

Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran
Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets

VUOSIKIRJA

ÅRSSKRIFT

95

2005

Jahrbuch der Finnischen Gesellschaft für Kirchengeschichte
Mit Zusammenfassungen

HELSINKI 2005

SUOMEN KIRKKOHISTORIALLINEN SEURA
SOCIETAS HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE FENNICA

Toimittaneet
Mikko Ketola ja Tuija Laine

Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura
PL 33 (Aleksanterinkatu 7)
FI-00014 Helsingin yliopisto

Myynti: Tiedekirja, Kirkkokatu 14, 00170 Helsinki
Puh. (09) 635 177, telekopio 635 017
e-mail: tiedekirja@tsv.fi

Kansi: Aune-Elisabet Haapalainen
Kansikuvassa: yksityiskohta Nousiaisten kirkosta
ja Pyhän Henrikin ekumeeninen taidekappeli

Taitto: Terhi Lehtonen

ISBN 952-5031-36-5
ISSN 0356-0767

Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy
Jyväskylä, 2005

Saatteeksi

Kulunut vuosi oli historiallisesti merkittävä sekä suomalaisen kristinuskon että maailman suurimman kirkkokunnan, roomalaiskatolisen kirkon kannalta. Suomessa vietettiin järjestyneen kristillisen kirkon 850-vuotisjuhlia. Juhlavuoden tapahtumissa Suomen kirkkohistoriallisella seuralla oli oma tärkeä roolinsa. Pyhän Henrikin päivänä 19.1.2005, joka on myös Seuran vuosipäivä, Seura järjesti Helsingissä tieteellisen symposiumin, jonka esitelmien aikajänne oli vaatimattomasti noin 1000 vuotta. Symposiumin osallistujamäärä on suuri tyytyväisyyden aihe: yhteensä päivän esitelmiä kävi kuuntelemassa lähes 200 suomalaisen kristinuskon historiasta kiinnostunutta. Symposiumin inspiroivaa sisältöä edustavat vuosikirjassa professori Christian Krötzelin ja professori Jukka Korpelan artikkelit sekä Seuran esimiehen avaussanat ja teol. yo Jaakko Antilan symposium-raportti. Vuosikirjan kuvitus antaa oman panoksensa teeman esilletuomiseen.

Katolisen kirkon pitkäaikaisimpiin paaveihin lukeutuva Johannes Paavali II kuoli 2.4.2005. Hänen kirjastonsa viimeisimpiä täydennyksiä oli Seuran yhteistyössä Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran kanssa julkaisema ja dosentti Reijo Pitkärannan toimittama *Suomen kirkkojen latina* -teos. Teoksen luovutti paaville arkkipiispa Jukka Paarma vuosittaisen Roomassa toimitettavan ekumeenisen Pyhän Henrikin messun yhteydessä. Kuva tuosta tapahtumasta on tämän vuosikirjan alkusivuilla. Johannes Paavali II:n kausi ja paaviuden historia yleensä on merkittävästi esillä myös kirja-arvosteluissa.

Vuosikirjan sisältö kuvastaa monipuolisesti sekä kristinuskon 850-vuotista taipaletta Suomessa että sen vaikutuksia muualla Euroopassa. Selvästi esiin nousevia painopisteitä ovat taidehistoria (fil. maist. Vesa Immosen ja vuoden 2004 gradupalkinnon saajan fil. maist. Hanna Kempin artikkelit), reformaation historia (teol. toht. Darius Petkūnasin artikkeli sekä teol. toht. Otfried Czaikan ja fil. lis. Maarit Nurmisen kirja-arvostelut), Saksan kirkkotoistelun historia (teol. toht. Minnamari Helasepän artikkeli ja kaksi teemaan liittyvää kirja-arvostelua) sekä Ruotsin kirkkohistorian uusi yleisesitys (prof. Pentti Laasosen ja prof. Eino Murtorinteen arvostelut). Mukaan on saatu myös edustava joukko erityisesti nuoremman polven kirkkohistorioitsijoiden laatimia arvosteluita mielenkiintoisista uusista kansainvälisistä julkaisuista. Haluamme kiittää kaikkia vuosikirjan avustajia puhaltamisesta yhteen hiileen!

Helsingissä syyskuussa 2005

Mikko Ketola

Tuija Laine

Polish and Lithuanian Anti-Trinitarian Eucharistic Practice in the 16TH and 17TH Centuries

The history of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania may be described as a mixture of many related but diverse theological and ecclesiastical traditions. In addition to Lutheran and orthodox Reformed groups we find the strong presence of Anti-Trinitarian groups which sought to return to what they believed to be the simple teachings of Jesus and the practices enjoined by him and his earliest followers. Although many studies have been produced describing the historical aspects of these widely varied ecclesiastical streams, scant attention has been given to the practices of Anti-Trinitarians on the congregational and personal level during the rise and decline of Polish- Lithuanian Protestantism.

The present writer has already produced a study which acquaints us with a thorough picture of the practice of the Christian faith among Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Protestants up to the middle of the 17TH century when they produced their monumental Gdańsk (Danzig) agenda of 1637 and the Lithuanians produced their amended edition of the same book in 1644. This work evaluated the liturgies of the period to provide an understanding of the theological and practical life of these churches and their understanding of God and man's place before him.¹ The present study will acquaint us more thoroughly with the Eucharistic life and practice of the major dissident group, the so called Anti-Trinitarians or Socinians, who separated from the Reformed Church, and inhabited areas of Minor Poland and the palatinates of Wołyń (Volhynia), Kiev, and some cities in Lithuania and Poland.

The Anti-Trinitarians, who referred to themselves as the Brethren, were radical monotheists, the spiritual followers of radical Italian Protestants who had fled to Poland and Lithuania to avoid persecution for their unitarian views. Rejecting all creeds and claiming to hold only to the Holy Scriptures they refused to put God the Father, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit on an equal footing. Presenting themselves as Reformed, radical Italian theologians participated in the establishment of the Reformed Church in Poland and Lithuania. In 1562–1563 increased dissatisfaction with their views caused a division in the Reformed Church. The radical Anti-Trinitarian group eventually found a forceful and effective leader in Faustus Socinus, nephew of Laelius Socinus. Faustus, who arrived in 1579, gathered the Anti-Trinitarians around himself and the resulting movement came to be known as Socinianism. It was only in Poland and Lithuania that

¹ Petkūnas 2004.

this movement was able to establish a viable church organization with its own program of discipline and liturgy.

Until the present day sources for such a study of Anti-Trinitarian liturgy have not been widely available. An important source of information concerning eucharistic theology among the Minor Polish Reformed and Anti-Trinitarians is the work of Stanislas Lubieniecki, whose *History of the Polish Reformation and Nine Related Documents*, published in 1664, gives us a limited picture of the Eucharistic life of the Socinians.² Mention must be made also of the works of Friedrich Samuel Bock, *Historia antitrinitariorum* and *Acta Historico-ecclesiastica*,³ who provides an account of worship among the Polish-Lithuanian Brethren. A further word concerning the eucharistic theology of the Brethren is found in the George Schomann's *Catechism* of 1574, as well as the *Rakovian Catechism* of 1605 and its Latin version of 1609. We find further information in the synodical protocols of both the Reformed Church and the Anti-Trinitarians of the period. These take note of Socinian positions and practices specifically rejected by the Reformed. Our only direct evidence concerning the eucharistic practices of the Socinians is found in the work produced by Piotr Morzkowski (Petrus Morscovius), approved in 1646 by the Synod of Dąźwa,⁴ which appeared under the title *The Ecclesiastical Polity Which They Commonly Call the Agenda or The Form of the Exterior Government of the Christian Churches of Poland, Which Confess One God the Father Through His Only Begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit* [1646].⁵

The present study examines in its historical and theological context the rites and ceremonies of the Polish-Lithuanian Brethren which Morzkowski describes in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* and compares them to Lithuanian and Polish Reformed practices which also derived from the liturgical work of Johannes a Lasco (Jan Łaski) (1499–1560).

The Rise and Fall of Socinianism in Poland and Lithuania

In contrast to the origin and growth of the Reformation in Germany and elsewhere in Western Europe where theological concerns were supreme, the origin and spread of Reformation in Poland and Lithuania was predominantly political and reactive. In the earliest period we find no major theologian at the head of the movement in the Reformed Church. Johannes a Lasco appeared on the scene only in a later period, after the church had been established. The lack of theological leadership left room for such a measure of theological dissension and debates on major theological issues resulted in the crippling of Protestantism in both lands. Under the influence of the nobility, 16th century Poland and Lithuania became a place of refuge for people from throughout Europe who were seeking a place where their unorthodox opinions would meet with toleration rather than persecution. Among those who fled were the Italian Anti-Trinitarians. Their theological opinions were far more highly developed than those of the Poles or Lithua-

² Lubieniecki 1995.

³ Bock 1774, 89–92; Bock 1753, (chap. 17) 895f.

⁴ *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 424.

⁵ *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 420–474.

nians, who were theological neophytes. Among these refugees were Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564), Andreas Alciatus (1492–1550), Georgius Blandrata (ca.1515–1588), Laelius Socinus (1525–1562), Albericus Gentilis (1552–1608), and others, who represented themselves to the Poles as mainstream Protestants.⁶ These men were from the beginning participants in the establishment of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Church.

From the earliest days of the Reformed Church, we see signs of the dissemination of diverse theological opinions. The same process was at work throughout Poland and Lithuania. In 1556 Francesco Stancaro (Franciszek Stankar) (1501–1574), who earlier had recommended the *Augsburg Confession* as the Minor Polish Church's theological confession, begun to speak openly in rationalistic terms of the relationship between humanity and divinity in the person of Christ.⁷ At the same time Petrus Gonesius († 1573) in Lithuania begun to teach Anti-Trinitarian doctrine. He had been recommended by the Radziwiłł the Black to the Synod at Secemin in 1556, where he defended his Anti-Trinitarian positions.⁸ Already at the 1558 Synod in Vilnius Anti-Trinitarian views can be discerned.⁹ In the same year discussions concerning the Trinity aroused in the Synod on December 15, 1558 in Brześć Litewsk.¹⁰ Questionable doctrinal opinions were espoused also by the translators of the first Polish Bible of 1563. They were the students of Pińczów school, including Grzegorz Orsacius (Orsatius), Piotr Statorius († 1591), and Jan Thenaudus.¹¹ Chief among the disseminators of the new theology was the Italian Georgius Blandrata (1516–1588), who was physician to the household of the Queen Bona. At the Synod of Książ on September 13–19, 1560 he was elected a senior of the church in Minor Poland.¹² He early represented himself as a Calvinist, though Calvin himself in his correspondence with Radziwiłł the Black warned that Blandrata's theological position was highly suspect. Radziwiłł did not share Calvin's suspicions and treated him as an outstanding Calvinist theologian and church leader.¹³ At the Synod of Pińczów of 1559 Blandrata spoke regarding the Holy Spirit in rationalistic terms. Within a few years Calvinists were openly accusing each other of unorthodox theological positions.¹⁴ At the synods of 1561 these new theological opinions gained a substantial following in the Reformed Church. In 1562 this erupted into open debate and the emergence of two distinct theological groups within the church. The most important leaders, those who had established the foundations of the Calvinist Church, now openly declared themselves Anti-Trinitarians. Among them were such notable leaders as Stanisław Lutomirski, Senior of Pińczów District, later Anti-Trinitarian Superintendent,¹⁵ Gregori

6 Lubieniecki 1995, 337.

7 Akta synodów I 1966, 36.

8 Akta synodów I 1966, 48–52; Lubieniecki 1995, 321–322.

9 Akta to jest sprawy 1913, 5; Lukšaitė 1999, 308–309.

10 Lubieniecki 1995, 176, 199–201, 323–324.

11 For this reason their Bible, published in 1563 in Brześć Litewsk through the efforts of Radziwiłł the Black, was later judged by some students of the period to be Anti-Trinitarian. Любимич 1883, 269.

12 Akta Synodów II 1972, 58; Lubieniecki 1995, 324.

13 Lukšaitė 1999, 305.

14 Lubieniecki 1995, 324.

15 Stanisław Lutomirski was elected superintendent at the Anti-Trinitarian synod of Pińczów on October 14, 1563. Akta Synodów II 1972, 349.

Pauli (Grzegorz Paweł) (ca.1525–1591), Francesco Lismanini (ca.1504–1566), Georgius Blandrata, and even the Superintendent of the church in Minor Poland Felix Cruciger (Felix Krzyżak) himself.¹⁶

Those loyal to the church's traditional trinitarian theology, concerned with the future of the Reformed Church, begun to fight Anti-Trinitarianism. Minister Stanisław Sarnicki (1532–1597) established a group led by the Castellan of Biecz, Jan Boner († 1562). They acknowledged the necessity of forming a separate synod. On July 20, 1562 the Anti-Trinitarian party called a synod to meet in Rogów for the purpose of avoiding an open schism, but the Calvinists refused to participate. At Kraków a synod of Calvinists met on 14 May 1563 to publicly condemn Anti-Trinitarians.¹⁷

In Lithuania the same tendencies were evident. An Anti-Trinitarian synod was held on June 6, 1563 at Mordy in Podlussia, at which 42 ministers publicly subscribed a Confession of Faith which denied the divinity of Jesus Christ at the same synod. They also publicly acknowledged their gratitude to Radziwiłł the Black for allowing them to gather on his lands.¹⁸

We see here the splitting apart of the young Reformed Church. This was to have tragic consequences for the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania. In the national Diet of 1565 in Piotrków both groups were in attendance. The Reformed came to warn; the dissenters came in order to attempt to gain supporters for their new movement. In the presence of a great number of magnates, nobles, ministers, and patrons who had not as yet taken any position about the Reformation, a formal debate was held between the Reformed and the Anti-Trinitarian leaders. In presenting their arguments the Reformed appealed to Scripture, and, secondarily, the Church Fathers, and the early Councils, while the Anti-Trinitarians appealed only to the Scripture. For a fortnight the debate raged, but it ended abruptly when the Reformed announced that they would have nothing further to do with such stubborn heretics and left the Diet. All present were shocked. The lines between the contesting parties were now clearly drawn. No further attempts at agreement were possible. Now each must decide for himself which path to follow. For those who had not yet committed themselves to the Reformation it now became clear that the Protestants were hopelessly disunited, and that it would be fatal to align with any of them.¹⁹

In 1566 at the Diet of Lublin the orthodox Reformed, together with the Lutherans, formally petitioned the King Zygmunt II August (Sigismund II August) (1520–1572) to issue an edict expelling the Anti-Trinitarians. Together with some of the aristocrats, the Roman bishops, aware that the continuing dissention would benefit their cause, pointed out that the expulsion of only the Anti-Trinitarians would still leave the Lutherans and Reformed in place.²⁰ Consequently the Lutherans and the Reformed were unsuccessful in their efforts to have the Anti-Trinitarians suppressed. The open schism of 1562–63 and

16 *Akta synodów II* 1972, 351; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 188–198.

17 *Akta synodów II* 1972, 149; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 325, 328.

18 *Akta synodów II* 1972, 152. This supports the suspicion that he was himself attracted to this new theology. There is evidence that in 1564 he deposed some orthodox Calvinist preachers from areas under his control. Любавичъ 1890, 116; *Puryckis* 1919, 140.

19 *Akta synodów II* 1972, 175–192; *Wotschke* 1911, 212–213; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 247–252, 338–339.

20 *Lubieniecki* 1995, 634 fn. 348.

the inability of the diet of Lublin of 1566 demonstrated that there was no hope for reconciliation. The Reformed and the Anti-Trinitarians would pursue separate courses.

Outwardly the Anti-Trinitarians, who by this time were calling themselves the Polish and Lithuanian Brethren or the Minor Church,²¹ maintained the church order and practices which had been set down by Johannes a Lasco. Prior to the time of Johannes a Lasco the Reformed engaged in liturgical experiments, leaning heavily upon Hermann von Wied's (1477–1552) *Consultation of Cologne* (Köln) of 1543, which had been introduced by Francesco Stancaro at the synod of Pińczów in 1550.²² This form of worship had proven unsatisfactory. It contained Lutheran and Roman Catholic elements which were foreign to the spirit of the Reformed. Other liturgical experiments also proved unsatisfactory.²³ It was Johannes a Lasco who brought order to the worship life of the Reformed by introducing the *Forma ac Ratio* of 1550 which he had developed for the use of the foreigners congregation in London. The *Forma ac Ratio* provided not only an order of worship but also a form of ecclesiastical organization which included doctrinal matters, the place of the ministry in the church, and a catechism. His ecclesiastical polity called for of a structure order of congregational leaders, including superintendent, ministers, presbyters (*gubernatores ecclesiae*), and deacons.²⁴ The superintendent was to be chosen from among the ministers, much as Peter had been chosen to stand as first among equals in the originate apostolate. Superintendents were to supervise the activities of the ministers for the protection of the church from false doctrine and to mediate disputes among the ministers.²⁵ Ministers were to be ordained in the congregations in which they served, and ministers moving from one congregation to another were to be reordained in the presence of their new congregation. Monthly pastoral conferences were to be held at which ministers, presbyters, and deacons together would receive doctrinal instruction and guidance in the proper administration of ecclesiastical discipline.²⁶ The church also introduced the office of 'senior' including both clergy and laymen to assist in the maintenance of proper order and discipline.

After their separation from the orthodox Reformed, the Anti-Trinitarians chose not to innovate but rather to maintain the same organization and structure as the orthodox Reformed, since they still considered themselves to be true and loyal Reformed Christians. Their disagreements with the orthodox Reformed did not arise over church organization, administration, or discipline, but were entirely doctrinal, most specifically the doctrine of the person and works of Christ, his relationship with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and the doctrine of Holy Baptism.

Although the schism occurred in Minor Poland, Anti-Trinitarian congregations at the same time arose in Lithuania as well. These diverse groups exhibited great independence. There was no unity among them, excepting their outright rejection of the classical doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Therefore it must be said that there were in fact many Anti-

21 Lubieniecki 1995, 339.

22 *Akta synodów* I 1966, 2.

23 *Akta synodów* I 1966, 35.

24 *Lasco II* 1866, 53–55; *Naumin* 1910, 197.

25 *Lasco II* 1866, 57–59.

26 *Lasco II* 1866, 52–55; *Naumin* 1910, 209.

Trinitarian movements which had few common characteristics and which were unable to make common cause. An instance of disagreement among these dissidents was their inability to formulate a common understanding of Baptism. Many of them regarded it as a trivial rite unworthy of great concern. Others felt that it ought to be practiced, but only among declared believers for whom it would serve as a public testimony of their commitment to the teaching and way of life demanded by Jesus. Some openly attacked Infant Baptism, others made it a matter of personal choice, and still others wished to see the practice eliminated altogether. More pressing was the question of Jesus and his proper role with relation to the Heavenly Father. None could agree with the traditional confession of Christ as the eternal Son of God, equal in honor and glory to the Father, while some assigned to him a special quasi – divinity which placed him below the Father but above ordinary man. The Synods of Łańcut of 1567 and the Synod held at Skrzyszynno later that same year revealed a clear division between those who held the classical Arian position and those who held that Christ did not exist before his birth.²⁷ Disagreements were so intense that the meetings were dismissed without reaching any conclusion.²⁸

By this point no single group or individual had arisen which could bring any measure of unity among the Polish and the Lithuanian Brethren. In general terms one may speak of the following distinct factions. The first were called the Farnovians, after their leader Stanisław Farnovius (Farnowski) († 1615/16), who held that Christ existed before creation and was worthy to receive the same worship and honor as the Father but would give no place to the Holy Spirit as a distinct person. Rejecting the theology of Athanasius, they declared his theology to be less acceptable than that of Mohammedans and Jews, who maintained a strict monotheism. This group strongly objected to the practice of Infant Baptism. The second group arose in Lithuania under the leadership of Marcin Czechowicz († 1613). Although he earlier had held Arian views, he finally determined that Christ was simply a man born into this world as other men are, but he is worthy of honor and worship because of his sinlessness and perfect life. He rejected those who refused to give such worship to Christ, calling them semi-Judaizers. Like Farnovius he rejected Infant Baptism and adopted the practice of non-resistance and unwillingness to take public office – beliefs for which the Anabaptists were best known. A third group arose in Kraków, Minor Poland, under the leadership of Gregori Pauli, a former leader in the Reformed Church, who rejected the notion that Christ existed before his physical birth. He rejected also the teaching that he was worthy of worship and adoration. Like Czechowicz he rejected Infant Baptism, espoused non-violence, and denied the authority of temporal rulers. In addition he insisted that Christians should live together in community, as depicted in the Book of Acts, and wait together for the imminent return of Christ. Finally, the Budnaeans, named for Szymon Budny († ca. 1595), who had played an important role in the establishment of the Reformed Church in Lithuania. He declared that Christ was a natural man and was not to be worshipped. Although he attracted a large following in Lithuania, he was rejected by other Anti-Trinitarians as entirely too radical. All these groups rejected completely the creedal

27 Lubieniecki 1995, 258–264.

28 Lubieniecki 1995, 342–346.

statements of the church, and, building upon *sola scriptura* principle, they resolved to conduct their lives according to the preaching and manner of life of Jesus, regardless the cost.²⁹ According to Andrzej Lubieniecki († 1622), writing in the early part of the seventeenth century, an almost endless variety of similar groups arose during the latter part of the 16th century, flourished for a time, and then disappeared completely. Some worshiped the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, but refused to use the name Holy Trinity (Tritheists). Some spoke of a divine Father and Son, but refused the same honor to the Holy Spirit (Ditheists). Some subsumed the Gospel under the Old Testament Law and returned to Jewish worship and practices, somewhat after the manner of ancient Ebionites. In addition, mention should be made of various Anabaptist groups, among whom were advocates of Moravian communalism who later traveled to Raków to render them assistance but never joined wholly with them. The Moravians themselves firmly adhered to Trinitarian theology, but many Anti-Trinitarians were in agreement with them concerning such matters as Believer Baptism. Nowhere else in Europe could one find such a great measure of religious tolerance, with a resulting colorful variety of religious views included among which were strongly Anti-Trinitarian groups.³⁰

From the start the theological center of the separatists was Minor Poland, and more particularly in Kraków. Although the power of the magnates and other aristocrats was great enough that the Roman Catholics were hesitant to move openly against the Lutherans, Reformed, and Bohemian Brethren, such was not the case with Polish-Lithuanian Brethren. Their denial of the Holy Trinity and assault against the sacrament of Holy Baptism were simply too much for them to overlook. The Roman Catholics resolved to move decisively against them. Among the first notable brethren to be attacked was Hieronim Filipowski, who was treasurer of the Palatinate of Kraków and an influential figure in the Anti-Trinitarian community. He was put into mortal danger. He made a bold attempt to enlist the support of the Lutherans and Reformed at the Synod in Kraków in 1568 to move together against Catholic opposition, but they refused to support him.³¹ He and Jerzy (George) Schomann (1530–ca.1591) turned next to the Moravian Anabaptists, whose views on the practice of the Christian life were very similar to his own, but he soon found that they held traditional views of the Holy Trinity and regarded him as nothing more than heathen.³²

The Polish Brethren were able to find refuge in the town of Raków which was established in 1569 by Jan Sienieński († 1600), a staunch Calvinist, who nevertheless offered them complete freedom of worship. The city quickly became the center of the Anti-Trinitarian movement and continued so for many decades.³³ Important Anti-Trinitarian leaders, including Gregori Pauli, found refuge here. For the Anti-Trinitarians it became their “Holy City” where they established an academy for the training of future Anti-Trinitarian leaders. It was here to that they convened their many synodical meetings and published catechisms, and a great number of other important works.

29 Wilbur 1925, 138–139; Williams 1962, 639–653, 738–746.

30 Lubieniecki 1995, 342–346.

31 Lubieniecki 1995, 265–266.

32 Lubieniecki 1995, 241–244, 268–269.

33 Lubieniecki 1995, 279, 346.

The first published catechetical document of the new movement, printed in Kraków, in 1574, was the *Catechism of Jerzy Schomann*. Published in the name of the Anabaptist congregation of that city, it was in fact a theological defense of the Anti-Trinitarian position to which Schomann had only shortly before been converted. Here we find the first successful attempt to provide some cohesion to this diverse movement, a first step toward unity between individuals and groups which had little more in common than their rejection of traditional Trinitarian doctrine. In form and substance Schomann bequeathed to the church a document which would serve as the model for the later *Racovian Catechism* which was to become the theological and practical standard for the Minor Church.³⁴

It is clear that the Anti-Trinitarians could not succeed until they came under the direction of a strong leader who would provide unity of teaching and of spirit to the dispersed groups. This unity they found in the person of Faustus Socinus (Fausto Sozzini) (1539–1604), the nephew of the well known Anti-Trinitarian leader in Zürich and later in Poland, Laelius Socinus.

The younger Socinus first came to Poland early in 1579. He settled in Kraków, the capital of the nation, and associated himself with the Anabaptist congregation of that city. Finding that he had much in common with Anabaptist notions he applied for membership in the group but was told that he could not be admitted to the church unless he received adult Baptism. He was unwilling to accept the doctrine that it was necessary that a person be received into the Christian faith by Baptism, and he therefore refused to join. He soon found that he disagreed with the Anabaptists on certain other important doctrines as well. He continued to worship with them without formally joining and in the knowledge that he could not be admitted to participation in the Lord's Supper. However, he was welcome to attend their worship, to take part in their doctrinal discussions, and to provide them with defense against their ecclesiastical enemies. At two important synodical meetings in 1584 he argued persuasively against those who looked for Christ's imminent return and in favor of Christo-centric worship, stating flatly that without such worship man would be no better than Jews or even the godless. In addition the churches sought his help in replying to arguments which the Jesuits presented against the Unitarians and their belief in the unity of God. He also defended against Arian doctrines and attracted a wide following, especially among young people. At the synod of Brześć (Brest) held in 1588 in Lithuania he presented a clear exposition of Anti-Trinitarian doctrine and came to be known as the leader of the Minor Church in Poland and Lithuania.³⁵

At this point the church came to be popularly called the Socinians. For over several decades, until his death in 1604, he continued as the leader of his church. He made Raków his center of activity, and this city became the center of the Anti-Trinitarian movement. The Calvinist leader of the city Jakub Sienieński († 1639), became interested and sponsored a series of public debates between the Socinians and Calvinists,

34 Lubieniecki 1995, 347–379.

35 Lubieniecki 1995, 381–389.

after which, in 1600, he himself joined the Socinian Church.³⁶ In 1602 he established in Raków an academy which quickly achieved a reputation as a leading educational institution among the Socinians, with scholarly teachers well known throughout the continent.³⁷ The center of printing activity was moved from Kraków to Raków and from their Socinian writings spread throughout Europe.

The ecclesiastical structure of the Minor Church was taken over from the Polish Calvinism from which they had come. At synodical meetings superintendents were elected for each of the church's geographical districts. It was the responsibility of the superintendents to appoint ministers and teachers to serve in the local congregations and to move them from place to place as needed. Superintendents were to be assisted by clerical and lay seniors. Such synods were to be held in each palatinate at least annually and in addition according to need. In addition to the district synods a general synod of the entire church was to be convened annually at which matters of general concern to the whole church could be discussed and decided. It was at this time that the Anti-Trinitarian Church reached its zenith. According to historian Henryk Merczyng (1860–1916), of the 570 Protestant parishes in the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania in 1591 about 22 were Socinian, 1620 – 42 parishes were Socinian, and in 1655 – 29 parishes.³⁸

We are given our clearest picture of the theological position taken by Socinus in the Raków Catechism of 1605, produced by four of his faithful followers in the year following his death. It was entitled *Katechizm Zboru tych ludzi ...1605*.³⁹ The authors Peter Statorius Stoiński, Valentine Schmalz (Smalcius), Jerome Moskorzowski (Moscorovius), and Jan Volkel (Völkel, Wolkielijusz) († 1618) drew upon writings which Socinus had left unfinished, and from them produced a distillation of his basic teaching. Schmalz went on to print a German edition later in the same year, and in 1609 Moskorzowski published it in Latin.⁴⁰ Socinus' work centers around that text of Scripture, which he believed to be most important: "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."⁴¹ Socinus saw Christianity as the means by which this eternal life is obtained, according to the pattern set down in the Scriptures, most clearly in the New Testament. By this means man's mortality is overcome through the knowledge of God. The doctrine of Holy Trinity is rejected as an incorrect and mistaken view of God which must be overcome if man is to be saved. Jesus is a God, but he is not the God, always in every way subordinate to the Father.

Socinus realized that it was important that he and his followers should find their place in the largest of community of the Protestant Churches; there were two reasons for this. First of all with the arrival of the Jesuits in 1569 there came into the field a strong and determined opponent of Protestantism in all its forms. Only by making common cause could the Protestant Churches survive. In addition, Socinus hoped that through association with other Protestant groups he would be able to promote his

36 Lubieniecki 1995, 340.

37 Lubieniecki 1995, 334–335.

38 Merczyng 1905, 142.

39 *Katechizm Zboru* 1605.

40 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 183.

41 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 185.

particular understanding of God, Christ, and man. His first approach was to the largest Protestant Church, the Reformed, which was already experiencing the initial persecutions that would later decimate their church. At the assembly of preachers in Lewartów in 1580, the Reformed refused him, since association with the Socinians would further endanger their already fragile relations with the Lutherans.⁴² In the *Sandomierz Consensus* of 1570 both the Reformed and the Lutherans together with the Bohemian Brethren had in strong terms rejected every form of Arian, Ebionite, and Samosatene teaching.⁴³ The Reformed informed them that it would be a sinful act for them to engage in conversations with a group which was plainly heretical after the example Ebion, Arius, and the Samosatene, who had been of old excommunicated by the Church.⁴⁴ We have already related Socinus' unsuccessful attempt to reach an alliance with the Moravian Anabaptists. They had responded by asserting their strict adherence to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the practice of Believer Baptism. A further attempt to reach agreement with the Reformed, initiated by the Synod of Raków in 1598, led only to an unfruitful discussion and mutual disagreement. After 1611, when Catholic persecution was increasing, several more meetings were held with the Reformed, but nothing more than mutual toleration resulted. Further efforts in 1619 were equally unfruitful. Turning to foreign churches the Socinians presented a union proposal to the Mennonites of Holland in 1612. The proposal was declined. 20 years later in 1632 the Remonstrants of Holland, who now stood opposed to Calvinist doctrine and were being persecuted and sent into exile by the Calvinists, also seemed unwilling to entertain the possibility of a closer association with the Socinians. Aware that the Calvinists were branding them as Socinians, they realized that in an association with the Anti-Trinitarians would only make their situation worse.⁴⁵ Finally when the Lutherans, Calvinists, and the Bohemian Brethren met the Roman Catholics in Thorn in 1645 at *Colloquium Charitativum* the Socinians were still not permitted to participate.⁴⁶ No church was willing to associate itself with a group the views of which concerning God departed so dramatically from those which other Protestants held in common.

The Jesuits began their systematic attacks already before the end of the sixteen century. They were not directed only against the Socinians. All Protestants came under fire. As early as 1574 a mob stormed the Reformed church in Kraków, committed acts of vandalism and carried off objects of value but they were unable to destroy the church. In 1575 the Protestant cemetery in Kraków was invaded and the bodies of dead Protestants were exhumed and treated with great indignity by students of the university and the angry mob. The incident was not even investigated by city authorities. In 1581 a mob burned the writings of all Protestants publicly in Vilnius. King Stefan Batory (1533–1586) publicly denounced such intolerant actions but the fire once lighted continued to spread throughout Poland and Lithuania.⁴⁷ In 1591 the Reformed church in

42 Lubieniecki 1995, 279, 340.

43 *Akta synodów II* 1972, 295; Petkūnas 2005, 85–104.

44 Lubieniecki 1995, 340.

45 Wilbur 1925, 155; Lubieniecki 1995, 340–341, 753 fn. 15.

46 Lubieniecki 1995, 387, 893.

47 Lukšaitė 1999, 410.

Kraków was attacked and destroyed by a nameless mob. Afterward they moved on to the meeting house of the Socian congregation in the residence of Stanislas Cichowski, and destroyed it as well.⁴⁸ In the same year the Reformed church in Vilnius experienced the same fate.⁴⁹ In 1598 Socinus himself was dragged from his sick bed in Kraków by university students who sacked his house and dragged him half naked through the streets to the market square. There they burned his writings and valuable manuscripts and threatened him too with the torch should he fail to renounce his errors. They would have carried out their threats but for the intervention of the rector and two professors.⁵⁰ The first Socinian martyr in Poland, a land formerly known for its moderation and tolerance, was Jan Tyzkiewicz (Tyszkowic) († 1611) who was accused of blasphemy against the Holy Trinity and the crucifix. After an initial reprieve he was rearrested and burned on the stake in Warszawa (Warsaw) in 1611.⁵¹

The greatest blow to the Socinians was the destruction of the town of Raków in 1638. An act of hooliganism by some young boys was made the pretext for a large scale invasion of the city and its destruction. The Socinian academy was demolished and the church was confiscated and given to the Roman Catholics who renamed it Holy Trinity church. Jakub Sienieński, the town patron, a man in his seventies could not bare the sight and died within a year.⁵²

In the vain hope that they could show themselves to be standing together with the Catholics and other Protestants in the fundamental teachings of the Christian faith, Jonas Szlichtyng (1592–1661), one of the leading Socinian theologians, published a *Confessio fidei christianae* in 1642.⁵³ In it he asserted that the Socinians held firmly to the Scriptures and the Apostles Creed, and that therefore in all essentials matters their were at one with them. It was a fatal attempt. The matter was taken even to 1647 parliament which repudiated the document and resolved that Szlichtyng should be stripped of all honors and his property should be confiscated. The parliament also determined to prohibit the publication and distribution of all Socinian literature. Needless to say that the book was to be publicly burned.⁵⁴ Some measure of peace was achieved when Swedish King Karl X Gustav (Charles X) (1622–1660) invaded Poland and assured all Protestants of his royal protection. At this point the Socinians declared themselves his loyal Protestant subjects. However, when Swedish rule waned, the fortunes of the Socinians turned again. Polish King Jan II Kazimierz Waza (John Casimir) (1609–1672) solemnly vowed that if he defeated the Swedes he would purge his land of all heresy, and when the Swedes withdrew, he began to implement his policy. The Parliament turned a deaf ear to Socinian appeals for protection. In 1658 it published a decree in a permanent

48 Lubieniecki 1995, 871.

49 Lukšaitė 1999, 410–412.

50 Lubieniecki 1995, 385; 869–871.

51 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 250–251; Lubieniecki 1995, 290–291.

52 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 27–28.

53 *Confession of Christian Faith, Published in the Name of the Polish Churches Which Profess One God and his Only-Begotten Son Jesus Christ with the Holy Spirit* (Wrócmirowa, 1642); The Document is published in: *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 385–418.

54 Капеев 1886, 189.

expelling the Socinians.⁵⁵ Adherents to the Socinian religion might be allowed either to convert to Roman Catholicism or to go into exile by July 10, 1660. Many converted and thus escaped the sword. Some choose to become Reformed in a vain attempt to maintain their holdings, while others fled to Western Europe, mainly to Holland. By 1662 the Socinians who still remained were able to meet only in secrecy and appoint two ministers to look after all the Brethren who still remained scattered throughout Poland. With the Socinians routed, the Roman Catholics turned their attention to the rooting out of all Protestant heresies and soon all the Protestants were in disarray. Only a few larger Reformed and Lutheran congregations were able to maintain themselves. Their rights and privileges were formally revoked in 1717. This revocation was again renewed 1733 and 1736. When such rights were restored in 1768 and 1775 we do not find any evidence that a Socinian community still existed in the nation.⁵⁶

The Socinian Agenda of Piotr Morzkowski

The book *Ecclesiastical Polity* of Piotr Morzkowski has survived in a manuscript published by a notable Lutheran opponent of Socinianism, Dr. Georg Ludwig Oeder, Superintendent of Feuchtwangen. His edition was published in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1745, and is available today in a microfilm copy in Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel, Germany. The document was drawn up by Pastor Morzkowski at the request of the Polish Socinian Church at the Synod of Dąźwa in Volhynia in 1646. The book was dedicated to the church's patrons and pastors to whom Morzkowski issued with the request that they should amend it as necessary. The original copy was given to Samuel Krell for safe keeping, and he later delivered it to Joannes Grashuis of Amsterdam. He in turn gave it to Christopher Brückmann of the city of Nürnberg, and it is from Brückmann that Oeder got it. It appears to be an unrevised edition. It was long thought to be the only copy extant, however recently a manuscript version has been discovered in the Unitarian collection at Cluj. The newly discovered manuscript has not yet been edited or made available.⁵⁷

Oeder published his edition along with a preliminary discussion and annotated commentary which is not unduly critical. He seems to have been concerned to reproduce Morzkowski's work without exercising great editorial latitude. He dedicated his work to Brückmann, from whom he had gotten it, and he added a short index of names and topics, along with some scriptural references and errata. Because of the length of Morzkowski's work, Oeder choose to include only those sections which he thought to be of special value, such as the descriptions of the various offices in the church and the doctrine practices associated with Holy Baptism and the Holy Communion. These sections he included in their entirety. The English edition of Oeder's work was edited, translated, and interpreted by George Huntston Williams and was published as

55 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 495–496.

56 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 7–8, 44; *Lukšaitė* 2003, 131.

57 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 423–424.

a number in the Harvard Theological Review, Harvard Theological Studies series in 1980 (Number 30).

Morzowski's purpose in writing the agenda was to provide information and guidance to those who had fled from Poland to the Netherlands, that they might maintain the order and traditions which were so important to their Polish heritage. It is evident that the book would also be of great value to the persecuted congregations in Poland and Lithuania itself until they were disbanded in 1660. It has been suggested that Morzowski based his work upon the practices of the Brethren of his day, although, because of the wide persecution they were suffering, his account may in some respects have gone beyond contemporary practice to give a somewhat idealized picture.⁵⁸

The Table of Contents reveals the structure of the work. The agenda consists in three parts. The first of these speaks of the nature of the Christian religion and the church and the orders by which authority is exercised in the church. Included among these orders are (1) the patrons, (2) pastors, (3) seniors, (4) deacons, (5) those over whom they exercise governments, the brethren, (6) and the sisters. Each order is treated in detail in a series of concise statements of principles which Morzowski calls "aphorisms." Part Two contains a general description of the office of the pastors, homiletical principles, and descriptions of the ceremonies of the imposition of hands on the little children, Water Baptism, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, Admonition of the Erring, the Private Prayers of the Pastor, Funerals and Burials, and the Office of the Senior and Deacons. Part Three deals with ecclesiastical discipline, including Private Inspection, Public Inspection and their role in the life of the congregation, Public Discipline and Excommunication, the Confession of Sins and Repentance, Consultations and Collections, the Public Fast, Synods, and the Discipline of Pastors, Seniors, and Deacons. In Oeder's edition of Morzowski's work are included The Table of Contents (Item A), the Orders of the Members of the Church (Item B), Water Baptism (Item C), and the Sacred Rite of the Sacrament of the Eucharist (Item D).

Sacramental Worship among the Brethren

Our principal interest is the doctrine of the Eucharist and practices surrounding preparation and its celebration. However, first some mention must be made concerning Water Baptism among the Brethren, for the Eucharist was not least regarded as an important occasion for the remembrance of Baptism and the renewal of its vows.

Socinus did not highly regard Baptism; he believed it to be an anachronism in a Christian nation where parents professed themselves followers of Christ. His followers chose to retain Baptism. They would not repudiate the Baptism of those who had received this sacrament as infants in Roman, Reformed, or Lutheran Churches, but they preferred to more closely associate Baptism with the completion of the pastor's religious training of young people. Thus it may be said that they preferred Believer Baptism, in which the act of Baptism was accompanied by a solemn profession of faith and promise to walk

58 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 424.

in the way of Christ. According to Morzkowski, Baptism ought to be restricted to those who can say "Jesus Christ is Lord."⁵⁹ His preference for Believer Baptism is backed up by selective quotations from Tertullian's *De Baptismo* as well as other Western and Eastern Church Fathers. However he is unwilling to say that those baptized in infancy should be called upon to repeat this sacrament. It is clear that he regards Baptism as an act of man, not of God. Those baptized in infancy may feel themselves bound to the pledges made on their behalf by the sponsors, although this is clearly not the case, since such promises do not conform to the law of Christ. However, they should not be discouraged in carrying through what they believe to be a noble endeavor.

Baptisms among the Brethren should take place in a calm body of water in the presence of parents and other relatives and others who are present for testimony and communion. Having expressed that the Lord with his Holy Spirit would baptize and instruct them in every good work, they follow the baptizer into the water and kneel while the baptizer takes the head of each in his hands – one hand over the face and other over the back of the head he then immerses them in the water saying: "I baptize you by water in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. May the Lord Jesus Christ baptize you with the Holy Spirit," thus testifying that the Water Baptism performed by man is a sign pointing toward the desired Baptism with the Holy Spirit which only Christ can perform.⁶⁰ The rite goes beyond Zwingli in that it is understood to point beyond itself to an act of Christ. In this it is more than a simple Zwinglian ceremony of public profession. In distinction from the Anabaptists, the Socinians required no rebaptism of those baptized in infancy. The Anabaptists required that all baptismal candidates profess their faith in the Triune God, and they put great store in the repeatability of the act as necessary. Rebaptism occurred frequently among the Anabaptists. In addition, unlike the Anabaptists, the Socinians associated their Water Baptism with the heavenly Baptism by Christ.

With reference to the Eucharist Morzkowski begins by stating firmly that the Brethren prefer to speak of this sacrament as the "Eucharist" rather than "The sacrament of the Body of Christ" or "Lord's Supper." He points out that although the apostles themselves speak of the Supper as "The breaking of Bread" (Acts 2:42, 20:7), the first Latin theologian Tertullian makes use of the term Eucharist, and it was also frequently used by the Greek Church Fathers. Looking more deeply, it is clear that the Brethren preferred this term because it speaks of the Supper as an action performed by the church, both in commemoration of the Lord, as a proclamation of his death, and as a proclamation of the congregation's communion with the Lord's body and blood. In the Eucharist the breaking of the bread and the pouring out of the wine are signs and testimonies of Christ's giving of his body and the pouring out of his blood as a sacrifice. In celebrating the Eucharist the church gives thanks for the blessing it has received through Christ's self-offering; it bears testimony that it spiritually eats and drinks Christ's body. The church gives thanks for what has already been received rather than for a blessing yet to be given in the Supper. The spiritual eating and drinking of the body of Christ signi-

59 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 448.

60 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 454.

fies the close association or fellowship which the church enjoys with Christ. It is not a sacramental repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, such as is claimed by Roman Catholics, nor is it a sacramental reception of the true body and blood of the crucified and risen Savior, such as the Lutherans attest. Unlike the orthodox Reformed, who would affirm that there is a spiritual reception of Christ's body and blood simultaneous with the physical drinking of the Supper, the Brethren assert that communion participation is an outward sign or testimony of a communion already established.⁶¹

Morzkowski asserts that the author and institutor of the Eucharist is the Lord Jesus Christ himself, as is clearly stated by Mathew, Mark, Luke, and Paul. Christ has instituted the Eucharist for a twofold purpose. Firstly, it is an act of solemn remembrance of his sacrifice and secondly, Christians here profess by their participation in this holy rite that they have the communion of the body and blood of Christ, that is they are in fellowship with him who suffered such a cruel fate on their behalf.⁶²

The bread and wine of the Eucharist are called holy because they are signs and foreshadowing of those things that were done to Christ in his passion; that is to say, his body was broken and his blood was poured out. The materials are symbols and types of his body and blood, and in this sense they are by no means common bread and wine. As in Zwingli's understanding of the significance of the elements, their holiness is that of association with the things which they symbolize and toward which they point. Accordingly we may say that the bread and wine are not holy in and of themselves, but it is the context in which they are used which makes it possible to call them holy.⁶³

In line with the most common Reformed traditions, participation in the Supper⁶⁴ is restricted to those who are capable of proclaiming the death of Christ and understanding the blessings which derive from it. Thus infants and small children may not participate. Further, the Eucharist is an act of the church and is generally restricted to those who attend the eucharistic celebration. Only in the case of chronic illness may the pastor along with members of the congregation go to the sick bed and there celebrate Eucharist and enable infirm to participate in Communion. This corresponds to the general attitude of the Reformed in Poland and Lithuania. It is clear from the synodical protocols that in the earliest period they felt very uneasy about the Communion of the sick.⁶⁴ It was only later that they developed forms for sick room Communion celebrations, stipulating that a congregational group must be present at every cerebation. Finally, only those who by their manner of life have shown themselves worthy are to be admitted to participation in the Eucharist. Those who are excommunicated may under no circumstances be present or participate.

This practice too corresponds to Reformed tradition, excepting that Morzkowski makes no reference to the possible danger to the congregation which might ensue were the unworthy permitted to participate in the Eucharist. Such danger was alluded to in the Question 82 of the *Heidelberg Catechism*, which stated that the ungodly must be

61 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 461.

62 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 462–463.

63 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 463.

64 *Akta synodów II* 1972, 203; *Akta Synodów III* 1983, 40.

excluded from the Supper lest the wrath of God break upon the whole congregation.⁶⁵ Morzkowski speaks only of the warnings of St. Paul as the basis for the practice of closed Communion.⁶⁶

The celebration of Eucharist follows the usual Polish – Lithuanian Reformed practice, according to which Communion was to be observed four times a year (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the first Sunday after St. Michael's day (September 29)).⁶⁷ Morzkowski further specifies that in accordance with the practice of the apostles, which is found in the Book of Acts, this celebration should be held whatever possible in the morning and most preferably on the Lord's Day, since this is the day of resurrection and the Christians' day of joy. This is the most appropriate time for the solemn proclamation of, and thanksgiving for the Lord's death.⁶⁸

From the scholarly perspective, Morzkowski impresses us with his knowledgeable use of ancient sources. In the earliest Reformation period the Reformed had sought to base their theology on a *Sola Scriptura* principle without reference to the Church Fathers or the ecumenical Councils and their decisions. By the end of the 16th century the Reformed had seen that this approach had opened them to many theological dangers, not the least of which was Anti-Trinitarianism. They began to see the value of the ancient writers and the Creeds, although they never allowed them the same degree of authority, as they had among the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans. By their references to the Fathers, Councils, and Creeds the Reformed sought to demonstrate that they were not sectarians but were in fact the ancient holy and universal church. In Morzkowski we see the Socinians themselves making use of the Fathers, the Councils and, surprisingly, even the *Symbolum Apostolicum* to show that they too are not sectarian heretics but stand within the fellowship of the ancient and universal church.

A Closer Examination of Morzkowski's Rite according to its Contents

A study of the order of the Eucharist as it is presented by Morzkowski shows us a service that is very similar to the normal service of the Lord's Supper as it was found in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed congregations of that time. A survey of Reformed forms for Holy Communion reveals that nowhere in them does Holy Communion appear to be based upon the same pattern as the usual Sunday worship. Rather the Lord's Supper is a special, occasional celebration of great spiritual moment in the life of parish and its members. In this Reformed tradition departs from the classical pattern of the Western Church, as it continued to be used also after the Reformation in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches.

Sunday worship among the Polish-Lithuanian Socinians and Reformed consisted in systematic preaching, usually based upon the exposition of a book of the Bible. Holy Communion was celebrated only occasionally and was a great social, as well as spiritual event, in which all upstanding members of the community were expected to par-

65 *Heidelberg Catechism*. Question and Answer 82.

66 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 465–467.

67 *Akta synodów II* 1972, 203, 320.

68 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 424.

ticipate. Indeed, participation in the celebration was understood to be a public mark of one's profession of faith. Great emphasis was placed upon the preparation for the Eucharist at which it was decided who might and who might not be permitted to participate. Here, as elsewhere in the Reformed tradition, the *fractio panis* was understood to be an essential manual act of the eucharistic rite, by means of which the church of the present day imitates the action of her Master in the first Supper.

The eucharistic service was to reenact as closely as possible the events which took place in the upper room in the night in which Jesus was betrayed. Our analysis of the structure of the service will proceed along different lines than it would had this service maintained the tradition of other churches in the Christian West and East, i.e., the division between the *Missa catechumenorum* and the *Missa fidelium* and the familiar elements of both. We will examine the structure of the service and compare it to its predecessor and parent, the *Forma ac Ratio* prepared by Johannes a Lasco in 1550 for use in the German and Wallon congregations in London. Lasco brought this service with him when he returned to Poland, and it quickly supplanted the various rites already in use and became the common and almost universal standard service for the celebration of the Lord's Supper among the Reformed of Poland and Lithuania. The *Forma albo porządek* of 1581 presents us with the use of Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* which was commonly used among the Lithuanian Reformed congregations for several decades. The Lithuanians were very conservative in their liturgical traditions, and the 1594, 1598, and 1600 reprints of this work present us with no changes. In the appearance of the 1621 catechism, hymnal, and liturgy only nominal changes were permitted.⁶⁹ The *Porządek nabożeństwa* of 1614 is offered as a representative liturgy of the Minor Polish Church. It stands as the last instance of a tradition which had begun even before the appearance of Kraiński's 1599 agenda. The Minor Poles were a bit more venturesome, and the appearance of Kraiński's work and its acceptance showed their willingness to admit liturgical innovations in the order developed by Lasco. The 1602 agenda – fine tuned Kraiński's work, eliminated some of the bolder innovations, so as to make it acceptable for use throughout the Minor Polish Church. The 1614 work was built upon the 1602 agenda and represented the accepted use throughout Minor Poland until its place was supplanted by the Great Gdańsk (Danzig) Agenda of 1637. This last work sought to unify all Reformed and Bohemian rites in both Poland and Lithuania. We have not used the 1637 as a standard of comparison, because our interest has been to highlight the distinctive usages of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed traditions.

It is very clear that Morzkowski's liturgy is dependant upon Lasco's earlier work. Indeed it reproduces exactly the pattern established by Lasco. In both cases two services are described – a service of preparation and the holy rite of Communion. In both Lasco's and Morzkowski's rites the congregation is to imitate as closely as possible the events in the upper room, including the reception of Communion in groups seated around the table, even as the disciples in the upper room were seated around the table together with the Lord.

69 *Akta synodów* 1915, 60.

Lasco's Forma ac Ratio 1550	Forma albo porządek 1581	Porządek nabożeństwa 1614	Morzkowski's Agenda 1646
Order for the Second Week before Communion	Order for the Second Week before Communion	Order for the Second Week before Communion	
Order for the Day before Communion	Order for the Day before Communion	Order for the Day before Communion	Order for the Day before Communion
Order for the Day of Communion	Order for the Day of Communion	Order for the Day of Communion	Order for the Day of Communion
		Ascription of Praise: <i>Bogu Oycu y Synowi</i>	
		Two Hymns	
Sermon	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon
Prayer of the Church			Prayer of the Church
Psalmody		Hymn	
	Exhortation and Excommunication		
	Prayer for the Right and God-pleasing Worship		
		Invocation of the Holy Spirit	
		Excommunication	
		Exhortation to make Confession of Sins	
	Confession of Sins	Confession of Sins	
	The Word of Comfort	The Absolution	
	Admonition to worthy Reception		
		Confession of Faith	
A Prayer for Communion	A Prayer for Communion	Prayer toward the Words of Christ	A Prayer for Communion
		<i>Naydroższą krewią swoią</i>	
The Words of Christ's Testament	The Words of Christ's Testament	The Words of Christ's Testament	
The Meaning of the Testament and Admonition	The Meaning of the Testament and Admonition	The Meaning of the Testament and Admonition	
		<i>O Wszchemocny Boże</i>	
Invitation to God's Table			Invitation to God's Table
Words of 1 Corinthians 5	Words of 1 Corinthians 5	Words of 1 Corinthians 5	
		<i>Agnus Dei</i>	
		Invitation to God's Table	
		The Our Father	
The Breaking of the Bread	The Breaking of the Bread and the Words over the Cup	The Breaking of the Bread	The Breaking of the Bread
	The Our Father		
	Invitation to God's Table, Examination of the Neophytes		
	Prayer of Humble Access		
The Distribution of the Bread	The Distribution of the Bread and Cup	The Distribution of the Bread	The Distribution of the Bread
The Pauline Words about the Cup of Blessing		The Pauline Words about the Cup of Blessing	
The Distribution of the Cup		The Distribution of the Cup	The Distribution of the Cup
Words of Consolation and Encouragement	Words of Consolation and Encouragement		Unto thee, O God most high...
Exhortation to Thanksgiving	Exhortation to Thanksgiving	Exhortation to Thanksgiving	Exhortation to Thanksgiving
Prayer of Thanksgiving	Prayer of Thanksgiving	Prayer of Thanksgiving	Prayer of Thanksgiving
Admonition			
Psalmody			Hymn
Collection of Alms	Collection of Alms		Collection of Alms
Benediction	Benediction	Benediction	Benediction
		Collection of Alms	
	Psalmody	Ascription of Praise: <i>Bogu Oycu y Synowi</i>	

The Polish and Lithuanian Brethren understood themselves to be standing within the tradition established by Lasco, and thus they regarded the service of Lasco to be their heritage. They had been a group within the Reformed Church of both nations even before Lasco's return to Poland. They participated in the synods and cast their ballots along with other recognized church leaders and congregational delegates. They were among those who had determined by vote that Lasco's service should become the universal standard in both countries. When their connection with the orthodox Reformed was severed in 1562–63 Lasco's service was among the treasures of the past that they chose to retain with them. With the establishment of their own Anti-Trinitarian position they became uneasy about the Lasco's prayers and other liturgical expressions which articulated or otherwise appeared to espouse the doctrine of the Trinity. These they had to replace with more pointedly Anti-Trinitarian substitutes.

The Anti-Trinitarians of course regarded themselves as faithful exponents of the *Sola Scriptura* principle. It became clear to them that Lasco had not gone far enough, but had retained too much of the flavor and theological thought of the pre-Reformation church. Just as the Reformed thought that the Lutherans had not gone far enough in their Reformation, so too the Anti-Trinitarians considered that the orthodox Reformed themselves had not gone far enough. They had permitted their liturgies to be contaminated by the inclusion of elements and practices not specifically commanded in the word of God. Among such elements one could include the *Agnus Dei*, various hymns, etc. In addition they could see that Lasco had neglected to include some parts of the upper room ritual which ought to be encouraged, such as the solemn washing of feet before the Eucharist. This practice was common among the Anabaptists and ought to be permitted in Anti-Trinitarian congregations which wished to practice it. What resulted was a very simple service governed by the notion that Christ should be remembered in a holy rite in which his actions are imitated. What Christ did not do plainly should not be done, lest the act of remembrance be contaminated by the introduction of foreign elements.

Order for the Day before Communion.

Among the Socinians a solemn service of preparation for Communion was held on the day before the celebration of the Eucharist. We find no evidence concerning the details of this rite in Morzkowski, but it is available to us from the works of Friedrich Samuel Bock *Historia antitrinitariorum* and *Acta Historico-ecclesiastica*. Williams abstracts Bock's presentation to tell us that the preparatory service was strictly private, for communicant members of the congregation only. Here each communicant was examined concerning his faith and conduct and long standing grievances were addressed. Indirect evidences are found also in Morzkowski's *Fourth Aphorism* concerning who may be permitted to participate in the sacred rite. Only those of the proper age who understand the work of Christ and the blessings which come from it, and whose lives properly reflect their Christian profession, are permitted to participate in the Holy Eucharist. Careful examination of the faith of each member and the conduct flows from it was made, and all outstanding grievances were reported. The pastor then

exhorted the congregation and corrected all errors and abuses. Other members of the congregation might also offer rebuke and exhortation, and in conclusion appropriate expressions of repentance were called for. Those who did not exhibit the proper repentance were informed that they would not be permitted to participate in the Eucharist, and fellow members might choose to ostracize them. Thus only those who showed a high standard of moral conduct were allowed to come to the Eucharist.⁷⁰

Special services of Communion preparation were also common among the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed. They had been recommended by Lasco in his *Forma ac Ratio*. Lasco had built his recommendations on the provisions called for by Calvin's Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders, according to which such services were to be held, so that the people might better prepare themselves for participation, and that the minister might have sufficient time to instruct the people. According to Calvin's provisions the announcement of the approaching celebration should be presented to the congregation one week in advance of the Communion day.⁷¹ A similar practice is found among the English according in the *Order of the Communion* of 1548. Here the priest is told to admonish the communicants to refresh their faith and knowledge concerning the passion of Christ of which the Communion is a remembrance and that they should earnestly and heartily repent and promise to amend their sinful lives, that God might grant them forgiveness. Lasco's instructions call for not one but two weeks of special preparation. The minister is to solemnly announce the coming Communion service two weeks before the celebration in order that the people might examine themselves privately and prepare themselves for the special service of preparation to be held on the day before Communion.

Lasco's order was strictly observed in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed congregations, which went even further by observing a two day fast before Communion. As we might expect at the time when fellowship between the Reformed and the Anti-Trinitarians came to an end the Brethren congregations all observed the practices set down by Lasco. It may be that they continued this practice indefinitely, since we are nowhere informed that they dropped it. Evidence from Morzkowski indicates only that those who would commune in the Eucharist must submit to public examination. It is evident that because the Eucharist was celebrated only four times a year, each celebration was announced at least one week in advance by the minister.

In the course of time the Reformed systemized the shape of the service for the day before Communion. In the Great Gdańsk Book of 1637 a form of service for this day is provided which includes the Triune Invocation, the formal Admonition to Self-Examination, the Examination, Admonition to Walk in the Light, Prayer, Declaration of God's essential Goodness, Assurance, the *Pax Domini* and Apostolic Benediction.⁷² In this they went far beyond Lasco's provisions, and we should not suppose that the Brethren followed them in this formalization of the service of preparation. As in the case of Communion preparation, they were not minded to require anything not specifically

⁷⁰ *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 468.

⁷¹ *Thompson* 1972, 203–204.

⁷² *Agenda* 1637, 79–99.

commended in the word of God. Further they were not in fellowship with the Reformed and were under no pressure to follow their lead in this matter. We may imagine that they depended upon their ministers to provide a suitable setting for the examination, excommunication, and commendation.

The Service for the Day of Communion.

In the provisions for the holy rite of the Eucharist we note immediately that unlike the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed services of that period we do not find the whole structure of the liturgy and the full text of the prayers set out before us. Instead we find a directory of worship such as was more common among the Hollanders. Such directories took careful note as to what provisions must be made for the celebration and the order in which the service is to proceed, but little information was provided as to the wording of the various parts of the service. No doubt the ministers of the church would have in manuscript form a text which they were accustomed to use on such occasions, but the wording of such texts might differ somewhat from place to place. Morzkowski offers a *Directorium* which tells his readers what is to be done after the manner commonly used among Brethren of Reformed background.

For Morzkowski and indeed for all the Socinians the manner of celebration, i.e., the physical provisions, were of the utmost importance. Since the service was to awaken remembrance of Christ's passion, it must necessarily seek to reproduce the events in the upper room in the night of Christ's betrayal as closely as possible. Indeed the creation of the proper atmosphere was more important than the actual wording of the prayers, initiations, and exhortations.

Those coming to the church on the day of Communion would find before them a table covered with the clean cloth with bread and cups for wine and covered bottles of wine set before them.⁷³ Such provisions they took from Lasco's 1550 London order. He required that a table be set with four glasses and three tin plates, upon the largest of which was white bread such as might be used in any household. The bread, when broken, would be placed on the smaller plates and the two glasses filled with wine would be placed beside each of the two plates. The Polish and Lithuanian Reformed also followed this practice before the schism but they eventually dropped it because of its Anti-Trinitarian associations. They were concerned that they should not even outwardly follow the same practices as were current among the heretics. For the same reason their later liturgies all required that communicants should receive standing or kneeling, but never sitting. By order of the General Synods at Sandomierz (1570), Kraków (1573), Piotrków (1578), and Włodzisław (1583) these directions had the force of law among the Reformed.⁷⁴ The Socinians, however, kept the old practices and pointed to them as a proof that they were the true Reformed church and the faithful followers of Johannes a Lasco.

The Sermon. There was of course no Triune invocation. Instead the service begun immediately with the sermon on the word of God, preached according to the stated pol-

73 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 468.

74 *Akta synodów II* 1972, 272–273, 297; *Akta Synodów III* 1983, 12, 40, 82.

ity of the Brethren Church; that is, the death of Christ undertaken for the sins of man should be proclaimed, since not only the sermon but the whole service should be a proclamation of the death of the Lord in accordance with the words of St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 11.

The practice of beginning with an appropriate sermon was found already in Lasco 1550 rite. Lasco noted that the Supper of the Lord was not to be celebrated in a theatrical manner but with appropriate solemnity, and in the sermon the minister was to especially note the nature of the signs which were to be observed, in order that all might make a proper observance and not give their closest attention to the bread and the cup.⁷⁵

Lasco's provision for the sermon was followed in many Reformed agendas in Poland and Lithuania. Krainiński's 1599 agenda ordered that a sermon on the Holy Gospel or a text pertaining to Holy Communion should be preached, and the 1614 order added only that the sermon should begin with the ascription of praise. The Lithuanian Reformed followed even more closely than the Poles the custom of beginning the Communion service with the sermon. One may presume that Socinians would use the sermon as an important opportunity to catechize the congregation about the true meaning of Communion.

The Prayers. The sermon is concluded with appropriate prayers the texts of which are not indicated by Morzkowski. We see the same provision in Lasco. Prayers are to be said, but few texts are provided. Only among the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed do we find the prayer text provided. The Lithuanian text is based upon the opening prayer of Zwingli's 1525 Communion service. It asks that the Lord would grant his weak and humble people constancy in faith to offer him the proper praise and thanksgiving which Jesus Christ commanded to offer in remembrance of his death. It is noteworthy that while Zwingli's doxology at the conclusion of this prayer mentions both Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, mention of the Holy Spirit is not found in the Lithuanian version. This omission is probably inadvertent; it in no way serves as a repudiation of Trinitarian doctrine.⁷⁶

Invitation to the Lord's Table. After the prayers, benches are set around the table and the minister exhorts the people, inviting them to come and be seated as space is available. The people seat themselves, but the minister remains standing throughout the administration. He sits only in the interval between tables. Nothing is said concerning his further preparation of the bread and the wine, although it is clear that when all are seated he uncovers the bread and wine to be distributed.

We find no mention of the ceremonial activity of ministers, elders, and deacons, such as is spoken of by Lasco in his rite. Lasco notes that when the bread and wine have been set before the people he is to admonish them according to the 1 Corinthians 5, quoting the words of Paul: "Behold, dear brethren, Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of

75 *Lasco II* 1866, 143.

76 *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bij.

malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Amen" (1 Corinthians 5:7b, 8). After these words the minister is seated at the table together with the other ministers, elders, and all the deacons, and others of the congregation who are sitting with him, and in full view of the entire congregation he begins the administration of the bread and wine.⁷⁷

Lacking in Morzkowski's service is the reading of the historical narrative of the Institution of the Supper as it is presented in 1 Corinthians 11:23–29, a common feature of the Reformed rites. In this they departed from Lasco, who followed the traditional Reformed practice of including the recitation of the Institution according to Paul's account in 1 Corinthians 11 in every celebration of the Lord's Supper. Zwingli had instituted this practice by designating the *Verba* as a description of the way in which Christ instituted the Supper and Calvin enlarged upon it by stipulating that the entire Pauline account of the institution of the sacrament from 1 Corinthians 11:23–29 should be included as a lesson before the distribution of the bread and the wine.

In as much as none of the early Reformed regarded the recitation of the *Verba* as anything more an appropriate reading of the word of God, one cannot say that its omission by the Brethren was altogether inappropriate. Zwingli, Calvin, and Lasco never regarded the recitation of these words as a form of consecration. Therefore their inclusion could not be termed essential to the celebration, especially if the circumstances of the Supper had already been noted in the sermon. The elimination of these words as a form of consecration further testified to the total rejection of the doctrine of Transubstantiation and any other notion that Christ might be physically present in, with, or under the bread and wine.

The Polish and Lithuanian Reformed built upon the tradition they inherited from Lasco but added to it other elements before the invitation to the Lord's Table including, in the case of the Lithuanians a solemn Exhortation and Excommunication, Confession of Sins, and Admonition to Worthy Reception, and, in the case of Minor Poles, an Invocation of the Holy Spirit, Excommunication, Confession and Absolution, and the traditional Confession of Faith, according to the ancient Nicene symbol. Whereas the Brethren simplified Lasco's service, the traditional Reformed sought to glorify the Supper by the addition of appropriate admonitions, prayers, and acts of worship. Having turned away from Lasco's instructions that the people should come forward and sit at especially prepared table, there was no longer any need for a special invitation after the form provided by Lasco. We should note that the full text of 1 Corinthians 11:23–29 continued in use in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed rites as we see in the agendas of 1581, 1599, 1602, and 1621. It is noteworthy that the 1614 Minor Polish order and the 1644 Lithuanian order allow it, but indicate that the *Verba* from 1 Corinthians 11:23–25 may be used instead. The Great Gdańsk Book of 1637 allows for 1 Corinthians 11:23–25 only. It may be that this usage which was unfamiliar to the Reformed came into use in the 1637 agenda through the influence of the Bohemian Brethren, who participated in the preparation of this agenda.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Lasco II 1866, 163.

⁷⁸ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bv; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 163; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 34–35; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 43–45; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 75; *Agenda* 1637, 110–112; *Acti usługi* 1644, 29–32.

The Administration of the Bread and the Cup. When all of the guests of the Supper have been seated at the table the minister proceeds immediately by taking the bread in his hands and he speaks a very brief blessing the form of which is not given. Then he breaks the bread and distributes it to each at the table with the following words:

That the Lord, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and after he had blessed it, he broke it and gave it as a sign to his disciples, saying: "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you." Take, therefore, and eat, and obey his command. This bread is the body of Christ, not that it is in truth transformed into Christ, for that [body] is in heaven, and needs must remain there until the time of reparation; but because it is a figure and a sign of the body of Christ, which, although it was not really broken, was thus broken by the demand of our salvation. Those things with which it was afflicted, tormented, torn and at last nailed to the cross nevertheless correspond to a breaking. Do this in commemoration of Christ, with a devout and humble mind, consider who suffered, how much, for whose sake, and by whose authority . . . etc., etc.⁷⁹

When all have received the bread then he takes up the cup and again blesses it briefly and then gives it saying:

That the Lord also gave the cup to the disciples, and said: "Drink of this, all of you; this is my blood which was shed for you." Therefore drink ye also (and he sets the cup before the one sitting next to him, who, after he drinks a little, sets it before the one who is next to him, who likewise does the same, until all who are seated together have drunk; but the pastor does not finish his prayer until he has seen that all have drunk), this is the "blood" of Christ because it, for you, prefigures and foreshadows the blood of Christ, inasmuch as it was shed from his most holy body. But, eating of this holy bread and drinking from this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death in a solemn manner, with the greatest contrition of heart and consideration of how unworthy ye are of so great a benefit, ye give the greatest thanks that ye are able. As often as ye perform it here in recognition of the benefits of God, ye proclaim it. It is the time of the giving of thanks, the time of the sacrifice of praise. Do this, now be in this one thing, nay, eat the body of the Lord together, drink his blood, that is, consider, with the greatest devotion ye can, what was done with the body and blood of the Lord, and thus let it sink into your soul, that it may be transformed into the blood which may nourish your soul. For the flesh of the Lord is food indeed, and his blood is drink indeed, etc.⁸⁰

When all those seated have received the cup then he himself sits and devoutly partakes of the elements. Then he concludes with whichever of the following two prayers he chooses:

Unto thee, O God most high, creator of heaven and earth. Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, who didst not spare thine only begotten Son, but didst deliver him unto so terrible a death for our sins, and unto thee, O Lamb of God, who didst so love the human race that thou didst

79 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 469.

80 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 469.

offer thyself according to the will of God the Father as a sacrifice for our sins, be honor, glory, blessing, thanksgiving, now and forevermore. Amen.

Or, simply:

*Unto God the Father, from whom as from a fountain all good has flowed unto the race of mortals, for the death of his Son, endured on behalf of our sins, be honor, glory, blessing, through his only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, now and forevermore. Amen.*⁸¹

After the first table has been dismissed then he remains in his place while others come forward and then he proceeds to commune the second table using the followings words. At the bread he says:

Take ye this also," this bread is the communion of the body of Christ, and ye, receiving it, profess that ye are true members of that body whose head is Christ himself, and so, offering this sacrifice of praise, ye now bear witness that the benefits flowing from the cruel death of Christ and the afflictions of his body affect you.

Then he gives the cup to the person seated next to him and communes each person in turn, saying:

Drink ye also. This cup which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ. Ye, by drinking of it, confess that ye are participants of all the benefits flowing from the blood of Christ poured out for our sins. Therefore see to it that ye do not draw away in heart from the Lord while approaching him with your lips. See to it that ye be not found unclothed in a wedding garment at this heavenly feast. Beware, lest while sitting at the table, ye imitate Judas' greeting in the garden. Showing forth Christ in your life, . . . etc. Whoever eats and drinks unworthily [1 Cor 11:27-30], etc. Honor, glory, blessing, unto God the Father through his only begotten Son, for his death, endured on account of our sins, now and forevermore. Amen.⁸²

These distribution formulas are repeated for each table until all have communed. As the communicants come and go the minister discourses on the death of Christ and the aid which flows from it, speaking in such a way as to move the people to greater devotion. This he does by speaking devoutly about the sufferings of Christ and the doctrines which are taught by the sufferings of Christ. He then goes on to number the purposes from which Christ suffered and died, speaking always in such a manner that he might move the hearts of the people to devotion, to a good resolution, and to prayer. It is expected that no one will leave the service, excepting for some serious cause before all have communed. They should rather listen silently and devoutly and give thanks with humble hearts to God and to Christ that he should be willing to endure such a cruel death for sinful man.

81 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 469.

82 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 470.

We notice that the breaking of the bread (the fraction) here has a practical rather than ceremonial purpose. Christ broke the bread at the first Supper in order that the disciples might receive it, and the minister does it for the same practical things. We notice also that the recitation of the words of Christ over the bread and wine, and not the traditional *Verba*, do not serve as a formula of blessing or consecration but are made a part of the distribution of the bread and wine at the first table. The important words are "Take, therefore, and eat..." and "Drink of this, all of you..." for this states the command of Christ which the congregation is now obeying. As such it does not need to be repeated and therefore at subsequent tables it is sufficient for the minister to say: "Take ye this also..." and "Drink ye also..." set in the context of Paul's words concerning the communion of the body of Christ and the communion of the blood of Christ from the 1 Corinthians 10.

The form follows that provided by Lasco in *Forma ac Ratio* but the ritual is simplified. In Lasco three plates are used, one large and two small. The minister takes the large plate in his hands which is filled with the bread and with the whole congregation watching and listening he says in a clear voice: "The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ" (1 Corinthians 10:16b). When he says it, he breaks the bread in his hands and transfers it into the smaller plates in order that it might be distributed to all at the table. After the distribution of the bread he takes four cups filled with wine, which are placed on either side of the smaller plates, and lifting up one of the cups he says with the clear voice: "The cup of blessing which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ" (1 Corinthians 10:16a). Then he distributes the cups to the communicants. In Morzkowski's Socinian order there is no separate recitation either of Christ's words or the words of Paul. He makes them a part of the distribution formula. Lasco gives only a very brief formula in which there is no direct reference to the bread being distributed: "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." In similar manner the cup is distributed with the words: "Take, drink, and remember the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ was given into death for us on the cross for the forgiveness of all our sins."⁸³ The Socinians wanted to make the point even more clearly that the communicants must not give close attention to the bread and wine, but cast their eyes and minds heavenward and give exclusive attention to the death of Christ for the forgiveness of sins. They are not contradicting Lasco but rather making more sure the typical Reformed notion that this earthly Supper is not to draw attention to itself, but it is a meal of commemoration in which all attention is to be given to the sufferings and the death of Christ. In addition, the distribution and indeed the time of administration is given over to catechesis as to the meaning and purpose of the sufferings of Christ. Whereas Lasco directs that an assistant minister should read from John 6 concerning the spiritual partaking in the body and blood of Christ, the Socinians prefer to move completely beyond that to the direct attention to the way in which Christ's body was broken and his blood flowed forth from the cross. Instead of repeating the words of the first administration, the formula at the second and further tables takes the form of

83 Lasco II 1866, 163–164.

an admonition that the communicants should profess that they are true members of the body whose head is Christ and offer their sacrifices of praise for the afflictions he bore for them. Such formulas fit well into the ongoing discourse of the minister on the sufferings and death of Christ. They act as a repeated reminder to consider endure the cruel death which they remember by means of this ritual.⁸⁴

We may assume that subsequent tables were dismissed in the same manner as the first table with prayers which Morzkowski calls benedictions. Here it is not the people who are blessed but rather God is glorified for the sufferings and death from which such great blessings derive. It is not participation in the bread and wine as such which has caused such blessing to fill forth. The Supper is only a remembrance and not a means of grace and therefore the Communion of the bread and wine have no part in the benediction.

The note of solemnity serves to strengthen the seriousness of the rite and the importance of the good resolve of all participants. All this is indicated not only by minister's words but by the manner in which he speaks. It is evident that Morzkowski seeks to create a mood which one might say borders on the sort of theatricality against which Lasco had warned.

In comparison with the Socinian form of Eucharist found in Morzkowski's agenda we can see that the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Churches moved in quite a different direction. Although both to some extent continued to show their debt to Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* we find far greater attention being given to the reception of the Holy Communion and the ceremonial details connected with celebration and distribution.⁸⁵ There is a clear theological reason for this. These churches have moved beyond the simple Zwinglian notion of a commemorative celebration in which closest attention is to be given to the remembrance of Christ's passion to the more mature Calvinist notion that those who participate in the Supper enjoy a spiritual communion with Christ by means of the sacramental reception. Of course here sacramental reception does not refer to the bread and wine themselves, but these signs point beyond themselves to a spiritual and very personal communion with Christ enjoyed by all who receive worthily.⁸⁶

After the Anti-Trinitarian schism both the Lithuanian and Polish Reformed Churches felt somewhat uneasy about continuing Lasco's practice of separate Communion of the bread and wine, a practice perpetuated by the Anti-Trinitarians. Both felt in necessary to discontinue the celebration of Communion after the manner prescribed by Lasco, while still maintaining the shape of the Communion service which Lasco had provided. The Minor Polish Church chose a less radical break from Lasco's shape. They maintained the practice of separately distributing of the bread and wine but placed it in a new context, in that no longer do the communicants assemble around a table set before them in the church. Instead the new directions provide that they come forward and receive the bread and wine either standing or kneeling. However it is unlikely that congregations would practice kneeling because this might bring with it associations

84 *Lasco II* 1866, 165.

85 *Forma albo porządek* 1581, c-cij; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 172-175; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 40-41; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 49-52; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 75; *Agenda* 1637, 116-119; *Akt usługi* 1644, 34-41.

86 Petkūnas 2003, 75-88.

of adoration of the species. The Lithuanian solution was somewhat more dramatic change. They continued the breaking of the bread and the blessing of the cup with the words of Paul from 1 Corinthians 10. After praying the Our Father an invitation was issued for the worthy to come forward and after the prayer of Humble Access the bread and wine were distributed together. The Lithuanians followed Communion with the words of consolation and encouragement which they have long used from Lasco's liturgy thus maintaining in minds of all a strong connection with the *Forma ac Ratio*.

Exhortation to Thanksgiving. Morzkowski's liturgy notes that after all have communed the minister exhorts the people reminding them "that this sacrifice of praise must be offered to God the Father through the hands of Christ the high Priest."⁸⁷ No further details concerning this are given.

We recall that Lasco's liturgy also calls for an exhortation to thanksgiving at this point. Lasco exhorts that none may fail to feel the power and fruit of their fellowship with Christ in his body and blood, by which they have been sealed in the victory of Christ and his holy merit. He urges that those who have sat at this table might with the eyes of faith see themselves seated with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the confidence of the merit of Christ, and that they might feel the presence of the Holy Spirit and give to the Father thanks and praise here and now, and also day by day.⁸⁸ This is followed by a lengthy Prayer of Thanksgiving. However, it may be questioned whether the Socinians would use this exhortation without alteration since here one does not find the insistence that all meditate solely upon the passion of Christ and give thanks for it, as Morzkowski's liturgy so straightly directs.

The Lithuanian Reformed chose to follow Lasco's recommendation, shortening his words to concentrate on communion in body and blood of Christ for the sake of the conscience. The occasion of the assurance of this communion is described as: "...when we touched the bread with our hands and ate it with our mouths and drunk wine from, the cup."⁸⁹ The eyes of faith look beyond to that Communion which they have with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all faithful. In Lasco, and in 1581 and 1621 orders, it is the purpose of the exhortation to assure the communicants of the significance of their participation as and outward sign and seal of their fellowship with Christ and his holy ones.

The Polish Liturgy of 1614, like the 1602 liturgy which preceded it, take up another theme from Lasco's exhortation, namely, that those who have participated might not receive the grace of God in vain, but show the fruits of faith and pious living ever more with each passing day. They must understand that they have been elected by God and must not associate themselves with the works or deeds of this dark world. May God himself present them stainless in body, soul, and spirit in the day of his judgment.⁹⁰ It is in the 1602 and 1614 liturgies that we find allusions to the Calvinist understanding of election. In the theology of John Calvin, thanksgiving to God and the praise of his

87 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 470.

88 *Lasco II* 1866, 165-166.

89 *Forma albo porządek* 1581, cij-cii; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 76.

90 *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 42; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 52-53.

grace are closely connected to the doctrine of Double Predestination. Whether one is eternally elected to salvation or to damnation, God is to be praised and glorified for his unchangeable decree which determines each man's fate. The doctrine of Predestination is found in *corpus doctrinae* of the Polish and Lithuanian Churches in the *Confession of Sandomierz* and the *Second Helvetic Confession*. Predestination is considered from the standpoint of the doctrine of Christ. The term 'Double Predestination' is not used, and the notion receives little emphasis. The purpose of election in Christ is that his saints should be a holy and blameless people before him in love, to the praise of the glory of his grace.⁹¹ The liturgy is meant to reflect this purpose and to be a concrete expression of that praise.

The Prayer of Thanksgiving. Morzkowski directs that the minister's prayer of thanksgiving should offer thanks to Christ, the High priest and King for offering of his body for man's sins. He then prays that any who might have presumed to come unworthily to the table might be properly punished by having their sins publicly revealed. He then asks that all might have the wisdom to understand what blessings derive from Christ's death and that God would grant his peace to the churches for their pastors and patrons, and indeed all who suffer affliction and look for help. The prayer concludes with a doxology from Revelation 7:10: "To him that sitteth upon the throne and unto his Lamb, be honor, blessing, and glory foremore. Amen."⁹²

No mention can be found in this prayer of the act of Communion just completed. Since the purpose of the act was the remembrance of Christ's passion and death, all attention is focused there. Another noteworthy point is the minister's plea to God that he would expose publicly any who might have communed unworthily. If any should have escaped the scrutiny of the Saturday's preparatory service, he should now be worry less his sinful manner of life should be discovered. Thus the condemnation serves as an earnest exhortation to godly living. The congregation is again reminded of the fruit of Christ's sufferings, namely forgiveness of sins.

The Socinian prayer of thanksgiving does not follow Lasco who provides a lengthy prayer at this place in which he thanks God for the food of eternal life and acknowledges God's goodness and mercy toward those who are weak and needy. He incorporates his people together into one body in Christ and shows them his grace that they may increase day by day in faith through that strengthening which comes by the Holy Spirit. He speaks of the renewal of the Spirit and responsibility of love, which must rule in the hearts of all to increase of religion throughout the world and to the glory of the Holy Trinity.⁹³

The Lithuanian agendas of 1581 and 1621 found this prayer most congenial to their religious spirit and adopted it with only minor variations in wording. The Minor Polish liturgies shows a different path. Their liturgies introduced here a lengthy prayer for the church and her needs.⁹⁴ Kraiński's 1599 agenda puts here a prayer built upon the model

91 *Confessio* 1570, d–dij.

92 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 470–471.

93 *Lasco II* 1866, 166–167.

94 *Forma albo porządek* 1581, b–cijj; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 76–77.

of the *Tersanctus*.⁹⁵ The 1602 and 1614 prayers are similar in wording and content. The prayer opens with a thanksgiving to God the Father for his graciousness in creating man according to his own likeness and for the gift of redemption through Christ. From this point, the prayer is shaped according to the traditional Western *Vere dignum* of the *Prefatio*. Next, the Father is asked, as in Kraiński, to bless the king and protect his church and to preserve the people from famine and plague. The Son is thanked for feeding his people with his body and precious blood and for uniting them with the Father. Thanks is given to the Holy Spirit for the gift of sanctification, and he is asked to strengthen the people in the faith to live a pious life and to persevere under all trials and hardships.⁹⁶ It is only in this petition for those who are suffering persecution and hardships that we find a point of close comparison between the Minor Polish and Socinian rites. Both churches were experiencing the severe persecution at the hands of the Roman Catholics and therefore both liturgies echo the same earnest prayer for relief and for strength to endure.

The Hymn of Thanksgiving. In Morzkowski's liturgy there is only one hymn. This is in direct imitation of the fact that after the Last Supper Jesus and his disciples sang a hymn before departing to the mount of Olives (Matthew 26:30). This hymn of thanksgiving is sung after the prayer. The subject of thanksgiving is the death of Christ for the sins of man, and so properly only such a hymn is to be used at this place in which mention of that death is found. Lasco too had called for the congregation to sing. He directs only that at this point a psalm should be sung in the language of the people. The Lithuanian liturgy also calls for psalmody, but not here. Rather this psalm should be the concluding after the worship. The Minor Poles followed the similar pattern but directed the singing of the ascription of praise *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*.⁹⁷

Collection of Alms. After the singing of the hymn Morzkowski's service calls for an exhortation by the deacon that the people contribute to the needs of the church and the poor. This corresponds to Lasco's direction. The Lithuanian and Polish Reformed both kept this tradition, although the Poles moved it to a place immediately following the benediction and before the ascription of praise.

The Benediction. The Socinian rite ends with the direction that the people are to be dismissed with a blessing. The text of this benediction is not provided.⁹⁸ The Lithuanian and Polish Calvinistic liturgies also preserved this practice but not as the concluding act. The Lithuanians placed it after the collection of alms, immediately before the closing psalmody, and the Poles placed it before the collection. In the Lithuanian liturgy the following form is provided. "May the merciful Lord God, who has given us to eat and to drink of the body and blood of his dear Son, graciously direct our hearts and souls to

95 *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 174–176.

96 *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 42–44; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 53–54.

97 *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 176; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 44; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 55; *Agenda* 1637, 127; *Akt usługi* 1644, 48.

98 *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 471.

his praise and glory and bless us now and forever.”⁹⁹ All the Polish rites, excepting only Kraiński’s 1599 agenda, direct that the Aaronic benediction (Numbers 6:24–26) in the form of the prayer is to be used.

Finally we must make some observations about Morzkowski’s rite. Morzkowski presents us Anti-Trinitarian worship in Poland and Lithuania in its later period, in the years of its final and complete suppression in these lands and the migration to the Netherlands and England. As such it provides us a witness of Anti-Trinitarian worship in most mature period. As to whether or not it reflects the Anti-Trinitarian worship during the whole period of its existence in Poland and Lithuania remains unknown. However, the fact that it draws so heavily upon the work of Johannes a Lasco would seem to indicate that the form of Eucharist used in these communities changed little during the century of Socinianism’s rise and decline. Other sources are lacking. Should new material become available from the same period it would become possible for us to trace the development of worship among the Polish-Lithuanian Brethren during this period. We can only hope that there is lying forgotten in some archive material not yet available which will throw additional light on the worship and spirituality of these groups.

Conclusions

With the appearance of the Polish and Lithuanian Brethren we see an example of an ecclesiastical tradition which, in its zeal to uphold what it understands to be the truly *Sola Scriptura* principle, is willing to firmly and decisively reject the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. In the earliest Reformation period those who held such a radical opinion were few in number and isolated. They did not constitute organized communities and therefore it is understandable that they left behind no documents concerning any particular liturgical forms, built upon their doctrinal position. It was only in Poland and Lithuania that doctrinal confusion within the Reformed community and the subsequent development of Anti-Trinitarian opinions issued in the formation of congregations of believers holding these views. Morzkowski’s agenda provides us with the only extant evidence of eucharistic worship in Anti-Trinitarian communities in Poland and Lithuania, and, perhaps in the whole of Europe, and for this reason it is unique. It is also of particular value in that it provides us with examples of the prayers offered to God the Father through Jesus Christ used by those who rejected the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and sought to underline the oneness of God.

The worship tradition of the Socinians show clear indications of their Reformed ancestry. The eucharistic ritual of the Socinians was built upon the model of Johannes a Lasco which they had inherited from their Reformed forefathers. The influence of Lasco’s work is clear but the Socinians moved in quite a different direction from that taken by the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed. All the Reformed, but especially those in Minor Poland, showed increasing interest in more elaborate worship forms and prayers,

99 *Forma albo porządek* 1581, ciiij; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 77.

while maintaining the general framework which Lasco had provided them. The Socinians moved rather to different direction. They thought that even Lasco's work was too elaborate and did not yet approximate closely enough the experience of the disciples in the upper room in the night of Christ's betrayal. They sought a worship form which would be completely transparent, thus they either simplified or eliminated portions of Lasco's liturgy and substituted prayers of their own composition.

Morzkowski's agenda indicates that the Socinians differed with the Reformed concerning the purpose and aim of the celebration of the Supper. Among the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed the service was called the Lord's Supper and through the influence of Calvin and later theologians of the Reformed tradition they understood the service to be a mean by which the individual Christian came into the closest possible spiritual communion with his Lord. They understood that as they partook of the earthly bread and wine they simultaneously entered into spiritual communion with the Lord Jesus Christ in his body and blood. The Socinians accepted no such understanding. They looked upon the service as an action of the community, for which reason they preferred to call it the Eucharist, in which all together contemplated and gave thanks for the cruel sufferings and death which Jesus had so long before endured on their behalf. There is no notion of individual or corporate communion on the basis of the partaking of the bread and wine. Indeed the elements seem to have been given only passing attention. They are used because Christ in the upper room directed that they should be used. Thus the service for them constituted an occasion for serious mental and spiritual reflections from which heartfelt thanksgiving would flow forth.

In general we observe that the Morzkowski's eucharistic rite follows the Reformed pattern not only in that it rejected the traditional Mass with the elements of the *Missa catechumenorum* and the *Missa fidelium*, but also in that it clearly articulated the Reformed principle *Finitum non capax infiniti*. Indeed they went beyond the Reformed in stressing this principle, as Morzkowski's administration formulas demonstrate. His words remind us of how clearly they distinguished earthly from heavenly in a Neo-Platonic manner. The bread and the cup are signs the full purpose of which is that looking beyond them one is moved to the remembrance of the Christ who so completely gave himself for sinful man. In saying this Morzkowski shows that although differences concerning the doctrine of God differed radically, the Socinians still maintained their connection with the heart of Reformed thought, as it had been articulated in the earliest days of the Swiss Reformation.

Bibliography

Primary sources

- Agenda* 1637
 AGENDA albo FORMA PORZADKU USŁUGI SWIETEY, W ZBORACH EWANGELICKICH KORONNYCH Y WIELKIEGO XIESTWA LITEWSKIEGO Na wieczną część y chwałę Oycu, Synowi, y Duchu S. Bogu w Troycy jednemu, za zgodną Zborow wszystkich uchwałą, teraz nowo przeżyżrzana y wydána, WE GDANSKU Drukował Andrzej Hünefeldt. Roku Pańskiego, M DC XXXVII.
- Akta usługi* 1644
 AKT VSELGI CHRZTV S. Y S. WIECZERZEY PANSKIEY. Tákże AKT DAWANIA SLVBV MAŁŻENSKIEGO Dla prętszego y częstszezo Wżywánia Z AGENDY ZBOROW EWANGELICKICH KORONNYCH y Wielkiego Xśięstwa Litevskiego Wyięty. 1. Cor. 14. w. 19. 40. WE ZBORZE wołę pięć słow zrozumitelnie przemówić, dbym y drugich náuczył, niżeli dzieięć Tysięcy słow ięzykiem obcym. Wszytko się niechay dzieie przystoynie y porządnie. DRUKOVVANO VV LUBECZU. Anno 1644.
- Akta synodów* 1915
 Akta Synodów prowincjalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1611 – 1625. Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae. Serya IV, Zeszyt II. Wilno 1915.
- Akta synodów I* 1966
 Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce. Tom I (1550–1559). Opracowała Maria Sipayłło. Warszawa 1966.
- Akta synodów II* 1972
 Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce. Tom II (1560–1570). Opracowała Maria Sipayłło. Warszawa 1972.
- Akta synodów III* 1983
 Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce. Tom III (Małopolska 1571–1632). Opracowała Maria Sipayłło. Warszawa 1983.
- Akta to jest sprawy* 1913
 Akta tho iest sprawy Zboru krześciańskiego Wileńskiego, ktore się poszeli Roku Pańskiego 1557 Miesięca Decembra Dnia 14. Za sprawą kxiędza Simona z Prossowic, tego zboru superintendenta, Kaznodzieie Oświeconego Książęcia pana Mikołaja Radziwiła, Woiewody Wileńskiego etc. w Brzesciu Litewskim 1559. Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae. Serya X, Zeszyt I. Wilno 1913.
- Confessia* 1570
 CONFESSIA. Wyznánie wiary powszechnę Kościołów Krześciańskich POLSKICH Krotko á prostemi słowy zámknione / wedle podánia Apostolskiego y sthárých Doktorow... W Krákwie Drukował Máciey Wirzbięta / Typograph Krolá Jegó M. 1570. – reprint edition: D. Długosz–Kuczarbowa, Warszawa 1995.
- Forma albo Porządek* 1581
 Formá albo porządek spráwowania śwígtości Pańskich / iako Krztu Świegtego / y społeczności Wieczerzey Pańskiey / przytým y inszych Cemoniij albo posługowania Zboru Bożego / ku potrzebie pobożnym Pasterzom / y prawdziwym Ministrom Pana Krystusowym / znowu wydána y drukowana w Wylnie. Roku od národzenia Syná Bożego: 1581.
- Forma albo porządek* 1621
 SPRAWA Wieczerzey Panskiey Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. Sprawy-Duchowne 1612–1853, No.: F40–460.
- Katechizm Zboru* 1605
 Katechizm Zboru tych ludzi, ktorzy w Krolestwie Polskim y w Wielkim Xięstwie Litewskim y w inych Państwach do Korony należących twierdzą y wyznawaią, że nikt inszy, iedno Ociec Pana naszego Jezusa Christusa iest onym iedynym Bogiem Izraelskim: a on człowiek Jezvs Nazarański, który się z Panny narodził, a nie żaden inszy oprócz niego, abo przed nim iest iednorodzoným Synem Bożým. Ose. 14 v.10 w Rakowie, Roku od narodzenia Pańskiego 1605.
- Lasco II* 1866
 Joannis a Lasco Opera tam edita quam inedita. Recensuit vitam auctoris enarravit A. Kuyper. Tomus secundus. Amstelodami 1866, 53–55; Otto Naunin Die Kirchenordnungen des Johannes Laski. Lissa 1910, 197.

- Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599 *PORZĄDEK nabożeństw Kościoła powszechnego Apostolskiego / słowem Bożym zbudowanego y vgruntowanego na Jezusie Chrystusie: który jest Bogiem Izraelskim / Synem Bożym przedwiecznym spolistnym z Oycem / Zbawicielem / Káplanem / Przyczyną i edynym namiestniká nie máiącym / y dosyć wczynieniem zá grzechy ludzkie. Spisány ku chwale BOGV W TROYCY i edynemu: Roku 1598. Przez Xiędzá KRZYSZTOFA KRAIŃSKIEGO, Superintendentá Kościołów reformowanych w máłej Polsce / zá rádu y dozwoleńiem bráćiey Distriktu Lubelskiego. Drukowano w Toruniu / Roku 1599.*
- Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602 *PORZĄDEK NABOZENSTWA KOSCIOŁA POWSZECHNEGO APOSTOLSKIEGO, Słowem Bożym vgruntowanego y zbudowanego ná IEZUSIE KRYSVTVSIE. Spisány ku chwale BOGV W TROYCY IEDYNEMU: Roku 1602. Przez Stársze Kościołów reformowanych w máłej Polsce, zá rádu y dozwoleńiem Synodu Prouinciálneho Ózarowskiego y Włodzisláwskiego.*
- Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614 *PORZĄDEK NABOZENSTWA KOSCIOŁA POWSZECHNEGO APOSTOLSKIEGO, Słowem Bożym vgruntowanego y zbudowanego, Ná IEZUSIE KRYSVTVSIE Spisány, ku chwale BOGU W TROYCY IEDYNEMU: ROKU 1602. Przez Stársze Kościołów reformowanych w máłej Polsce, za rádu y dozwoleńiem Synodu Provincialnego Ózarowskiego, Włodzisláwskiego, y Łañcutskiego. Powtore Drukowano / Roku 1614.*
- The Polish Brethren* 1980 *The Polish Brethren. Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora, 1601–1685. Edited, Translated, and Interpreted by George Huntston Williams. Harvard Theological Studies. Number 30. Montana 1980.*

Secondary sources

- Bock* 1753 *Friedrich Samuel Bock Acta Historico-ecclesiastica. Weimar 1753.*
- Bock* 1774 *Samuel Bock Historia antitrinitariorum, maxime Socianismi. Königsberg 1774.*
- Kraśński* 1840 *Valerian Krasinski Historical Sketch of the rise, progress, and decline of the Reformation in Poland. Vol. II. London 1840.*
- Lubieniecki* 1995 *Stanisław Lubieniecki History of the Polish Reformation and Nine Related Documents. Translated and interpreted by George Huntston Williams. Harvard Theological Studies 37. Minneapolis 1995.*
- Lukšaitė* 1999 *Ingė Lukšaitė Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Mažosioje Lietuvoje. XVI a. trečias dešimtmetis – XVII a. pirmas dešimtmetis. Vilnius 1999.*
- Lukšaitė* 2003 *Ingė Lukšaitė Reformacijos Lietuvoje raida ir evangelikų bažnyčių istorija XVI–XVIII a. – Lietuvos evangelikų bažnyčios. Vilnius 2003.*
- Merczyng* 1905 *H[enryk] M[erczyng] Zbory i Senatorowie protestancy w Dawnej Polsce. – Walerjan Kraśński Zarys dziejów Reformacji w Polsce. t. 2, cz. 2. Warszawa 1905.*
- Naunin* 1910 *Otto Naunin Die Kirchenordnungen des Johannes Laski. Lissa 1910.*
- Petkūnas* 2003 *Darius Petkūnas 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. – Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja 93 / 2003. Editors Ketola Mikko & Laine Tuija. Helsinki 2003, 75–88.*
- Petkūnas* 2004 *Darius Petkūnas Holy Communion Rites in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Agendas of the 16th and Early 17th Centuries. [Doctoral dissertation, Helsinki, 2004]. <http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/teo/kayta/vk/petkunas/>*

- Petkūnas* 2005 *Darius Petkūnas* Consensus of Sandomierz – A Unique Ecumenical Document in 16th Century Polish–Lithuanian Protestant Christianity. – Tiltai, 2005, 1 (30). Klaipėda 2005.
- Puryckis* 1919 *Joseph Puryckis* Die Glaubenspaltung in Litauen im XVI. Jahrhundert bis zur Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569. Freiburg 1919.
- Thompson* 1972 *Bard Thompson* Liturgies of the Western Church. New York 1972.
- Wilbur* 1925 *Earl Morse Wilbur* Our Unitarian Heritage. Boston 1925.
- Williams* 1962 *George H. Williams* The Radical Reformation. Philadelphia 1962.
- Wotschke* 1911 *Theodor Wotschke* Geschichte der Reformation in Polen. Halle 1911.
- Kareev* 1886 *Николай Иванович Кареев* Очерк истории реформационного движения и католической реакции в Польше. Москва 1886.
- Любовичь* 1883 *Николай Любовичь* История Реформации в Польше. Кальвинисты и антитринитарии. Варшава 1883.
- Любовичь* 1890 *Николай Любовичь* Начало католической реакции и упадок реформации в Польше. Варшава 1890.

