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Saatteeksi

Vuosikirja on jälleen kerran monipuolinen kokoelma kirkkohistoriallisia teemoja. Vuoden 2006 dramaattisin kirkkohistoriallinen tapahtuma oli epäilemättä Porvoon tuomiokirkon palo. Siihen liittyy dosentti *Markus Hiekkasen* artikkeli Suomen keskiajan kirkkojen palotuhousta keskiajalta nykyaikaan. Liettualainen teologian tohtori *Darius Petkūnas* luo artikkelissaan yleiskatsauksen Suomessa vähän tunnettuun Puolan ja Liettuan reformaatioon. Tähän asti olimme tuskin kuulleetkaan 1600-luvulla eläneestä irlantilaisesta ihmeperantajasta Valentine Greatrakesista ja hänen toimintansa herättämästä keskustelusta Englannissa. Filosofian lisensiaatti *Maarit Nurminen* korjaa tämän puutteen. Pääasiassa 1600-luvulla pysymme myös filosofian maisteri *Johanna Vuolaston* artikkelissa, joka yhdistää kirkko- ja taidehistorian käsitellessään Johan Arndtin kirjojen kuvitusta. Teologian maisteri *Sirpa Sorvali* analysoi lehdistöhistoriallisessa artikkelissaan ortodoksisen *Aamun Koiton* roolia talvi- ja jatkosodassa. Teologian maisteri *Jaakko Anttila* heittäytyy suomalaisen puoluepolitiikan syövereihin eritellessään Keskustapuolueen kirkkopoliitiikan kehitystä vuosina 1973 ja 1974.

Ajankohtaisten tutkimuskysymysten katsauksissa pysymme ajan tasalla muun muassa kirjahistoriallisen tutkimuskentän ja Baltian kirkkohistorioitsijoiden projektien suhteen. Tuoreet raportit tarjoamme niin seuran kevätretkestä Saarenmaalle toukokuussa 2006 kuin Kirkkohistorian päivästä syyskuussa 2006. Runsa ja värikäs kirja-arvosteluosasto etenee ajassa antiikista nykyaikaan, teemallisesti keskiaikaisista piispojen murhasta suomalaisen gospel-musiikin historiaan sekä maantieteellisesti Intiasta Amerikkaan ja Suomesta Turkkiin.

Yhden innovaationkin tarjoamme tässä vuosikirjassa: mukana on ensimmäistä kertaa elokuva-arvosteluosasto. Viime aikoina on ohjelmistoon tullut useita filmejä, joiden aiheet ovat kirkkohistorioitsijoille hyvin kiinnostavia. Ensimmäiset vuosikirjassa arvosteltavat elokuvat ovat ristiretkiaikaan sijoittuva *Kingdom of Heaven*, nimellään jo kaiken kertova *Luther*, suuresti kohuttu *Da Vinci-koodi* sekä paavi Johannes Paavali II:n elämästä kertovat *Karol. A Man who became Pope, Pope John Paul II ja Have no fear. The life of John Paul II*.

Haluamme jälleen iloisesti kiittää kaikkia niitä, jotka ovat antaneet panoksensa vuosikirjan tekemiseen! Toivomme yhteistyön jatkuvan ja kirjoittajajoukon entisestään laajenevan.

Helsingissä lokakuussa 2006

Mikko Ketola Tuija Laine

A Survey of the History of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania

Today Lithuania and Poland are unquestionably Roman Catholic countries. In some places where Protestants are spread thin and far between the general populations is barely aware that they are even Christian. Matters were quite different in the Reformation era. Many of those who today know so little about the Lutheran and Reformed Churches are themselves the descendants of Protestants who planted the church which grew so quickly that it seemed for a time as Roman Catholicism might disappear. Unfortunately, it will not be possible for us to provide more than a brief overview of the story of the Reformation in these two countries in the short time allotted to us. Consequently many details must be eliminated from our consideration in order for us to form only a general survey of the growth and decline of the Protestant Churches.

In 1569 Poland and Lithuania were joined together by the Union of Lublin into a single Polish–Lithuanian Kingdom. It was political necessity which brought about this union.

The Lithuania in the early of the 16th century expanded far beyond the present borders. It extended from the Baltic sea and the Neman river from the west eastward even beyond the present eastern borders of Belarus, and then southward to include present day Kiev and much of the Ukraine to the borders of the Black sea. The Polish borders were not much different from what they are today. Poland itself was divided into two regions. In the west was Minor Poland centered around the capital city of Kraków close to the borders of the present Czech Republic and Hungary. Both to the east and west of it were Major Poland, which included Pozań in the west and spread in the east from there eastward and southward to the territory of present day Ukraine. In 1596 the Polish capital would be moved from Kraków to Warszawa (Warsaw) in Major Poland. Although Lithuania covered almost twice as much area as Poland, its population was only half that of its western neighbor and its military forces were far inferior to those of Poland. It should be noted also that whereas Poland was then as now a Slavic nation, Lithuania was very cosmopolitan and encompassed a number of ethnic groups and languages. Of these languages the Lithuanian tongue of the Baltic language family, only distantly related to the Slavic languages, was not widely spoken. By the beginning of the 17th century Poland – Lithuania was the largest country in Europe with a population of 11 million, the third largest population. The word must be said about Prussia. Conquered by the Teutonic knights it was after the defeat the battle of Grünwald and other battles divided in 1466 into Western Prussia and Eastern Prussia. Part of Western Prussia was taken by Poland

and designated Royal Prussia. Eastern Prussia centered around Königsberg would play an important role in the spread of the Lutheran Reformation.

The Beginnings of Lutheranism

The first Reformation movement in Poland was the Lutheran Reformation. Lutheran influence was felt first in Royal Prussia (West Prussia). This region continued to have a large German population, especially in the urban regions where German language and culture continued to predominate and the economy depended upon trade with the urban centers of Eastern Germany. The influence of Martin Luther (1483–1546) was felt in the leading city of West Prussia Gdańsk (Danzig) within a year of the posting of the 95 Theses.¹ After a short period of suppression it became clear by the end of 1522 that a majority of the citizens of Gdańsk were in favor of the Reformation. From the beginning there were those who advocated a conservative Reformation with a strong sense of continuity with the past, and those whose plans and purposes were far more radical, after the manner of Karlstadt in Wittenberg.² Soon the Reformation spread to other West Prussian cities, including Thorn, Elbing, and others.

Lutheran influence in Major Poland was always strongest in Poznań (Posen). Commercial and familial links with the German cities and lands brought humanist influences and Lutheran teaching to the city early in the 1520-ies.³ As early as 1525 the gospel was publicly proclaimed by Jan Seklucjan (ca.1510/1515–1578) from the pulpit of St. Mary Magdalene's church. It is important to note that in Major Poland the spread of Reformation was not limited to the German speaking population. From Königsberg Seklucjan produced and distributed much Lutheran literature in the Polish language.⁴

In Minor Poland the focus of influence seems to have been the city Kraków (Krakau). Lutheran preaching there was impossible to control, and a number of aristocratic families found these teachings very attractive. As early as in 1525 and 1526 there were arrests and convictions, and the imposition of the harshest penalties for espousing and circulating Lutheran doctrine. Repeated attempts to suppress Luther's writings were unsuccessful. Protestant influence reached the highest levels of government.⁵ The Roman Catholic Synod of Łęczyca in 1527 called for the appointing of an inquisitor in every dioceses and the appointment of expert theologians to instruct the people and preachers to expound the Scriptures.⁶

The earliest contact of the Reformation in Lithuania came through Poland and through the well organized German community resident in Vilnius (Wilno). Lutheranism quickly became identified with the German community, as a foreign, German Church. The site of the first Lutheran preaching was in St. Anna Church, where German

1 *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen 1911*, 250; *Fox 1924*, 21.

2 *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen 1911*, 250; *Fox 1924*, 21–22.

3 *Wotschke 1911*, 61.

4 *Wotschke 1911*, 74–77; *Fox 1924*, 27.

5 *Fox 1924*, 31.

6 *Fox 1924*, 31.

language service had been held since the beginning of the 16th century.⁷ Here, in 1540, the Franciscan monk Abraomus Culvensis (Abraomas Kulvietis, ca.1509–1545) began to openly preach the Lutheran doctrine.⁸ In 1540 he started a higher school with Protestant theology.⁹ However, one cannot judge the introduction of Lutheranism in this period to have been a great success.¹⁰

The planting of the Reformation in East Prussia followed a very different course. In 1525 Albrecht, the head of the order of Teutonic Knights became a Lutheran, and with the knowledge and consent of the King of Poland, he used the Treaty of Kraków to become the secular ruler of East Prussia with right of succession and entitlement to the first seat in the Polish parliaments.¹¹ Neither the Emperor nor the Bishop of Rome approved of this action, but they were powerless to prevent it.

We see, then, a rather complex picture. Across the whole area of Poland and Lithuania the early attempts at planting the Lutheran Reformation were very limited in their success. Only isolated areas and a few prominent individuals came to be identified with the Lutheran faith, while large geographical areas remained untouched. Despite interest in the Reformation, the vast majority of the people in Poland and Lithuania remained unaffected by it.

The Lutheran Reformation doctrine did not find in the Polish and Lithuanian lands the same propitious circumstances which it had encountered in Germany. A principal factor in this was the negative influence of those in the highest position of authority among the Poles. In 1520, 1522, and 1523 King Zygmunt I Stary issued an edict prohibiting Poles from studying at Wittenberg or other Protestant universities, and forbidding the publication, the dissemination, or importation of Lutheran books into Poland and Lithuania. To this were added threats that those who disseminated Lutheran and other heretical doctrines would lose their property.¹² We must look for other factors. It should be noted that many of the writings of the Reformers were written in a foreign language and were not immediately available among those whose native language was quite different from Luther's German. This meant that direct contact with the vernacular works of Luther and other Reformers was largely available only to those who read German. In addition, the sad record of strife caused by the German knights only added to anti-German feelings.

The Rapid Growth of Calvinism

The anger of the nobles against the church was particularly focused on the increasing burden of taxation which they must bare and which the church refused to relief even in war time, and the increasingly high handed treatment they received in ecclesiastical

7 *Musteikis* 1988, 38.

8 *Biržiška* 1960, 46.

9 *Lukšaitė* 1999, 135.

10 *Lukšaitė* 1999, 250.

11 *Fox* 1924, 25.

12 *Lukšaitė* 1999, 133, 134.

courts. Finally pant up frustration and anger of the nobility broke out into the open. Now they would openly against the Roman church. The first sign of this break is seen in the action of the Diet of Piotrków in 1547–48, at which the nobility demanded the preaching of the pure Word of God without human or Roman additions, and freedom of worship.¹³ They confronted the newly crowned King Zygmunt II August (Sigismund II August, 1520–1572) with their demands. He did not react, as his father had, by repressive measures. Although himself was a faithful son of the Roman Church he was well acquainted with Protestant literature and associated freely with Protestant adherents. At this point large numbers of Roman priests turned from the Roman Church to Reformation doctrine and ordered the worship in their congregation according to the Reformed standard. In 1552, Rafał Leszczyński (1526–92), the Palatine of Brześć–Kujavia, a Protestant, was elected President of the Chamber of the Deputies and at the opening Mass of the Diet he refused to participate. In the proceedings of Diet he made it clear that no actions would be taken regarding national defense unless or until the grievances of the nobility concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction were resolved. Even many loyal Catholics supported this issue.¹⁴

It is Minor Poland that we see the first signs of the progress of the Reformed Church. The first attempts to the church in that area made no provisions concerning doctrinal allegiance. In 1550 the clergy begun to openly preach against what they understood to be the evils of the church, and to recommend both the administration of the communion cup and the marriage of the clergy. However, we do not find the names of outstanding theologians capable of directing the course of the Reformation. A variety of theological opinions were evident, and their diversity made a common consensus on doctrinal matters impossible. In 1554 the synod in Słomniki decided that closer ties be forged between the Protestants in Minor Poland and the Bohemian Brethren, whose strong church order and system of discipline could serve as a model for the Poles.¹⁵ This union was effected at the Convocation in Koźminek in 1555.¹⁶

In Major Poland we do not find the same pattern of rapid growth and increasing influence of the Reformed Churches. Here it was Lutheranism which quickly gained a foothold. We have already mentioned the spread of Lutheranism among German speaking population in the larger cities from the very beginning of the Reformation. These German Lutherans in the cities of Royal Prussia (Gdańsk, Elbing, Toruń, et al) maintained their own national identity and did not participate in the affairs of the Polish speaking churches. Now the time had come also for Major Poles to make a decision whether to follow Rome or turn in the direction of Wittenberg or Geneva. They found the Lutheran Reformation more attractive. The situation was such that in 1555 the Archbishop of Gniezno's Chancellor Dambrowski would declare that "...only seldom does one find a household which is not infested with heretics."¹⁷

¹³ Fox 1924, 42.

¹⁴ Fox 1924, 45, 131.

¹⁵ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 3.

¹⁶ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 18–45.

¹⁷ Wotschke 1911, 228.

The Bohemian Brethren also were successful in gaining converts among the Polish people. The Brethren made great gains at the expense of the Lutherans and came more and more in closer association with the Reformed in Minor Poland, some of whose teaching they found congenial.

We have already noted the strong demands the nobility presented at the Diet of Piotrków in 1547–48. At succeeding Diets the nobility increasingly pressed their demands regarding the preaching of the pure Word of God, freedom of worship, and the abuse of power by clergy. Clear proposals for reform were presented by the nobility at Diet of 1555 in Piotrków. These included the liberty to have clergymen who would preach the pure Word of God, to follow their own rituals and ceremonies, to administer and receive Communion in both kinds, to eliminate episcopal jurisdiction in religious matters, to permit the marriage of clergy, to restore all clergy to their formal entitlements, and other matters which were important to the nobility.¹⁸ The bishops, however, again refused their approval and they appealed to the papacy for advice and assistance. The King himself appealed to the Bishop of Rome to approve a national synod, the use of the Polish language in the Mass, Communion in both kinds, and the marriage of the clergy.¹⁹ By this time the Council of Trent was already in session, and there was no possibility that these reforms would be allowed. At the next Diet in Piotrków in 1558–1559, the Protestants were in full control.

The dominant figure in the spread of Calvinism in Lithuania was Duke Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black ("Czarny," 1515–1565). He was the most important public figure in Lithuania, second only to the King in prestige and authority. Some members of his larger family had earlier become Lutherans. In the early part of the sixth decade Radziwiłł the Black himself exhibited interest in Lutheranism.²⁰ But by the middle of the same decade he openly espoused the theology of the Calvinistic Reformation. Thus his personal residence became the site of the first Calvinist Church in Lithuania.²¹ His conversion pointed the way for other Lithuanian aristocrats who were led by Radziwiłł to look to the works of John Calvin, Johannes a Lasco, and other Reformed theologians for guidance. Grateful for Radziwiłł's support, Calvin dedicated his *Commentarii in Acta Apostolorum 1560* to him.²² Through the leadership of Radziwiłł it may be said that the higher Lithuanian aristocracy was soon predominantly Reformed.

The spread of the Reformed movement made it possible for Radziwiłł to organize in 1557 the first Synod in Vilnius of the young Reformed Church.²³ A second synod was held on December 15, 1558, in Brześć Litewsk.²⁴ The frequency of these synods testify to the rapid spread of Protestantism and the need for organizational structure and a system of discipline.

18 Fox 1924, 48–49.

19 Fox 1924, 50–51; Schramm 1965, 202.

20 Łukasiewicz 1853, 57 fn. 1; *Acta historica* 1886, 379; *Acta historica* 1886, 402; Lukšaitė 1999, 251.

21 Lukšaitė 1999, 251.

22 Wotschke 1908, 114 (No. 200).

23 Lukšaitė 1999, 284.

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

The Reformed Church in Lithuania, named *Unitas Lithuaniae*, kept its integrity as an independent entity from the first. Neither the *Unitas Lithuaniae* nor the Lutehrans were never subject to domination by the Polish Reformed. They were and continued to be independent churches.

Anti-Trinitarian Dissentions

The lack of theological leadership left room for such a measure of theological dissension and debates on major theological issues as would result in the crippling of Protestantism in both lands. Under the influence of the Polish nobility, 16th century Poland and Lithuania became a place of refuge for people from all over Europe who were seeking a place where their unorthodox opinions would meet with toleration rather than persecution. Among those who fled to Poland were Italian Anti-Trinitarians, whose theological opinions were far more highly developed than those of the Poles, who were theological neophytes. These men who represented themselves to the Poles and Lithuanians as mainstream Protestants were from the beginning participants in the establishment of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Church.²⁵

Chief among the disseminators of the new theology was the Italian Georgius Blandrata (1516–1588), who was doctor in 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.²⁶ At the Synod of Pińczów of 1559 Blandrata spoke regarding the Holy Spirit according to rationalistic terms. Within a few years Calvinists were openly accusing each other of unorthodox theological positions.²⁷ In 1562 this resulted in open dissention 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, and even the Superintendent of the Church in Minor Poland Felix Cruciger (Feliks Krzyżak) itself now became Anti-Trinitarians.²⁸

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.²⁹ They also publicly acknowledged their gratitude to Radziwiłł the Black for allowing them to gather in his estates.³⁰

We see at this time the splitting apart of the young Reformed Church. This was to have tragic consequences for the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania. In the national

25 Lubieniecki 1995, 337.

26 Lubieniecki 1995, 324; *Akta synodów II* 1972, 58.

27 Lubieniecki 1995, 324

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

29 “A z synodu list pisali do p. Radziwiłła, wojewody wileńskiego, za tę pilność jego jemu dziękując, którą pokazał w pozwoleniu miejsca synodowi i w prędkim ogłoszeniu i wysłaniu ministrów na synod. A o tym, co na synodzie konkludowali, to mu napisano: *Vocabulum Trinitatis etsi non omnino reicere potuimus propter aliquos infirmiores, maxima tamen ex parte a praesenti abusu illud purgavimus, ut nunc utpote verbum hominum et non divinum, minus valoris quam antea apud multos obtinuerit.*” *Akta synodów II* 1972, 152.

30 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. Любoвичь 1890, 116; *Puryckis* 1919, 140.

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 as yet taken no position in the matter a formal debate was held between the Reformed and the Anti-Trinitarian leaders. All present were shocked. The lines between the contesting parties were now clearly drawn. No further attempts at agreement would be possible. Now each must decide for himself which path to follow. For those who had never committed themselves to the Reformation it now became clear that the Protestants were hopelessly disunited, and it would be fatal to alien with any of them. In eyes of those all the Protestants had revealed themselves to be heretics.³¹

The scandal of a fragmenting Protestant Church became common knowledge to the whole nation. The Reformation in Poland and Lithuania had now reached its high point and its downfall is near at hand, and the rapid expansion of the church had come to its end. Jakub Sylwiusz complained that as a result of the rapid spread of Anti-Trinitarianism many Protestants returned to Catholicism.³² Indeed, nothing did as much harm to the same cause as the Anti-Trinitarian doctrines which rose in the Helvetian Churches. Any further growth would only bring with it the loss of those who had formerly been faithful adherents. In 1566 at the Diet of Lublin the loyal Reformed together with the Lutherans formally petitioned the King to issue an edict expelling the Anti-Trinitarians. Together with some of the aristocrats, the Roman bishops, aware that the continuing dissension would benefit their course, pointed out that the expulsion of only the Anti-Trinitarians would still leave the Lutherans and Reformed in place.³³ Thus we must say that the first sign of the ultimate destruction of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania came from within the Reformed Church itself. With no unified theological foundation, but only a shared antipathy for the Roman Church, the Reformed church was soon torn apart by internal divisions and floundered. The process of destruction which the Protestants themselves had begun was soon continued and brought to its final completion by the foot soldiers of the Society of Jesus, who arrived in 1569, determined to win both nations back to Catholicism.

The Protestant Attempts to Obtain Legal Status

At the beginning of the eight decade of the 16th century, Protestant power and influence in Polish society appeared formidable. The records of the Diet of 1569 indicate that of the 133 senators in attendance, 58 were Protestants, 70 were Catholic and of that number 15 were Catholic bishops. If one puts to one side the 15 senatorial seats occupied by the Catholic bishops, one sees that there were more Protestant aristocrats present than those of the Roman Church.³⁴ The large number of Protestants among the Polish nobility was a potent force in the Polish state, potent enough to insist that Protestants be given

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

32 *Лобовичъ* 1890, 139.

33 *Lubieniecki* 1995, 634 fn. 348.

34 *Merczyng* 1905, 143, 262-263.

equal rights with the Roman Catholics. According to the report of the contemporary Jesuit Piotr Skarga, some 2000 Roman churches of that day had been taken over by Protestants.³⁵ Events of the final two and a half decades of the century would lead to a rapid diminishing of this number by almost two thirds. Historian Henryk Merczyng (1860–1916) calculates the number of Protestant parishes in 1591 to have been 570; 250 in Minor Poland, 120 in Major Poland, and 200 in Lithuania, or one-sixth of the total number of the Roman parishes in Poland and Lithuania.³⁶ The Lutheran church was much smaller. It had 32 Lutheran parishes in Major Poland, and about 10. However, it should be noted, that western or Royal Prussia was always predominantly Lutheran. As these numbers indicate, during this period Protestants were a significant and an influential force in Polish and in Lithuanian life.

It was evident to the Protestants that they must reach some sort of mutual accommodation among themselves if they were to be successful in their quest for religious liberty.

An urgent impulse toward political unity was found in the words of King Zygmund II August. He foreswore persecution of dissenters, and, in the last session of the Lublin parliament in 1569, he proclaimed his desire that there be only one church in his realm.³⁷ The King's actual words were not clear in meaning, but the Protestants took them to mean that there could be but one Protestant confession which would serve as the basis of a Protestant union. They thought that this would satisfy the King and achieve religious liberty. In his personal words to some of the senators, the King expressed his hope that there would be peace among his Protestant subjects.³⁸

This led to the gathering of representatives of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed, Lutherans, and the Bohemian Brethren in the city of Sandomierz on April 9–14, 1570, to negotiate a common confession. The gathering was predominantly Calvinist. Initially each of the three groups presented their own Confessions as the basis for common union of the three churches.³⁹ The final decision was to form a political union of the churches which would satisfy the requirements of the present situation. The document of consensus was given the name *Consensus of Sandomierz*.

All three groups begun expectantly to prepare for the coming meeting of the Parliament in Warszawa. When the Calvinists appeared before the parliament to represent the entire Protestant community they choose not to present the *Sandomierz Consensus*, but instead their own *Sandomierz Confession* which was explained on the basis of the *Second Helvetic Confession*. The bishops and senators rejected the Calvinist Confession, and refused to grant religious liberty on the basis of it.⁴⁰ This strong negative reaction made it impossible for the King to act favorably toward the Protestants. The battle for the religious liberty which the Protestants had so earnestly sought from parliament was not achieved.

35 Fox 1924, 62.

36 Merczyng 1905, 143.

37 Wotschke 1911, 244; Pelikan 1947, 833; Halecki 1915, 145–146.

38 Wotschke 1908, 315 (No. 407a); Halecki 1915, 169.

39 Pelikan 1947, 825.

40 Wotschke 1911, 250–251; Halecki 1915, 313–314.

The death of Zygmunt II August in 1572 was to have a profound effect on the future of Protestantism in Poland and Lithuania. Although himself a pious son of the Roman Church, he exhibited great tolerance toward those who dissented from the Roman Church.

In advance of the election of the new monarch, political and religious factions became increasingly visible and vocal. Prior to the election of the monarch the parliament convened in Warszawa to consider important issues. As a result of the parliamentary debates, the Act of Confederation of Warszawa was passed on January 28, 1573. According to the terms of this act, the nobles of Poland and Lithuania announced that they would not lend their support to any attempt to suppress free religious expression, and in the face of any such suppression would unite to oppose it despite their own religious disagreements.⁴¹

The Triumphs of the Counter-Reformation

Protestant concerns about the revitalization of Catholicism were aroused by the actions of the Council of Trent (1546–1563). The Roman Catholic bishops of Poland formally accepted the decrees of the Council of Trent in a Synod in Piotrków in 1577.⁴² The program of reform was expertly implemented by the Jesuits. Their order had been specifically founded to attack Protestantism by every means possible and win Europe again to the Roman Church. An outstanding accomplishment was their founding of the University of Vilnius in 1579. It would become the training ground of the future magnates and societal leaders of the Lithuanian people.

Furthermore, the Union of Brześć of 1596 brought under the Roman obedience the majority of Polish and Lithuanian Eastern Orthodox Christians, materially and spiritually increasing the power and authority of the Bishop of Rome among the Polish and Lithuanian peoples.⁴³

Dealing from this position of power the Roman Catholics began to take strong measures against the Protestants. As early as 1581 acts of brutality and the burning of books began in Vilnius. These were the first signs of the shifting popular sentiment against the Protestants. Later in the same year assaults against church property began in Vilnius, and in 1591 the Reformed Church was burned. A few of the participants were brought to trial, but the real perpetrators were not identified or charged. The leaders of the Reformed congregation sought to bring to trial the Rector and leading Jesuit professors of the University of Vilnius, but their efforts were unsuccessful.⁴⁴ Acts of physical violence came even earlier in Poland, where funeral processions in Kraków were attacked in 1564, 1568, and 1570. The lack of action against attackers led to more violence. In 1574, 1587, and 1591 church property in Kraków was destroyed. In 1606, 1614, and 1616, in Poznań, students formed a mob which destroyed the Protestant churches. Chroniclers of that time

⁴¹ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 327.

⁴² *Lukšaitė* 1999, 402.

⁴³ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 416.

⁴⁴ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 410–412.

credited the Jesuits as the organizers of these acts of violence. The Protestant Churches were powerless to prevent these acts and were without avenues by which to redress their grievances.⁴⁵ Slowly but surely power was shifting out of the hands of the Protestants.

Sensing their growing peril, the Protestants made some attempts to consolidate their forces. It became imperative that the General Synod of Toruń of 1595 reaffirm the *Consensus of Sandomierz*, even though doctrinal unity was lacking. The same synod discussed what might be done to prevent further injury and persecution to the Polish and Lithuanian Protestants in the face of the violent assault which the Jesuits had instigated. A letter was read from Duke Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, Palatine of Kijev, the most important Eastern Orthodox group in Poland, in which he proposed that a union be effected with the Protestants to strengthen their hand against the Church of Rome.⁴⁶

A meeting between representatives of the Protestants and the Eastern Orthodox Church was proposed to be held on May 15–June 2, 1595. This meeting finally convened in Vilnius in 1599 for the purpose discussing of a religious and political union. This purpose was not achieved. Ostrogski (1527–1608) and Krzysztof Radziwiłł (“Piorun”), the co-sponsors of the meeting, were not willing to sign the protocol.⁴⁷ Union was impossible.⁴⁸

In the rebellion of Zebrzydowski in 1606–1607 the Protestants moved against the policies of King Zygmunt III Waza. It cannot be said that religious motives predominated in this assertion. They played a minor role, but they may not be discounted. There were plans to raise question of religious tolerance in the parliamentary session of 1606.⁴⁹ However, due to Roman Catholic objections, the King did not allow the issue to be raised. The rebellion of Zebrzydowski shows that even in urgent situations the Protestants were unable to achieve any measure of agreement and consolidate their political power in the quest for the equality of status with Roman Catholicism. The balance of power finally and completely had shifted in Lithuania, as it had earlier in Poland. In the eyes of some historians this marks the end the Polish and Lithuanian Reformation.⁵⁰

The opportunity for further consideration was not to come. The defeat of the Swedes brought with it increased suspicions against the Protestants who were accused of traitorous complicity with Charles the X in his 1655–1660 attempt to conquer Poland and

45 *Lukšaitė* 1999, 412.

46 *Lukaszewicz* 1835, 174

47 *Lukaszewicz* 1835, 174–185; *Lukšaitė* 1999, 487.

48 The next year, when Cyril Lukaris (1572–1638), Patriarch first of Alexandria (1602), and later of Constantinople (1612), visited Vilnius as a representative of current Patriarch of Constantinople, he did not meet or consult with the Protestants, although he had a brief meeting with Radziwiłł the Orphan, a Roman Catholic. *Lukšaitė* 1999, 487.

49 *Lukšaitė* 1999, 418.

50 Three possible periods of the end of the Reformation had been proposed by historical scholars. H. И. Капеев, Н. Любимич, Т. Wotschke, J. Puryckis and other scholars from the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century date the end of the Reformation to 1565–1570 with the coming of the Jesuits in 1569, signing the union of Lublin in 1569 and Sandomierz Consensus in 1570. Other proposed dates include the first decade of the 17th century with the failure of the Protestants to achieve the aims of the rebellion of Zebrzydowski (G. Schramm). Still others (M. Kosman, J. Tazbir, S. Kot, R. Krasauskas, H. Wisner, I. Lukšaitė) point to the middle of the 17th century at which time Anti-Trinitarianism was by parliamentary decision of 1658 had been outlawed and armed hostilities with Sweden and Russia had ended. *Lukšaitė* 1999, 50–56.

Lithuania. Almost immediately steps were taken against the Protestants. The expulsion of the Anti-Trinitarians or Socinians came first. In 1660 during the reign of Jan II Kazimierz Vaza was only the beginning. Soon more orthodox Reformed and Lutehrans were subject to oppressive measures and persecutions which continued for more than 100 years. Churches were vandalized, burned, or otherwise confiscated. Cemeteries were desecrated, clergy and leading members personally attacked, nor was this the end of the matter. In 1717 Protestants were stripped of all their traditional rights and privileges. Churches could not be built or repaired, gatherings for prayer in private dwellings was prohibited, and membership in Polish – Lithuanian parliament was forbidden. Fearful nobles returned to Catholicism, leaving the Protestants with neither patronage nor protection. Membership in both churches declined rapidly. It was not until 1768 that Catherine the Great demanded the restoration of Protestant's rights. The presence of the Russian army surrounding the parliament gathering lent special urgency to the law makers' decision to comply.

In the present day both the Reformed and Lutheran Churches had survived. At present there are 14 Reformed parishes in Lithuania, presided over by 5 clergy in two church organizations, and 9 parishes in Poland with 10 ministers. Lutherans have 54 parishes in Lithuania with 19 priests, all under the supervision of one bishop, and in Poland there are 281 parishes and affiliate congregations with a total of 169 clergy, including bishops, priests, and deacons, all within one ecclesiastical body.

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