, as in the earlier agendas; then the people commune, man first, then the women.

The distribution formula is very similar to that found in the 1599 order. In the 1599 order the words "Take and eat" are spoken after the recitation of Christ's words concerning the bread, but in this order it is recast into an historical observation concerning what Christ said at the distribution: "Christ the Lord, at the distribution of the Sacrament of his body to his disciples, spoke these words: 'Take, and eat, this is my body which is given for you; you do the same: take and eat, this is the body of Christ the Lord, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of his death'"<sup>124</sup> This conforms to the typical Reformed formula: "Christ says: take, eat...". Perhaps we see here evidence of the influence of Kraiński's work of 1599. With these exceptions the order runs in line with the Danzig agenda of 1637.

We take only brief note of the appearance in 1742 of *Sześć AKTOW, To jest: Akt I. Usługi Chrztu świętego. Akt II. Przygotowania Publicznego Przystępujących do Świętej Wieczery Pańskiej. Akt III. Usługowania S. Wieczery Pańską. Akt IV. Usługowania S. Wieczery Pańską przy Chorych. Akt V. Dawania Słubu w Stan S. Małżeński wstępującym. Akt VI. Nawiedzenia Chorych. Dla prętszego y wygodniejszego UŻYWANIA, z Agendy Zborow Ewangelickich Koronnych, y W. X. Litewskiego wyjętych. 1.Kor. 14, 19.40. WE ZBORZE wolę pięć Słow zrozumitelnie przemowić, abym y drugich nauczył, niżeli dzieścię tysięcy Słow ięzykiem obcym. Wszystko się niechay dzieie przystoynie y porządnie. W KROLEWCU, drukował JAN HENRYK HARTUNG, Roku 1742.*

This book contains no indication as to what individual or group may have authorized its publication and use. Comparison shows that the order of Holy Communion essentially reproduces the 1644 order, but eliminates the chant tones. It can be assumed that it was printed to meet a need in the Lithuanian Reformed church.

<sup>123</sup> „Boże bądź miłościw nam nędznemu stworzeniu swemu...” *AKT VSLVGI CHRZTV S. Y S. WIECZERZEY PANSKIEY. Tákże Akt DAWANIA SLVBV MAŁŻENSKIEGO* Dla prętszego y częstszego Vżywánia Z AGENDY ZBOROW EWANGELICKICH KORONNYCH y Wielkiego Xsięstwa Litewskiego Wyjęty. 1.Kor.14. v. 19.40. WE ZBORZE wolę pięć słow zrozumitelnie przemowić, abym y drugich nauczył, niżeli dzieścię Tysięcy słow ięzykiem obcym. Wszystko się niechay dzieie przystoynie y porządnie. DRUKOWANO VV LUBECZU. Anno 1644, 36–37.

<sup>124</sup> „A podawając Komunikantom, Rzecze: Pan Chrystus rozdawając Sakrament Ciała swego / Uczniom swoim / mowil te słowa: Bierźcie, jedźcie, To iest Ciało moje: ktore za was będzie wydane: A tak y ty / Bierz, á jedz, To iest Ciało Pána Chrystusowe, ktore za cię iest wydane: to czyn ná pamiątkę Smierci jego. A podawając Kielich Komunikantom, Rzecze: Pan nasz IEZUS CHRYSZTUS rozdawając Sakrament / Krwie swoiey / Uczniom swoim / mowil te słowa: Pijć z tego wszyscy, To iest Krew moiá Nowego Testámentu, ktora za was y za wielu innych będzie wylana, ná odpuszczenie grzechow: A tak y ty / Bierz, á pij, To iest Krew Pána Chrystusowá, ktora iest za cię wylana, ná odpuszczenie grzechow twoiich: To czyn ná pamiątkę Smierci jego.” *AKT VSLVGI* 1644, 38–39.

### Conclusions

We have examined the distribution formulas from ancient times to the liturgies of the Polish Reformed churches in the context of doctrinal patterns characteristic of the Reformation churches. From the time of the early Church distribution formulas have been used to identify the gifts given and received. More elaborate forms developed indicating also for to whom and for what purpose the gifts are offered. Characteristically the Medieval Roman rite appears always to have used concise terminology in place of the more elaborate forms found in other rites.

We see no evidence of prescribed distribution formulas in Zwingli's German service, Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, and Calvin's Order 1542. The numerous church orders prepared by Johannes Bugenhagen of Wittenberg also contain no such formulas, based upon his assertion that since Christ's own words of Institution were still ringing in the people's ears, such formulas were unnecessary. Zwingli's Latin service includes the traditional Latin formula. Luther's *Formula missae* prescribes the use of a Latin prayer identifying the gifts and their purpose.

The progressive entrenchment of opposing theological positions concerning the gift and purpose of Communion and the nature of the earthly and heavenly elements made necessary the use of formulas which assert the theological positions of those who prepared them and the churches which authorized their use. From the time of Ulrich Zwingli theologians of the Reformed tradition rejected any notion of the presence of Christ's body in the earthly elements as philosophically impossible and theologically unnecessary. They rejected the Lutheran teaching concerning *manducatio oralis*, and gave their own interpretation to *manducatio indignorum*. This was supported by distribution formulas which became increasingly explicit. Attempts to mediate between the Reformed and Lutheran positions are evident in the Strasburg liturgy of Martin Bucer, which influenced Thomas Cranmer's formula in the Second Book of Edward VI 1552. The liturgies of Bucer do not identify the earthly elements with the body and blood of Christ. They fall into the Reformed pattern in which such an identification is conspicuously lacking. Johannes a Lasco's formula, stressing remembrance rather than oral reception, stands in this same tradition. In the above mentioned orders the distribution formulas may be aptly described as confessions of faith in miniature.

We are able to detect a certain measure of uneasiness among the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed over the wording of the distribution formulas. Only in the Lithuanian orders did the wording of the formulas which accompanied the giving of the elements remain the same from one agenda to the next, until a new formula was introduced in the 1644 rite. In the case of the Polish agendas, each succeeding agenda gives a new formula, indicating that the Poles were really not clear about what they wanted to say. It is worth noting that none of the agendas, Polish or Lithuanian, adopted the wording of Johannes a Lasco's rite, which otherwise had provided the basis for their communion services. In many rites blocks of wording were taken directly from Lasco rite, but in the case of the distribution formulas they chose other wording. The Lithuanian orders and the Polish 1602 and 1637 agendas built upon the model of the typical Medieval formula but the Lithuanians added to the mention of the blood the words "shed on the cross," in order to avoid identifying the blood with the elements, and the Great Danzig Book added: "Do this in remembrance of his death," stressing the memorial aspect. The 1614 formula was similar to that found later in the Danzig agenda, but the 1614 rite the minister says at his communion "In faith I take..." indicating that it is faith rather than the mouth that is the proper instrument of reception. Most unusual are the 1599 formula and that found in the Lithuanian 1644 book. In both cases Christ's testamentary words were spoken and then the gifts were given with the words: "This same I also

say unto you," or "you do the same". Here reference to what Christ had said was used as a substitute for a clear declaration of the meaning of his words concerning the nature of his gifts. The Poles never found any formula to be wholly satisfactory. While wishing to maintain contact with traditional practice, they were careful that their words should bare witness to their theology of the Lord's Supper. Further note should be taken again that while the Polish church maintained Lasco's practice of a separate distribution of the bread and wine, the Lithuanians always preferred that both elements be given and received together. This was a point of major difference which the Poles and Lithuanians were unable to resolve, and it was to be a major obstacle which impeded the unification of the Holy Communion rites of these churches.

The Polish Lithuanian Reformed liturgies of the 16th and early 17th centuries occupy a unique place in the liturgies of the Reformation era. They do not fall easily into the general patterns according to which earlier scholars classified Lutheran and Reformed liturgies. The distribution formulas do not fit into the classification system proposed by Paul Graf in *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, according to which Reformed liturgies are described as holding only to distribution formulas based upon the Pauline admonition concerning the broken bread and blessed cup. Neither are we able to confirm without hesitation Herman Sasse's statement that no Reformed liturgy admits to an act of consecration, or includes the consecration of the bread and vine. We found instances of distribution formulas which follow the traditional pattern and acts of consecration, in which the bread and wine are said to be consecrated by the words of Christ. The uniqueness of these liturgies invites a more thorough examination of their contents and the ecclesiastical and theological influences which produced them.

t

---