

DARIUS PETKŪNAS



Cover art: Gothic Sculptor, German (ca. 1230-1270), Nuremberg, Cathedral

Holy Communion Rites
in the Polish and Lithuanian
Reformed Agendas
of the 16th and Early 17th Centuries

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KLAIPĖDOS UNIVERSITETAS

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PREFACE

The present work investigates the liturgies of the Reformed Churches of Poland and Lithuania during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It examines the development of liturgical theology and its liturgical expression from the 1550's when the separate Polish and Lithuanian forms of Calvinistic worship first emerged, how each evolved, and how the churches eventually sought to unify them. This period of almost one hundred years marked both the rise and fall of Calvinism in both nations and covers decades of fruitful theological and liturgical growth and maturation until the final eclipse of Calvinism, and the reestablishment of Roman Catholicism in these countries.

The collection of source material in this study has required several years of patient searching through libraries and other archival sources. It is unfortunate that much material from this period is now lost to us, some destroyed in the anti-Protestant riots at the beginning of the seventeenth century, much more as a result of the devastations of many wars in this turbulent region caught between Eastern and Western Europe. I must mention the studies of Stanisław Tworek and Henryk Gmiterek, who cast important light on the process of the unification of the rites of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed and Bohemian Brethren Churches in the seventeenth century.

The present volume has grown out of the doctoral dissertation which I presented before the Faculty of Theology of the University of Helsinki under the supervision of Dr. Jyrki Knuutila. I express my deep gratitude to him, and to Dr. Charles Evanson, who carefully studied my manuscript and offered important suggestions, especially in the prepa-

ration of the English language edition of this study. I also wish to offer my gratitude to Professors Markku Heikkilä and Heikki Kotila of the Theological Faculty of Helsinki University who carefully studied my dissertation and offered valuable comments and suggestions.

I also acknowledge the helpful assistance so freely offered by the librarians and the members of the library staffs of the Archive and Library of the Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, Vilnius University Library, the Kornik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warszawa (Warsaw) (AGAD), the Archive and Library of the University of Warszawa, Ossoliński National Institute Library in Wrocław (Breslau), Wrocław University Library, Jagiellonian University Library in Kraków (Krakau), Schaffhausen City Library in Switzerland, State Archive Brno (Moravský zemský archiv v Brně) in Czech Republic, Austrian National Library in Vienna, Austria, Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, and Uppsala University Library, Uppsala, Sweden.

I dedicate this work to my wife, Inga Petkūnienė, in appreciation for her unfailing patience and encouragement, and to my daughters Ieva and Augustė Petkūnaitės, from whose young voices the sung praises of God come heartily and joyfully.

INTRODUCTION

Holy Communion stands at the center of the Christian faith and life. It is the one truly unique Christian form of worship. It is understood to have been given to the church by Christ in the words which he spoke in his Last Supper with his disciples in the upper room when he took the bread and cup, and said: "...this do in remembrance of me." Here man meets God in a way which is particularly profound and decisive. Christ is believed to dwell in believers, and they in him. According to the Catholic tradition, the grace of God is conveyed to man and with it the benefits which grace includes. There is more than the personal dimension here. It is the church which keeps the Supper, and man's relationship to it is governed by his relationship to the church. The body of Christ, understood to be his body mystical, meets together to share one bread and drink of one cup.

The particular understanding of the Holy Communion, both its celebration and participation in it, differ widely in Christian churches. It is in the prayers and the ceremonies of the liturgy that the churches exhibit their particular understanding of the Holy Supper. The expressions and actions of the liturgy speak from and to the heart; they articulate the church's confession and theological understanding of the meaning of the Supper. Consequently, the words and ceremonies of the Supper were from the beginning of the Reformation a matter of especial concern to the Protestants. Their provisions for the celebration, including the precise wording of their prayers, and the detailing of the ceremonial actions were important concerns for them, for here the faith in the heart was put to practical expression. Even if, for the sake of political and

other factors, outward agreement between various Protestant Churches might be proclaimed, here in the wordings and ceremonies of the rites the actual doctrinal situation reveals itself most clearly.

The Polish and Lithuanian Reformed liturgies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are the special concern of this study. Although they are a rich storehouse of material, these riches have never been opened up and laid before us. Our purpose is to investigate this material, which has been largely untouched for over four hundred years, to see what it reveals. We have before us a large source of knowledge which presents to us a picture of the religious mentality and liturgical life of Lithuanians and Polish Reformed peoples and their churches. By the study of it we gain a greater understanding and appreciation of the inner life of these churches during this most decisive period of the Reformation in this large united monarchy.

The study of the early history of the Reformed Church in Poland and Lithuania has left students of the period with only a partial and incomplete portrait. Historical studies of the church have concentrated their attention on the relationship between the Polish and Lithuanian Reformations, their relation to general European history, the politics of the period, the economic and social situation, and other external matters. Attention has been given also to the theological struggles within the church and the relationship between the Reformed and other Protestant Churches. Much significant data has been gathered by these studies, but still the picture is incomplete. We know little about the public worship of the church, the translation of faith into prayer, the communal response into praise, confession, fellowship with God and man, and the ceremonial actions by which they were displayed. It is here that we find the beating heart of the church. Here both the strengths and the weaknesses of faith are most clearly made known. This faith had been arrived at through decades of discussion concerning the biblical doctrines of God and Christ and the nature and destiny of man, and now the fruits of this work come to be expressed in solemn words addressed to God. These words impress upon the worshiper the particular Reformed understanding of where man stands in relation to God and the path which

he must follow. A study of these factors gives us a fuller and more complete picture of the internal life of the church and thus contributes to our understanding of the Reformation of these countries. It is from the study of worship and liturgy that we are able to distinguish the particular characteristics of Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Christianity, its strengths and deficiencies, its complicated relationship with other churches, and its role in the spiritual formation of the Christian man. It is the gap in our knowledge concerning these important matters that the present study addresses itself.

The aim of our study is to gain a thorough and more complete picture of the church, her life, and her faith, by examining her liturgies in their historical and theological context. We will also seek to trace the theological and spiritual maturation of the church as she came to a more thorough self-understanding and as that self-understanding is reflected in her liturgies. We will evaluate the results of our work to determine whether these liturgies do in fact provide the basis for concise statements concerning the theological and practical life of the churches, their understanding of God and man's stance before him. We will need to ask whether or to what extent these results adequately reflect the goal of religion stated in the church's formal confessional statements, and how this relates to the confessions of other Reformed Churches on the continent.

In order to achieve this goal we must first examine carefully the general history of the period, and more especially those works which have concerned themselves with the history of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania. Then we must study all available liturgical and related materials, to determine the manner in which they treat the theological issues which faced the church, the theological and liturgical concerns, the difficulties and controversies which surrounded the liturgy, and the manner which the church sought to resolve them. This will provide us with a vantage point from which we may evaluate the liturgies. Then it will be necessary for us to compare the liturgies before us narrowly and in progression as each succeeding work builds upon the liturgies preceded it. Within this narrow perspective we must determine also the

relationship between the Polish liturgies and those of the Lithuanian Church. We will examine each liturgy part by part. In the broader perspective, we will examine our material with the classical liturgies of the European Reformed Churches, with special attention to the Reformed liturgies Zwingli, Bucer, Calvin, and Johannes a Lasco. We will also ask whether or to what extent we may detect influences from other Protestant Churches with which the Poles found themselves in close political or geographical proximity. The results will be evaluated to see whether or not we have met our goal.

The main body of this work consists of four chapters. In the first chapter we will trace the history of the Protestant Reformation in Poland and Lithuania, its initial stages, giving special attention to the need to obtain legal status and counter-act the resurgence of Catholicism. In chapter two we examine the development of liturgical theology and its liturgical expression, giving special attention to the controversies which confronted the churches with the need to define and articulate their theology of the Lord's Supper. We will describe the circumstances which first led the church's synodical assemblies to pursue particular liturgical forms for use in the worship life of church and the acceptance of these forms by the congregations. We will also trace the development of the liturgical books and the role each liturgy played in provoking the churches to further reflection and liturgical revision. In the chapter three we will give detailed attention to the individual services of Holy Communion, used by the Reformed Churches in these countries. We will critically examine the structure of each service and its individual components, distinguishing the main liturgical elements and giving careful note to each part of the service. In chapter four we will examine the distinguishing characteristics and features of each individual service according to its theological content and its place within the Reformed tradition. Additionally, we will note practical concerns about the celebration of Holy Communion and the general course of the development of the liturgy during the period we have examined. This theological consideration constitutes the most important part of this present work. Then we will offer our conclusions concerning the role of these liturgies

in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Churches, their adequacy, the extent of their conformity to the pattern of Reformed theology as found in other liturgies, the theological and anthropological understandings articulated in the liturgy, and the role of interchurch relationships in the formation of this liturgical tradition. Then we will suggest to what extent this study may contribute to our larger understanding of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania, its peculiar circumstances and expression.

Numerous students of Lithuanian and Polish Reformation history have written about this period. Most noteworthy among them are Jolanta Dworzaczkowa, who studied the general Reformation period in Major Poland and the history of the Bohemian Brethren, Gottfried Schramm, Paul Fox, Theodor Wotschke, Henryk Gmiterek, and Stanisław Tworek, who wrote numerous works on the Lithuanian and Polish Reformation, Oskar Bartel and Halina Kowalska, who studied the life and work of Johannes a Lasco, and others. All of them worked from original sources to provide us with a foundation upon which to build our understanding of the Reformation in Poland. With reference to Lithuania, important studies have been produced by Ingė Lukšaitė, who has written a number of books on the Lithuanian Reformation and its Polish and German connections, and Józef Łukaszewicz, who published several important volumes which are still valuable for original source material. Also noteworthy are the works of Joseph Puryckis and Antanas Musteikis, who looked at the period from differing perspectives. It must be noted that studies of the Lithuanian Reformation are not as plentiful as in the case of the Polish Reformation.

Resource material concerning the theology of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformations is not plentiful. Few have given any detailed attention to this important area. Worthy of note are the works of the German scholars, Otto Naunin, Karl Hein, and Richard Kruske, all of whom gave attention to the theology of Johannes a Lasco and its liturgical expression. The Polish scholars Jerzy Lehmann and Oskar Halecki contributed valuable studies on the *Sandomierz Confession*. The Socinian Stanislas Lubieniecki's historical study of documents from the Polish

and Lithuanian Reformation together with his brief sacramental comments still makes for interesting reading. Theologically considered, the literature on the Polish and Lithuanian Reformation is like a large mine which yields only a few precious nuggets.

Up to the present time very few liturgical studies of the Reformed rites of this period have appeared. Stanisław Tworek's short monograph on the historical development of the Polish rites examines seventeenth century synodical protocols in order to make clear the impulses towards liturgical uniformity. However, he shows no particular interest in the liturgical materials as such. Henryk Gmiterek investigated the problem of the unification of the rites of the Reformed and the Bohemian Brethren in the early decades of seventeenth century. He is the primary source of our information concerning Bohemian Brethren participation in these negotiations. These appear to be the only essays on this important liturgical subject. One or another aspect of our subject has been touched upon by earlier writers, but none has produced a study dedicated to an exposition of the theology of the rites.

Behind the present work stands our study of important primary source material, including the Polish and Lithuanian agendas of 1581, 1599, 1602, 1614, 1621, 1637, and 1644, all of which served as the main basis of our examination of the liturgical life and practice in the Reformed Churches in Poland and Lithuania. The synodical protocols of the Reformed Churches in Minor and Major Poland from 1550 onwards, and, from 1611, those of the Lithuanian Reformed Church, have proved to be a very rich source of information on theological controversies and liturgical debates of the period. In the absence of Lithuanian synodical protocols of the early period, we have given special attention to the 1557-1558 debates on the sacrament in Vilnius. Important to our understanding is the record of Radziwiłł the Black's commitment to the Reformed Church as found in his response to papal legate Aloysius Lippomanus. This document brings clarity to the question of his conversion to the Calvinist faith. Also available is the work of Francesco Stancaró, which was based upon the 1543 *Consultation* of Archbishop Hermann von Wied of Cologne. This was the first church order used by the Church

in Minor Poland. Of great value to our understanding of sacramental doctrine are the *Consensus* and *Confession of Sandomierz*. This material gives details concerning the problems faced by the Reformed and Lutherans in their attempt to reach a common mind with reference to the Lord's Supper. The classical Reformed liturgies of Zwingli, Bucer, Calvin, and Lasco provide insight into the Reformed approach to Holy Communion. Johannes a Lasco's work is most significant because of its immense influence in Polish and Lithuanian Churches. The liturgical writings of Luther, Lukas from Prague, and Thomas Cranmer help us to relate the Polish and Lithuanian to the larger Protestant world.

Additional primary sources from the period are noted in our bibliography. These have been most important in helping us to gain a more comprehensive understanding of Protestant worship in general and the Polish and Lithuanian rites in particular.

1. A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN POLAND AND LITHUANIA; ITS GROWTH AND DECLINE

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. Lithuania to the East was rich in land but had only a meager population. Thus it lacked manpower to exploit its resources or defend its territorial conquests in the face of the rapidly expanding Muscovite power. For its part Poland was still basking in the glory which it had earned by its decisive defeat of the Teutonic Knights. In addition, in 1525 Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490-1568), duke of Prussia, had chosen to ally himself with Poland.

Geographically both countries sat side by side nestled between Germans in the West and Muscovites and Turks in the East, and subject also to strong pressures from Sweden to the North across the Baltic Sea. This contributed to a sense of a common situation and a common destiny. The two cultures had borrowed from each other but remained distinct. For their part the Lithuanians were concerned that their association with Poland should not result in the loss of Lithuanian self-consciousness and identity. The Poles too had concerns about the union. They thought that union with Lithuania might bring with it desires for territorial expansion, making it one of the largest monarchies in Europe. In that case they would now be in much closer contact with the Musco-

vites, whose eyes were turned westward. A backward look leads some present day historians to judge that the Poles were not able effectively to manage this expansion.¹

Although the union brought with it many concerns, not the least of which was fear of the Lithuanians that their national consciousness would be lost, there were many affinities between these neighboring countries. In both countries there was growing tension between the Roman hierarchy and the nobility. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the political and social power of the nobility was increasing and the vast wealth and authority of the Roman Church, along with its increasingly oppressive taxation, were threats to the ambitions of the emerging higher class. The church regarded its possessions and wealth as sacrosanct and often refused to pay its share of military expenses. This only heightened the burdens of the nobility in this time of numerous wars, and it enhanced hostility to the church. An additional irritation to the Lithuanians was the fact that its church was a mere subdivision of the ecclesiastical province of the Polish Archdiocese of Gniezno. These, together with the expansion of the power of the clergy, the widespread abuses of ecclesiastical authority, and the growing secular power of the Roman Church, were reasons why the sparks of the fires of the Reformation in Western Europe quickly spread to Poland and Lithuania and made deep inroads into society - so much so that it seemed for a time as though both would become Protestant countries.

1.1. The Initial Impact of the Lutheran Reformation

The first Reformation movement in Poland was the Lutheran Reformation. Precipitating factors included the increasing recognition among the nobility of the necessity of Reformation, the close geographical and intellectual proximity of Wittenberg and Poland, and the constant movement of tradesman and merchants between Germany and Eastern Europe.

¹ *Davies* 1998, 98.

Lutheran influence was felt first in Royal Prussia (West Prussia), that region of Prussia which had been taken over by the Polish King Kazimierz IV (Casimir IV) at the peace of Toruń (Thorn) in 1466 after his defeat of the Teutonic Knights. The 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 was felt in the leading city of West Prussia, Gdańsk (Danzig), within a year of the posting of the 95 Theses. It came largely through the efforts of Jacob Knade, preacher of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul.² This provoked a strong reaction and attempts to curtail Lutheran influences. 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 Andreas Karlstadt (1480-1541) in Wittenberg.³ Soon the Reformation spread to other West Prussian cities, including Toruń (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. By 1522 the writings of Melanchthon and others were already available.⁴ 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. Here, as in Royal Prussia, ecclesiastical and civil authorities sought to suppress the spread of the Reformation immediately. At the king's direction the city council removed Seklucjan from the pastorate of St. Mary Magdalene's church, but he was not forced to leave the city. He remained in Poznań until 1544, at which time he moved to Königsberg. It is important to note that in Major Po-

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

³ Fox 1924, 22.

⁴ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 61.

land 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.⁵ There can be little doubt that the publication and dissemination of Lutheran literature in both German and Polish provoked the same kind of intellectual curiosity and learned discussion as it had in Germany.

In Minor Poland the focus of influence seems to have been the capital 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, 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. Justus Decius, private secretary of the king, was personally acquainted with Luther and was an admirer of the Reformation, and Francesco Lismanini (Franciszek Lismanin, 1504-1566), confessor to Queen Bona Sforza (1494 - 1557), promoted the Reformation.⁶ The Roman Catholic synod of 1523 reaffirmed Leo X's bull, excommunicating Luther and condemned his teachings, but on a practical level the aristocrats were prepared to negotiate. They even laid before Pope Clement VII in 1525 an appeal for a general synod to consider the theological issues which had been raised. In response they received only an exhortation to remain firm. 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.⁷

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's church, where German language

⁵ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 74-77; *Fox* 1924, 27.

⁶ *Zakrzewski* 1870, 226-227; *Fox* 1924, 30.

⁷ *Zakrzewski* 1870, 29-30; *Fox* 1924, 31.

service had been held since the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁸ Lutheran sermons were preached at St. Anna's church as early as 1525 by Franciscan monk, whose identity is not known. Later, in 1539 another Franciscan monk Abraham Culvensis (Abraomas Kulvietis, ca.1509-1545) begun to openly preach the Lutheran doctrine.⁹ He had studied at Kraków, Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Siena in preparation of his educational activity in Vilnius.¹⁰ In 1539 he started a higher school with Protestant theology.¹¹ In a short time Jan Radziwiłł (1516-1551), a member of one of the highest aristocratic families in Lithuania and brother of Radziwiłł the Black ("Czarny") (1515-1565), converted to Lutheranism. However, one cannot judge the introduction of Lutheranism in this period to have been a great success.¹²

The planting of the Reformation in East Prussia followed a very different course. Although geographically separated from the West in 1466 and under different political control, there was a continued affinity between East Prussia and West Prussia. It is from the West and its open window toward Germany that Eastern Prussia received its first information concerning the Reformation. 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. Neither the Emperor nor the Bishop of Rome approved of this action, but they were powerless to prevent it. Zygmunt I Stary (Sigismund I the Old 1467-1548), himself a loyal servant of the Church of Rome, did nothing to prevent this action, fearing that opposition would lead to the loss of the whole of East Prussia.¹³

Even before 1525, when he openly declared himself a Lutheran, Albrecht was in personal correspondence with Luther and Philip Melancthon. Soon there was gathered around him a group of enthusiastic Re-

⁸ *Musteikis* 1988, 38.

⁹ *Biržiška* 1960, 46.

¹⁰ *Wotschke* 1905, 154-155.

¹¹ *Węgierski* 1679, 74; *Biržiška* 1960, 45.

¹² *Lukšaitė* 1999, 250.

¹³ *Fox* 1924, 25.

formers which included Johann Poliander (1487-1541), Georg von Polentz (1478-1550), bishop of Samland, Paulus Speratus (1484-1551), and others.¹⁴ These men assumed the responsibility for introducing and spreading the Reformation in Prussia. In 1525 Erhard von Queiss (ca.1490-1529), who had been designated bishop of Pomesania (Pomerania), issued a program of reformation *Themata episcopi Riesenburgensis* which required that in his diocese the Reformation faith should be regarded as normative.¹⁵ It was on the basis of this church order that the Reformation of Prussia was undertaken. Many traditional medieval Catholic practices were abandoned, and all religious orders were banned excepting those which fought against unbelievers, that is, the Teutonic Order of the Sword and the Cross. The knights of this order for the most part enthusiastically supported the work of reform. It was declared that the designated languages for all church services would be German. Hymns to the Virgin would be eliminated in order to avoid idolatry.¹⁶

The Reformation made speedy progress throughout Prussia, excepting the region of Warmia and the areas immediately surrounding it, where the Church of Rome remained firmly entrenched. Extending his aim to spread the Reformation, Albrecht made contact with the leading members of the Lithuanian magnates and the German communities in Lithuania. It was from Vilnius that strong intellectual leadership would come when, in 1544, Albrecht founded his new Lutheran University in Königsberg. It may be said that the establishment of the University of Königsberg was a signal event in Baltic Lutheranism. Its aim was to strengthen the Reformation and provide training for those who would be its leaders in areas far from the civilizing influences of the central German states. Among those called to serve in the formative years of this important center of Eastern European education were the Lithuanians Stanislaus Rapagelanus (Stanislovas Rapolionis, ca.1485-1547), the first dean of the faculty of theology, who defended his doctoral the-

¹⁴ Schumacher 1987, 147-148; *Musteikis* 1988, 41.

¹⁵ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 5.

¹⁶ *Musteikis* 1988, 42.

ses under Martin Luther in Wittenberg, and Abraham Culvensis who had two years earlier occupied the position of acting rector.¹⁷ Among other Lithuanians were Georg Eyschytzki (Jurgis Eišiškietis), teacher of pedagogy and Friedrich Staphylus (1512-1564), a German from Kaunas (Kowno), who was later chancellor of the university.¹⁸ Both Rapagelanus and Culvensis translated hymns and lectionary materials from German into Lithuanian. Most important in this regard was the work of Martinus Mosvidius (Martynas Mažvydas, ca.1520-1563), whose 1547 *Catechismus* was the first book published in the Lithuanian language. His major work was a hymnbook *Gesmes Chriksczoniskas*, published in two volumes 1566 and 1570, based upon German Lutheran hymnals of the period. Additionally he published orders of Lord's Supper, Holy Baptism, and other services. His collected writings were to serve as the agenda for the Lithuanian speaking Lutheran congregations in Prussia and Lithuania, and set the pattern by which future works would be judged.¹⁹

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. Under pressure from the Roman Church, in 1534 the

¹⁷ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 204.

¹⁸ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 210.

¹⁹ *Mažvydas* 1993; *Petkūnas* 1997, 58-62.

king issued an additional edict prohibiting Polish young people from attending Wittenberg University or any other university thought to be a breeding ground for heresy. He ordered those presently in attendance in these schools to return home immediately or suffer the withdrawal of all privileges and permanent exile.²⁰

These edicts infuriated the nobility. They were not sufficient to completely poison the ground and immunize Poland from reformatory ideas. 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. It is among them that the Reformation made its first inroads in Poland. Church officials and other leaders strongly discouraged the study of German, and the Polish people were taught to look askance of things German. In addition, the sad record of strife caused by the German knights only added to anti-German feelings.

In the eyes of the magnates the Church of Rome had entirely too much power and authority. Additionally, the higher church officials appeared to have a very little interest in spiritual matters. They concerned themselves with the accumulation of wealth and power, thus forming a new nobility over against the traditional landed aristocracy. What land and power the church could gain came at the expense of an magnates already overburdened with the problems of national defense. Frequently the nobility attempted to curb the expansion of the power of the clergy in their regions, even requesting in 1534 that the Diet prohibit the clergy from extending their control over the villages by gift-sale or other methods.²¹ They increasingly demanded that the clergy participate more fully both in exercising the responsibilities and carrying the burdens of civil life and national defense. In 1534 and in 1535 the nobility launched a particularly strong attack against the clergy, and in the

²⁰ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 133, 134.

²¹ *Fox* 1924, 114.

Diet of Piotrków in 1536-1537 it urged that all ecclesiastical property would be secularized.²² These efforts were unsuccessful, and the clergy continued to be exempted from the special taxes levied by the Diets. An additional grievance of nobility was the clergy use of ecclesiastical courts to avoid the normal secular courts. The clergy made obvious use of their authority to exempt anyone even remotely associated with the work of the church from civil trial. Even a grave-digger could bring the nobility to judgment in ecclesiastical court for some minor offence, and the nobility were in constant danger of being brought to courts controlled by the church for offences involving the withholding of tithes.²³ The matter of ecclesiastical jurisdiction became a major issue, and the nobility were increasingly frustrated by the lack of official action to resolve the issue. Now individual frustration began to give way to united action. The aristocrats begin to realize that church action against the one of their number would quickly lead to the diminution of aristocratic authority of the nation, and they saw that counter action must be taken. By the fifth decade of the sixteenth century the nobility were beginning to unite to thwart the ambitions of ecclesiastical authorities and nullify their decisions. Attempts to compromise were no longer possible. In the case of Stanisław Orzechowski (1513-1566) the nobles openly and defiantly resisted the episcopal authorities. With this the dam broke.²⁴

Thus we see the importance of social and economic factors which issued in an open break between the ecclesiastical authorities and Polish Lithuanian landed magnates. Perhaps this explains why the Lutheran Reformation was not the primary vehicle of reform in Poland and Lithuania. The Lutheran Reformation was concerned chiefly with doctrine and not matters of church structure. However, it was this structure, against which the anger of nobility was primarily focused. For them a Reformation movement must primarily address that anger and redress their grievances. In addition, many features of Lutheran Reformation were still too reminiscent of the Church of Rome. Liturgy, parish life, and episcopal structure at least in Prussia and Scandinavia did not ap-

²² *Fox* 1924, 121-22.

²³ *Fox* 1924, 126-127.

²⁴ *Schramm* 1965, 60, 64-65.

pear to be essentially different from the Church of Rome. In the view of the aristocrats Lutheranism did not meet their practical need or aspirations. The nobility were looking for a form of ecclesiastical organization which would leave more room for their influence, rather than that of the monarchs and highest public officials, as was the case in Lutheranism.²⁵ Additionally, the timing was not right. The great Lutheran explosion in Germany and its spread into Scandinavia came in the 1520's and 1530's. Poland was not ready for the Reformation until the sixth decade of sixteenth century, when the open break between episcopal authorities and the nobility became manifest.

1.2. The Spread of the Reformation and the Advance of Calvinism

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.²⁶ 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 Kujawski and protector of Bohemian Brethren, 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.²⁷

²⁵ *Kapeev* 1886, 86.

²⁶ *Fox* 1924, 42.

²⁷ *Fox* 1924, 45, 131.

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. It was at the first synod of 1550 in Pińczów that Francesco Stancaró (Franciszek Stankar, 1501-1574) presented his recommendation that the church should pattern itself according to the provisions of Hermann von Wied's (1477-1552) *Consultation of Cologne* (Köln) of 1543.²⁸ In that same year another synod in the same place featured a Protestant liturgy.²⁹ The clergy began 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. On November 25, 1554, the synod of the Protestants of Minor Poland met in Słomniki to resolve this complicated situation. Its conclusion was that closer ties should 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.³⁰ This union was effected at the convocation in Koźminek in 1555.³¹

No clear doctrinal consensus was yet evident. A large number of Polish groups in the synods of Secemin and Pińczów in 1556 decided to look to the Swiss Reformers and congregations for a theological and ecclesiastical model. It was at this point that the synod of Pińczów in 1556 turned to Johannes a Lasco (Jan Łaski, 1499 - 1560), who had fled from Marian London back to his Polish homeland. He sought to formulate a united theological position and organize the congregations around it.³²

Johannes a Lasco established a structure based upon that of the Reformed Church in Friesland, in which church government was made

²⁸ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 2.

²⁹ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 2.

³⁰ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 3.

³¹ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 18-45.

³² *Akta synodów I* 1966, 54.

up of superintendent, ministers, deacons, and presbyters (seniors).³³ Although not everywhere accepted, this structure had some measure of success. Protestant schools were founded in Pińczów, Secemin and Koźminek.³⁴ Frequent synods were held and attempts were made to effect a closer alliance with Lutherans, Bohemian Brethren, and the Calvinists in the other areas of Poland. By the end of the sixth decade the Reformed Church in Minor Poland had grown to the extent that a division into districts was necessary. The minutes of the synod of Sandomierz in 1570 indicate a division into the districts of (1) Chęciny, (2) Szydłowiec, (3) Żarnów, (4) Kraków, (5) Ruś or Przemyśl, (6) Podole, (7) Oświęcim and Zator.³⁵ Within a few decades the church in Minor Poland was divided into the districts of (1) Kraków, (2) Sandomierz, (3) Zator and Oświęcim, (4) Lublin and Chełm, (5) Ruś and Podole, (6) Bełz, (7) Wołyń, (8) and Kijev (Kijów).³⁶

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 until the middle of the seventeenth century when the survival of the church required some measure of collaboration.³⁷ 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.

Lutheranism's greatest strength was found in area in and around Poznań in the Western region of Poland, neighboring the German lands. The leading representatives of the Polish nobility, including Andrzej Górka (†1583), starosta general of Major Poland and castellan of Poznań,

³³ *Kuyper II* 1866, 45-61.

³⁴ *Fox* 1924, 53.

³⁵ *Gmiterek* 1987, 147.

³⁶ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 250.

³⁷ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 227, 228.

and Stanisław Ostroróg (ca.1520-1568), castellan of Międzyrzecz, Jan Tomicki, castellan of Rogoźno, and numerous others begun the implementation of the Lutheran doctrine in the areas which they controlled. They maintained a close connection with the Reformers in Wittenberg. Eustachius Trepka, who served as part time secretary and part time preacher in the household of the Górka family, had personally studied under Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg. Although not a theological giant, he proved to be an influential theologian in Major Polish Lutheranism from the fifth decade of the sixteenth century onward. He was particularly devoted to the catechism of Luther and distributed hundreds of them.³⁸ During this period many Polish nobles sent their children to Wittenberg to be educated in the Lutheran doctrine, and upon their return to become theologically trained and influential patrons of the Major Polish Lutheran Church. 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."³⁹

In July 1556 the Polish Lutheran synod was held in Poznań. One month later Count Stanisław Ostroróg informed Melanchthon of the situation and asked that the copy of the Wittenberg church order be sent. Nine months later a synod was held in Grodzisk, followed by additional synods in Międzyrzecz and Poznań in 1557 which led to the adoption of a unified order of ceremonies. In the same year Jan Caper was made superintendent of the emerging Lutheran Church in Major Poland.⁴⁰ The church organization decided to divide the congregations into circuits, with a senior pastor at the head of each circuit. Two general superintendents were elected to stand at the head of the entire church. This was later reduced to a single superintendent. It was the responsibility of the superintendent to watch over church life, especially to see that pure doctrine was preserved, to call synods, to supervise the ordination of pastors, and discipline those guilty of false doctrine.⁴¹ The organization of the church had been successful, as the Poznań physician Lindener

³⁸ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 228.

³⁹ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 228.

⁴⁰ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 230; *Dworzaczkowa* 1995, 17.

⁴¹ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 251.

wrote in 1561 "...the entire nobility of Major Poland confesses the *Augsburg Confession*.⁴² By the end of the sixth decade of sixteenth century a number of leading families had become Lutheran. Among them were Ostroróg, Górka, Tomicki, Krotoski, Zborowski, Orzelski, Ossowski, and Ujejski.⁴³

So it appeared, but appearances can be deceiving. Soon the emerging Lutheran Church of Major Poland found itself embroiled in internal doctrinal controversies especially with reference to the meaning of the Lord's Supper and the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament. In 1560 Superintendent Jan Caper and Pastor Laurentius of Grodzisk became advocates of the practice of celebrating Communion in the Reformed manner, treating it as a table fellowship at which no one kneels, but all sit around the Lord's table sharing the bread and wine. Ostroróg demanded that they give scriptural grounds for these innovations.⁴⁴ Caper's final defection to the Reformed came in 1564 when he issued in handwritten form a dialog concerning the doctrine of the sacrament, treating it as did the Swiss Reformers.⁴⁵ On September 28, 1566 in the synod at Poznań he defended his symbolic interpretation of the Words of Institution and Melancthon's *Variata* edition of the *Augsburg Confession* of 1541. He was not successful in promoting his views, and the synod deposed him from the office of superintendent.⁴⁶

The Bohemian Brethren also were successful in gaining converts among the Polish people. They felt constrained to leave Bohemia in 1548 and set out for East Prussia where Duke Albrecht had promised them his hospitality. During their travel they came to Poznań where Andrzej Górka, castellan of Poznań, received them warmly and allowed them to publicly preach and gather converts. They did not remain in Poznań because at the request the Roman Catholic bishop the king ordered them to leave. However, they had established connections which would make it possible for them to return later. By 1557 they were

⁴² *Wotschke* 1911 a, 236.

⁴³ *Dworzaczkowa*, 1995, 17.

⁴⁴ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 232.

⁴⁵ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 233.

⁴⁶ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 239.

back in Poznań and had established 30 congregations and received several leading families including Leszczyński, Krotowski (Krotowski), Opaliński, and Tomicki. Even Count Jakub Ostroróg (†1568), elder brother of Stanisław,⁴⁷ left the Lutheran Church and became member of the Brethren Church.⁴⁸ 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. They signed the Koźminek Union, according to which intercommunion was established with the Reformed. It is known that in 1569 the Bohemian Brethren territory in Major Poland was divided into three districts: (1) Poznań, (2) Kalisz and Sieradz, (3) Kujavia and Prussia.⁴⁹ In the protocols of the synod of 1573 it is remarked that the church had been divided into six districts: (1) Kujavia, (2) Sieradz, (3) Konin, (4) Pyzdry, (5) Kalisz, and (6) Poznań.⁵⁰

The Reformed, however, never made much headway in Major Poland. They were not successful in establishing a sufficient number of congregations to establish districts as they had in Minor Poland. Only a few congregations were organized in the area of Kujavia. These congregations met in a church-wide synod presided over by a head minister (spiritual elder), elder ministers (co-elders), and four secular deputies.⁵¹ Reformed theology does not appear to have been attractive enough for the Major Poles, who were living in such close proximity to Germany to take to heart. The great bastion of the Reformed Church in Poland would remain Minor Poland. It was there that the leading force of the Polish Protestantism would reside until that time when the Roman Church and the Company of Jesus began to take action to win the Polish people back to Catholicism.

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

⁴⁷ *Wegierski* 1679, 108; *Wotschke* 1907 a, 61.

⁴⁸ *Fox* 1924, 28.

⁴⁹ *Gmiterek* 1987, 144.

⁵⁰ *Gmiterek* 1987, 144.

⁵¹ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 250.

Word of God, freedom of worship, and the abuse of power by clergy. In 1552 at the Diet of Piotrków the Protestants sought to press the issue of their long standing grievances. This time they were successful in forcing at least temporarily the suspension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁵² Clear proposals for reform were presented by the nobility at Diet of 1555 in Piotrków. Here again a Protestant, Mikołaj Siennicki, was elected president of the Chamber of the Deputies, and it was he who presented the demands of the nobility. 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.⁵³ The approval of such a document would put the Protestants on an equal footing with the Roman Church, which they earnestly desired. The Roman bishops, as might be expected, refused their approval, and it was demanded that the king at his own direction should call a National Synod in which these matters would be resolved. The bishops, however, again refused their approval and they appealed to the papacy for advice and assistance. King Zygmunt II 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.⁵⁴ By this time the Council of Trent was already in session, and there was no possibility that these reforms would be allowed. The Pope instead sent his special legate, Aloysius Lippomanus (Alojzy Lippomano, 1500-1559), the bishop of Verona, to investigate the situation and suppress the Reformation.⁵⁵ The Protestants strongly objected. In the Diet of 1556 in Warszawa (Warsaw) the prospects of the Protestants were bright. They had great power. The king needed them in order to pursue his defensive measures against the Livonians (Knights of the Sword), and the Protestants repeated their earlier demands. Because this Diet

⁵² *Fox* 1924, 45, 131.

⁵³ *Zakrzewski* 1870, 75-83; *Fox* 1924, 48-49.

⁵⁴ *Fox* 1924, 50-51; *Schramm* 1965, 202.

⁵⁵ *Schramm* 1965, 202.

did not mark the defeat of the Protestants, Lippomanus left the country.⁵⁶ At the next Diet in Piotrków in 1558-1559 the Protestants were in full control. There was a new call for a National Synod, and on this basis the Protestants agreed to set aside their grievances for the present. In 1563 a new papal agent, Joannis Francisci Commendoni, the bishop of Sutri, came to Poland and took the strong position that no synod could be held in which lay people or heretics might participate.⁵⁷ In the Diet of Piotrków 1562-63, instead of pressing forward the demands for the equal rights under the law, the Protestants chose instead to recall the provisions made at Czerwińsk made in 1422, and in Jedlnia in 1430, concerning the rights of person and property, and the constitution of the Diet of Radom of 1505, which had declared unconstitutional the royal edicts against heresy. In this way they thought to establish the antiquity of their claims against the ecclesiastical abuses. The Calvinists thought this to be a triumph for their cause. Again in the Diet in Warszawa in 1563, the Protestants were unsuccessful in their attempts to assert their rights on the basis of precedence. Although they were virtually in control of the Diet, they did not push for legal recognition. Instead they concerned themselves with secondary issues such as exemption from compulsory military service and taxation in favor of voluntary submissions. Their numerical superiority encouraged the nobility to press for the curbing of the power of the clergy to levy taxes from which they themselves were exempted.⁵⁸ The Diet of 1569 coincided with the arrival of the Jesuits in Lithuania. Again, however, the Protestants appear to have failed to make any progress in attempts to give their movement legal standing. A review of this period leads one to the conclusion that the nobility were primarily interested in personal liberty and freedom from oppressive power and taxation which they identified with the Roman bishops and clergy. We do not see a commensurate struggle for legal recognition for the Protestant movement as such in this period. It was opposition to the Roman Church which identified the nobility as Protestants. Theological issues appear to have been strictly secondary.

⁵⁶ *Zakrzewski* 1870, 96-114; *Fox* 1924, 54; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 156-158.

⁵⁷ *Zakrzewski* 1870, 115-155; *Schramm* 1965, 209-211.

⁵⁸ *Zakrzewski* 1870, 156-189; *Fox* 1924, 59-60.

This theological weakness in Polish Protestantism is evident also in the emergence of Anti-Trinitarianism. This would prove to be very destructive to their movement.

The dominant figure in the spread of Calvinism in Lithuania was Duke Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black. He was the most important public figure in Lithuania, second only to the king in prestige and authority. He was an educated man, and an energetic public leader whose interest in the Reformation developed as a result of his foreign travels and personal correspondence with the Reformed theologians. His personal theological statement can be found in his public answer to the accusations of the Pope's legate Lippomanus in 1556, that he was the leading heretic in Lithuania.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ His conversion pointed the way for other Lithuanian magnates, who were encouraged 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.⁶² Through the leadership of Radziwiłł it may be said that the Lithuanian magnates was soon predominantly Reformed. Included among them were such prominent families as Chlebowicz (Hlebovičius), Pac (Pacas), Kieżgajło (Kęsgailas), Kiszka (Kiška), Naruszewicz (Narusevičius), Ogiński (Oginskis), Proński (Pronskis), Sapieha (Sapiega), Wołłowicz (Valavičius), Wiśniowiecki (Višniaveckis), and many others.⁶³

The first organized Reformed Church was established in Podlussia under the leadership of Radziwiłł's Court Preacher Szymon Zacjusz

⁵⁹ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 251.

⁶⁰ *Katechizm Brzeski 1553/1554*, XI fn.2,3; *Łukaszewicz* 1853, 57 fn.1; *Acta historica* 1886, 379, 402.

⁶¹ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 251.

⁶² *Wotschke* 1908 a, 114 (No. 200).

⁶³ *Łukaszewicz* 1848, 11; *Musteikis* 1988, 40; *Lukšaitė* 1999, 253-254.

(1507-ca.1591). 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.⁶⁴ The minutes of the synod, published by Zacjusz in 1559, indicate a strong emphasis on Calvinist interpretation, especially with reference to the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist.⁶⁵ A second synod was held on December 15, 1558 in Brześć Litewski.⁶⁶ The frequency of these synods testify to the rapid spread of Protestantism and the need for organizational structure and a system of discipline. In short order publishing houses were established in Brześć Litewski in 1558 and Nieśwież (Nesvyžius) in 1562 to aid in the spread of Reformed theology which seemed to be sweeping the country.⁶⁷ It is clear that many formerly Roman Catholic parishes had turned Reformed.

The Reformed Church in Lithuania, named *Unitas Lithuaniae*, kept its integrity as an independent entity from the first. It was never subject to domination by the Polish Reformed. Its highest governing body was its synod, called the church-wide synod, having the jurisdiction over the whole Lithuania. While the Lithuanians were represented by delegates at the general synods in *Rzeczpospolita* (the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania), the church itself maintained her independence in theological and liturgical matters. At the head of the church districts was the superintendent, elected by the patrons and the ministers.⁶⁸

Although numerically strong, the Reformed Church in Lithuania seems to have depended upon the support and encouragement of the Lithuanian magnates and, most importantly, Radziwiłł the Black. He appears to have been somewhat unsettled and easily dissatisfied. This is evidenced by his movement over a relatively short period of time from the Church of Rome to Lutheranism, from Lutheranism to Reformed theology. This was not the end of Radziwiłł's theological pilgrimage. From Reformed theology his interest soon turned to the Anti-Trinitar-

⁶⁴ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 284.

⁶⁵ *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 19.

⁶⁶ *Lubieniecki* 1995, 176, 199-201, 323-324.

⁶⁷ *Musteikis* 1988, 49-50.

⁶⁸ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 286.

ian movement.⁶⁹ In a letter to Calvin he expressed his support of Georgius Blandrata, whose theological opinions were Anti-Trinitarian. He asked that Calvin express his approval of this theological direction.⁷⁰ Calvin was unwilling to do so. Radziwiłł's support of Blandrata and the Anti-Trinitarians raises deep question about whether he remained doctrinally Calvinist. After his death in 1565, his son Radziwiłł the Orphan returned to the Roman Catholic Church taking his three younger brothers with him. Before his death, however, his cousin Radziwiłł the Brown ("Rudy") (1512-1584) became a Calvinist and rose to its defense.⁷¹ He was to become the most notable figure of Lithuanian Protestantism. He financed the studies of Andreas Volanus (Andrzej Wolan, 1530-1610) in Königsberg, the principle voice of Lithuanian Reformed theology. Later patrons included Krzysztof Radziwiłł ("Piorun") (1547–1603), son of Radziwiłł the Brown, and his sons, Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1585-1640) and Janusz Radziwiłł (1579-1620), and their sons Janusz Radziwiłł (1612-1655) and Bogusław Radziwiłł (1620-1669). The last of the line was Ludwika Karolina Radziwiłł (1667-1695), the daughter of Bogusław, who strove valiantly to support the faltering Reformed Church. It is known that in 1595 the church's territory was divided into six districts: (1) Vilnius (Vilniaus), (2) Samogitia (Žmudź; Žemaičių), (3) trans-Vilnius ('Zawilejski' – district to the east of Vilnius; Užnerio), (4) Nowogródek (Naugarduko), (5) Podlassia (Podlasie; Paliesės - also known as District of Brześć or Grodno), (6) Ruś (Rusų - also known as District of Mińsk or Białoruś).⁷²

1.3. The Detrimental Effects of the Anti-Trinitarianism and its Impact on the Reformed Church

In contrast to the origin and growth to the Reformation in Germany and elsewhere in Western Europe, in which theological concerns were supreme, the origin and spread of Reformation in Poland and Lithua-

⁶⁹ Любoвичь 1890, 113-117; Puryckis 1919, 140; Lubieniecki 1995, 331, 610 fn.222.

⁷⁰ Кареев 1886, 141-142; Lukšaitė 1999, 304.

⁷¹ Lukšaitė 1999, 292.

⁷² Gmiterek 1987, 148; Lukšaitė 1999, 444.

nia was predominantly political. 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 already established. 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, sixteenth 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. Among them were Bernardino Ochino (1487-1564), Andreas Alciatus (1492-1550), Georgius Blandrata (Jerzy Blandrata, ca.1515-1588), Laelius Socinus (1525-1562), Albericus Gentilis (1552-1608), and others, who represented themselves to the Poles as mainstream Protestants. These men were from the beginning participants in the establishment of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Church.⁷³

Already from the earliest days of the Reformed Church, we see the signs of the dissemination of a variety of theological opinions. The same process was at work throughout Poland and Lithuania. In 1556 Francesco Stancaró, who earlier had recommended the *Augsburg Confession* as the Minor Polish Church's theological confession, began to speak openly in rationalistic terms of humanity and divinity in the person of Christ.⁷⁴ At the same time Petrus Gonesius (†1573) in Lithuania began 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.⁷⁵ Already in the 1588 synod in Vilnius, the first Reformed synod held in Lithuania, Anti-Trinitarian views were a matter of mention. Szymon Budny (1530-1593), who later showed himself to be Anti-Trinitarian, was elected as catechist in the Vilnius

⁷³ Lubieniecki 1995, 337.

⁷⁴ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 36.

⁷⁵ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 48-52; Lubieniecki 1995, 321-322.

parish.⁷⁶ In the same year discussions concerning the Trinity aroused in the synod on December 15, 1558 in Brześć Litewski.⁷⁷ Questionable doctrinal opinions were espoused also by translators of the first Polish Bible. They were the students of Pińczów school, including Grzegorz Orsacius (Grzegorz Orsatius), Piotr Statorius (†1591), Jan Thenaudus.⁷⁸ Chief among the disseminators of the new theology was the Italian Georgius Blandrata, 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.⁷⁹ 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 however did not share Calvin's suspicions and treated him as an outstanding Calvinist theologian and church leader.⁸⁰ At the synod of Pińczów in 1559 Blandrata spoke regarding the Holy Spirit in rationalistic terms. Within a few years Calvinists were openly accusing each other of unorthodox theological positions.⁸¹ At the synods of 1561 these new theological opinions gained a substantial following in the Reformed Church. In 1562 this resulted in open dissent 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 became Anti-Trinitarians. Included among them were such notable leaders as Stanisław Lutomirski, senior of Pińczów District, later Anti-Trinitarian superintendent,⁸² Grzegorz Paweł (Gregori Pauli, ca.1525-1591), Francesco Lismanini,

⁷⁶ *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 7.

⁷⁷ *Lubieniecki* 1995, 176, 199-201, 323-324.

⁷⁸ For this reason their Bible, published in 1563 in Brześć through the efforts of Radziwiłł the Black, was later judged by some students of the period to be Anti-Trinitarian. *Любовичь* 1883, 269.

⁷⁹ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 58; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 324.

⁸⁰ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 305.

⁸¹ *Lubieniecki* 1995, 324.

⁸² Stanisław Lutomirski was elected superintendent at the Anti-Trinitarian synod of Pińczów on October 14, 1563. *Akta synodów II* 1972, 349.

Georgius Blandrata, and even the superintendent of the Church in Minor Poland Felix Cruciger (Feliks Krzyżak) itself.⁸³

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 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.⁸⁴

In Lithuania the same tendencies were evident. An Anti-Trinitarian synod was held on June 6, 1563 at Mordy in Podlissia, at which 42 ministers publicly subscribed a confession of faith which denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.⁸⁵ They also publicly acknowledged their gratitude to Radziwiłł the Black for allowing them to gather in his territories.⁸⁶

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 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. In presenting their arguments the Reformed appealed to Scripture, the Church Fathers, and the

⁸³ Akta synodów II 1972, 351; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 188-198.

⁸⁴ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 149; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 324.

⁸⁵ "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 obgłoszeniu i wysłaniu ministrów na synod. A o tym, co na synodzie konkludowali, to mu napisano: Vocabuluma 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; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 218-219.

⁸⁶ *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.* *Любовичь* 1890, 116; *Puryckis* 1919, 140.

early councils, while the Anti-Trinitarians appealed only to the Scripture. For a fortnight the debate raged and ended abruptly when the Reformed announced that they would have nothing to 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 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 their eyes all the Protestants had revealed themselves to be heretics.⁸⁷ Other groups arose to fragment further the Protestants. Among such groups were Anabaptists, Spiritualists, Pacifists, Ebionites, and others. Teachers and teachings of all sorts could be found in Vilnius and other large cities.⁸⁸

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.⁸⁹ 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 dissention would benefit their course, pointed out that the expulsion of only the Anti-Trinitarians would still leave the Lutherans and Reformed in place.⁹⁰ Thus we must say that the first sign of the ultimate destruction of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania

⁸⁷ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 212-213; *Akta synodów II* 1972, 175-192; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 247-252, 338-339.

⁸⁸ *Williams* 1962, 652; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 342-346.

⁸⁹ *Любовичь* 1890, 139.

⁹⁰ *Lubieniecki* 1995, 634 fn.348.

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 had been in Poland since 1564 and arrived in Vilnius in 1569, determined to win both nations back to Catholicism.

1.4. The Quest for Legal Status through the Consolidation of the Protestant Churches

At the beginning of the eight decade of the sixteenth 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.⁹¹ 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 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.⁹² 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.⁹³ As these numbers indicate, during this period Protestants were a significant and an influential force in Polish and in Lithuanian life.

⁹¹ *Merczyng* 1905, 143, 262-263.

⁹² *Fox* 1924, 62.

⁹³ *Merczyng* 1905, 143.

While the Protestants were able to point to these impressive numbers, there were at the same time strong negative forces at work within Protestantism. Dissention continued between the Calvinists, Lutherans, and Bohemian Brethren, all of whom represented themselves as the authentic Christian church. In addition, the Calvinist community was being torn apart by factions which rejected the traditional Trinitarian doctrines of Western Christendom. The profusion of conflicting confessions of faith caused great confusion among the Polish and Lithuanian people. Their Roman Catholic opponents, and especially the Jesuits, cleverly exploited this situation to discredit Protestantism.

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. Cooperation between the main line Protestant Churches should clearly indicate the doctrinal boundaries within which the Protestants would live and be known in Polish society as authentic Protestants, while at the same time clearly separating themselves from the Anti-Trinitarians and other splinter groups. Only by means of such an arrangement could the Protestants hope to obtain religious liberty and successfully cope with the hostile Roman forces.

The idea of such an arrangement was not new. Collaboration between the Reformed group and the Bohemian Brethren had already been established in Minor Poland in the convocation at Koźminek in 1555. Although that union had not achieved all of the goals set for it, it did open an era of fraternal collaboration and mutual assistance. Furthermore, after his efforts to meet with the king were rebuffed, Johannes a Lasco, who had earlier pursued an independent course, begun to seek to explore the possibility of a closer alliance with the Lutherans. In his 1556 request for an audience, the king had expressed his concern that Lasco was suspected of holding opinions which were in conflict with the *Augsburg Confession*, especially with reference to the Sacrament of the Altar.⁹⁴ To the Lutherans these were no mere suspicions; they were

⁹⁴ *Lukaszewicz* 1853, 103-104; *Kuyper II* 1866, 738; *Dalton* 1881, 514. In his response to King, Lasco stated in the strongest possible terms that he was faithful to the Augsburg confession especially with regard to the Sacrament of the Altar: "I should especially take all pains by some public proof to clear myself of any suspicion of my

certain that he held a position in these matters clearly in conflict with the *Augsburg Confession*, and for this reason they had little interest in collaborating with him. However by the end of the sixth decade it was clear to all the three main Protestant groups in Poland and Lithuania that they must find common ground on which to form a doctrinal consensus and press for legal status. They understood that future of Protestantism in Poland would depend upon it. In 1565 Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren made efforts at Gostyń to find a basis for agreement on important doctrinal issues. Their efforts did not meet with success. As a result of the meeting, the Lutherans drew up a list of 16 points on which they considered the Bohemians to be in error.⁹⁵ Recognizing the urgency of the situation, the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren met again in the synod on January 28, 1567 in Poznań to delineate areas of disagreement. As a result of these negotiations the Polish Lutherans noted the points of conflict between the *Augsburg Confession* and the Bohemian doctrinal position.⁹⁶ The Bohemians immediately sent a letter of response, and the next year they sent Jan Lorenc (Iohannes Laurentius) to Wittenberg, where the crypto-Calvinist Lutheran theologians approved the Bohemian positions and recommended to the Polish Lutherans that they earnestly seek consensus with the Brethren.⁹⁷ It was on the basis of this and similar laxity concerning their doctrinal positions that the Lutherans would approach Sandomierz meeting in 1570.

However, the most urgent impulse toward consensus was found in the words of King Zygmunt 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.⁹⁸ 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

disagreement with the Augsburg Confession, particularly in the manner of the Lord's Supper." English translation quoted from: *Lubieniecki* 1995, 145.

⁹⁵ *Dworzaczkowa* 1997, 37.

⁹⁶ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 239-240; *Akta synodów II* 1972, 210-212.

⁹⁷ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 240.

⁹⁸ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 244; *Halecki* 1915, 145-146; *Pelikan* 1947, 833.

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.⁹⁹

At the colloquium of Poznań on February 14, 1570 the Lutherans pressed the Bohemian Brethren to accept the *Augsburg Confession*. The Bohemians were unwilling to do so. In the attempt to solve this stalemate both parties then begun to examine their confessional positions point by point.¹⁰⁰ The most significant point of difference was in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and this disagreement on a key point made consensus impossible.¹⁰¹ Less than a month later, on March 2, 1570, Radziwiłł the Brown gathered Lutherans and Calvinists in Vilnius for the purpose of achieving political and doctrinal union. Conversations centered on a formulation of a statement of the Lord's Supper which would be acceptable in both groups. The text of their agreement is not extant, but one might expect that a statement was formulated which was sufficiently vague to satisfy the whole assembly.¹⁰²

This success 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; they outnumbered the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren present. Initially each of the three groups presented their own confessions (*Augsburg Confession of 1530*, *Bohemian Confession 1535*, and *Second Helvetic Confession of 1566*) as the basis for common union.¹⁰³ On Tuesday, the April 11, after the report of the Vilnius agreement between the Lutherans and Reformed in Lithuania was read, it was decided that the *Second Helvetic Confession* should be used as the basis for their discussion.¹⁰⁴ On the next day the reading and discussion of the *Helvetica Posterior* was completed. Each group was still hopeful that their own confession would become the basis for

⁹⁹ *Wotschke* 1908 a, 315 (No. 407a); *Halecki* 1915, 169.

¹⁰⁰ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 227-231.

¹⁰¹ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 239-240.

¹⁰² *Jabłoński* 1731, 35-36; *Friese* 1786 a, 432; *Akta synodów II* 1972, 291.

¹⁰³ *Pelikan* 1947, 825.

¹⁰⁴ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 286-287.

consensus. However, the Bohemians finally agreed to accept the *Second Helvetic Confession* which had been discussed, as long as they were permitted to retain their own discipline and forms of worship.¹⁰⁵ This caught the Lutherans off guard. In the face of this pressure, the Lutheran representatives Mikołai Gliczner and Erazm Gliczner (1535-1603), who had been the superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Major Poland since 1566, stated that while remaining loyal to the *Augsburg Confession*, they would agree to a further meeting of the three confessions for the purpose of formulating a completely new confession to satisfy the doctrinal concerns of all three groups, since Lutherans could not accept the Calvinist confession.¹⁰⁶ This threw everyone into confusion. It was agreed that all three groups should meet together in Warszawa on the feast of the Holy Trinity to formulate the new confession.¹⁰⁷ This meeting was never held. On April 13 it was agreed to adopt as the basis of the future document the agreement which the Lutherans and Reformed had concluded in Vilnius.¹⁰⁸ This model for future negotiations was given the title *Consensus of Sandomierz*. It was formally subscribed on April 14. With regard to this preliminary formulation, the Lutherans expressed reservations concerning the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar. Their concerns were successfully addressed by the other parties with the result that the Lutherans agreed to sign, and agreement was declared.¹⁰⁹

The Reformed came from Sandomierz confident that a breakthrough had been achieved. In the letter to Dr. Girolamo Zanchi in Heidelberg, they asserted that it should now be possible to formulate a new Protestant *Corpus Doctrine* on the basis of the unique achievement at Sandomierz. Zanchi stated that he rejoiced that agreement had been reached, and that now no such formulation would be necessary.¹¹⁰ At a subsequent convocation in Poznań on May 18-20, 1570 discussions between representatives of the Lutherans and the Bohemian Brethren

¹⁰⁵ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 289.

¹⁰⁶ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 290.

¹⁰⁷ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 291.

¹⁰⁸ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 291.

¹⁰⁹ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 295-298.

¹¹⁰ Portions of this letter are printed in *Любовичь* 1890, 191; *Wotschke* 1908 a, 328-329 (No. 422); *Halecki* 1915, 356.

again made it evident that it was not possible to formulate a common confession concerning the Lord's Supper which would be satisfactory to both confessions.¹¹¹ For their part, the Prussian Lutherans made public their rejection of the *Sandomierz Consensus* as a statement of the authentic Lutheran position.¹¹²

Still, on the basis of their agreement the three Protestant confessions looked to the king and parliament to regard them as a united Protestant Church with full liberty to live and worship according to their beliefs. All three groups began expectantly to prepare for the coming meeting of the Parliament in Warszawa. Few Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren attended; Calvinists predominated. When the Calvinists appeared before the parliament to represent the entire Protestant community they choose not to present the *Sandomierz Consensus*, but instead they presented their own *Sandomierz Confession* which was explained on the basis of the *Second Helvetic Confession*. This served to greatly diminish the value of the *Consensus*. The bishops and senators rejected the Calvinist confession, and refused to grant religious liberty on the basis of it.¹¹³ 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.

When the Lutherans were informed that the Calvinists had presented themselves and their confession as representing the entire Protestant community, they were furious. On October 4, 1570 at the convocation at Poznań they expressed their desire to disassociate themselves from the decisions made at Sandomierz and the subsequent actions of the Calvinists.¹¹⁴ The representatives of the Bohemian Brethren present at the synod interpreted the action of the Calvinists more calmly, reminding the Lutherans that the churches of the *Sandomierz Consensus* allowed for each group to retain its own historic confession. They noted that they had no exact record of what had taken place at the Diet, and that even

¹¹¹ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 309.

¹¹² Portions of this letter are printed in *Любовичь* 1890, 193; *Wotschke* 1908 a, 338 (No. 435).

¹¹³ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 250-251; *Halecki* 1915, 313-314.

¹¹⁴ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 314.

if it were to be shown that the Calvinists presented their own Confession, this would have been within their rights. The Lutherans determined to limit their public action to a letter to the Reformed congregation in Kraków admonishing them to follow the terms of the *Consensus*.¹¹⁵

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. He appears to have been willing to take measures against them only when forced to do so. He did not always make known his precise intentions, but by his words and actions he conveyed to the Protestants the impression that were they to overcome internal rivalries and present themselves as a united Protestant Church they would be able to secure liberty to practice their faith without penalty. That hope was thrown into doubt by his death. Clearly, the powerful Roman Catholic bishops and their loyal supporters among the higher nobility would not willingly grant them such a status. Without a strong monarch to extend to them his benevolent support their hopes for liberty went unfulfilled.

In both the Protestant and Roman Catholic camps there was great concern about who would become the king of Poland. Among those prominently mentioned as candidates were Duke Ernest Habsburg (1553-1595), whose major liability was his reputation for intolerance. Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible (1530-1584) was also regarded as a possible candidate. In the face of the growing power of Poland's Muscovite opponents, Ivan's ascent to the throne would create a balance of power in Central Europe and minimize dangers from the Muscovites. Also considered was John III Waza (1537-1592) who was known to be strongly supportive of the Roman Church. Among his liabilities was his membership in the Lutheran Church. Most seriously considered was Henri de Valois (1551-1589), for whom support was initially very strong. That support waned with the news from Paris of his involvement in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.¹¹⁶ The intolerance from which such

¹¹⁵ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 315-316.

¹¹⁶ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 326.

an act came forth was not acceptable to the Poles and Lithuanians. For reasons which cannot be determined, Polish Protestants were inclined to believe that the election of the Valois would enhance the status of the Huguenots in France.¹¹⁷

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. Among these was the matter of the presence and interaction of opposing religious groups in the state. 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.¹¹⁸

The hostility of all but one of the Roman bishops and many of the higher of the Roman nobles against the act of confederation became evident at the coronation of Henri of Valois. The presiding bishop presented an alternative oath to be sworn by the king. When it became evident that the terms of the Warszawa Confederation were being ignored, the Grand Marshal Jan Firlej (ca.1521-1574) and Grand Chancellor Dębiński interrupted the ceremony. Firlej took the crown and loudly proclaimed that if the king did not swear the proper oath he would not rule (*si non jurabis, non regnabis*).¹¹⁹ As a result the king swore that he "...would keep peace between differing believers"¹²⁰ in the spirit of Warszawa Confederation. Henri ruled only four stormy months, at the end of which time he fled the country and a new election was announced. Out of a field of several candidates, it was through the efforts of Polish patriots that the Duke of Transylvania Stefan Batory (1533-1586) was elected king of Poland. He gained a reputation of an obedient son of the Roman Church.

¹¹⁷ *Krasiński* 1840, 26-27.

¹¹⁸ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 327.

¹¹⁹ *Friese* 1786 b, 46-47.

¹²⁰ *Friese* 1786 b, 47; *Lukšaitė* 1999, 329.

At the time, Protestants looked upon Warszawa Confederation as a great victory for religious tolerance. In fact the act of Warszawa Confederation did not insure religious liberty. It merely legislated a relationship of tolerance between the sovereign and his Protestant subjects; it made no statements concerning the legal status of any Protestant group. The question of that status was to be addressed in the future by the parliament. As Roman Catholic power increased, dissatisfaction with the terms of the act of confederation increased as well. Fueled by the Jesuits, questions were increasingly raised concerning its terms and real intentions. With the death of Stefan Batory hostility to the act showed itself openly and in the convocation of Parliament in 1587 the question of its continued recognition and observance was raised.¹²¹

The situation in Poland was complicated by the fact that the Poles could not find in their history any precedent by which to interpret the Act. This was not the case with the Lithuanians. Shortly before the Lublin Union, the Lithuanian parliament, meeting at Grodno in 1568, had moved to insure the rights of the nobles.¹²² Although no mention has been made of recognizing Protestant dissenting groups, the nobles, among whom were a number of Protestants, were clearly referred to as Christian men. Lithuanians then could argue this designation as a precedent upon which to found a suitable interpretation of the act of Warszawa Confederation. To more adequately undergird their status, the Protestants sought to legally describe that status in the Lithuanian statute. In the Third Lithuanian Statute of 1588, they provided for the recognition of the legal rights of all Christian people to freely acquire and dispose of their property and to exercise their faith. Violence against Christian persons, clergy, schools, cemeteries and other church property would be regarded as an offence against the noble. The statute also regulated the areas of competence of secular and episcopal courts, and required of all judges and other magistrates that they swear an oath to the Holy Trinity. However, the Protestant Churches in Lithuania were granted no legal status as institutions, and the Roman Church was given

¹²¹ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 423-424.

¹²² *Lukšaitė* 1999, 323, 423.

the right to apply for the return of property taken from them by the Protestants.¹²³

The seventh and eight decades of the sixteenth century was the period of the Protestant progress in the pursuit of their objective of state recognition. The rights which they secured were only personal, not institutional. The final achievement of these personal rights in Lithuania was codified in the Third Statute in 1588. The Protestants in Poland, however, were not able to achieve even this limited goal. Their situation before the law remained far more perilous. After the death of Stefan Batory in 1586, the interpretation of Warszawa Confederation and other juridical regulations fell to those who held the reigns of power. With Roman Catholic dominance came a model of legal interpretation which was increasingly oppressive to the Protestants. Earlier tolerance of religious minorities now quickly disappeared. In 1581 Stefan Batory publicly denounced the burning of Protestant books in Vilnius. Zygmunt III Waza (1566 - 1632) remained silent in the face of the burning of Protestant churches and the physical mistreatment of his Protestant subjects.

Protestant efforts toward political recognition remained unsuccessful. There was need for clarification and a clearer articulation of theological positions within each Protestant group and the subsequent formulation of a mutually agreed common ground. The quest for a common position could not in itself be an adequate basis upon which to build a unified Protestantism. A statement of positive doctrinal agreement was needed. For some the *Sandomierz Consensus* represented just such an articulation, but in the estimation of the Lutherans, the *Consensus* did not fulfill the need for a strong, positive, and unanimous statement concerning the Lord's Supper. To the Lutherans this matter was as crucial as it had been at Marburg in 1529, but the Reformed did not think it to be an important issue.

As early as the general synod of Kraków, which met on September 29 - October 1, 1573, a variety of factors made it evident that questions concerning doctrine should be avoided. Decisions concerning matters of church discipline, public morality, and religious ceremonies were far

¹²³ Lukšaitė 1999, 430.

easier to argue and resolve.¹²⁴ However, soon Erazm Gliczner, Paweł Gilowski (Paulus Gilovius, 1534–1595), superintendent of Kraków, and Jan Lorenc (†1587), superintendent of the Bohemian Brethren, came to regard the *Consensus of Sandomierz* as the model which ought to be followed also in Germany. In their letter of 1578 they wrote:

“A perfect understanding prevails amongst us, notwithstanding that foreign intrigues attempt to destroy union. Though separated by minor differences, we compose one body, and one host against Arians and Papists. We wish to the German churches a similar union. It is necessary to convoke a general European Protestant synod, which shall unite all shades of the Reformation into one general confession, and give it a uniform direction.”¹²⁵

In fact, the general synod in Piotrków on June 1-3, 1578 also issued a recommendation to the Germans to form a common confession on the model of *Sandomierz Consensus* and proceeded to give illustrations showing how the Poles had been able to resolve practical issues. The doctrinal issues, however, remained unresolved.¹²⁶

The picture presented in the statement recommending the Polish-Lithuanian model as having effected a perfect and concordant was far from reality. On June 25, 1578 the convocation was held between the Lutherans and the Reformed in Vilnius. The Lutherans disassociated themselves from the *Sandomierz Consensus* on the basis of the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar, and they declared themselves separate from the other Protestants.¹²⁷ An even more significant attack was launched at Poznań in Major Poland by the Paweł Gericus (Gericke), pastor of the German Lutheran congregation and Jan Enoch, pastor of the Polish Lutheran congregation. They stated that it would better for the Lutherans to return to the Roman Church than to support the *Consensus*.¹²⁸ A general synod was called on June 19-20, 1583 at Włodzisław

¹²⁴ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 6.

¹²⁵ *Friese* 1786 b, 52-54; English translation quoted from: *Krasiński* 1840, 72. Krasiński's translation departs slightly from the original text.

¹²⁶ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 39-41.

¹²⁷ *Węgierski* 1679, 94; *Jabłoński* 1731, 81-86; *Friese* 1786 b, 98-101.

¹²⁸ *Krasiński* 1840, 79.

to include the representatives of all three groups as well as senators and aristocrats from both Poland and Lithuania. Its purpose was to confirm the *Consensus* and to legislate ceremonial matters. They confirmed the *Consensus* and rebuked Gericius and others who had repudiated it. Without dealing with the doctrinal issues out of which the complaints had arisen, the synod was satisfied to resolve only ceremonial and disciplinary issues. Irritated by the rebuke he had received, and even more by the failure of the synod to deal with the issues, Gericius mounted an even stronger attack.

Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł (“Piorun”), palatine of Vilnius, called for a colloquium of Polish and Lithuanian Reformed and Lutherans on June 14, 1585 in Vilnius to confront and answer the theological issues which had not been answered in *Sandomierz Consensus*. Prussian Lutheran theologians were also invited. The stated purpose was to resolve the difference between the *Augsburg* and *Helvetian Confessions*. An attempt was made to formulate the doctrine of the Eucharist which would be suitable for both sides without addressing the specific issues which had made agreement between Luther and Zwingli at Marburg in 1529 impossible. Vilnius colloquium ended without any real advance had been accomplished.¹²⁹

Immediate support for Gericius came from several German theologians. Their formidable opinions swayed Erazm Gliczner. As a result he published in the Polish language in 1594 an unaltered *Augsburg Confession* of 1530 to the chagrin of the Reformed and the Bohemian Brethren.¹³⁰ A general synod was called to be held at Toruń on August 21-26, 1595 to address this and other issues. Świętosław Orzelski, (1549-1598), the chairman of the synod, declared in his opening oration that the meeting of the synod was for the purpose (1) of renewing, conforming, and consolidating the *Consensus of Sandomierz*; and (2) of determining means by which the Polish Protestants could avoid the injuries and persecutions which they were suffering, especially from the Jesuits. Gericius immediately objected to the manner in which theo-

¹²⁹ *Brevis et perspicua* 1585; *Colloquium habitum Vilnae* 1585, 265-279; *Friese* 1786 b, 131-139; *Lukaszewisz* 1848, 36-37.

¹³⁰ *Ślawiński* 2002, 105.

logical issues in the *Consensus* to be discussed. He stated that there were contradictory theological statements in the *Consensus* which must be resolved.¹³¹ Orzelski replied that it was common knowledge that Lutherans, Bohemians, and Reformed had theological differences, but that these should not disturb their union. Gericius stated that this was in conflict with the statements of those who formulated these positions and had accused those who thought and wrote differently of error. It was pointed out that Andreas Volanus, in his reply to the Jesuit Piotr Skarga, had inserted the statement that the *Consensus of Sandomierz* denies the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament, as the same denial could be found in the catechism of Paweł Gilowski.¹³² In an effort to turn the discussion away from the doctrinal matters, Krzysztof Rej (†1626), the Chamberlin of Lublin, stated that the synod had gathered not to discuss the doctrinal issues of the Lord's Supper, but to unite more closely with each other and strengthen the *Consensus of Sandomierz*. Only Superintendent Gliczner insisted that the doctrinal issues must be faced because many of Helvetian confession were destroying the *Consensus* by their teachings and writings. Attention now turned to attempts to force Gericius to sign the *Consensus*. He left the city rather than subject himself to further pressure, and in order to quiet the Lutheran opposition, it was resolved to excommunicate him and Andrzej Luperian (Lupian), pastor of the Polish Lutheran congregation in Poznań, should they fail to repent before the end of the year.¹³³

Finally, the general synod of Toruń resolved to accept the *Consensus of Sandomierz* and to require that every minister in Polish realms conform himself to its provisions. It was further resolved that no one should be made a minister unless he would sign the *Consensus* and conform with it. The senior of every district should keep a book in which all ministers of his district subscribe their agreement and confirmation of the *Consensus*; every year the superintendents of the three

¹³¹ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 122-123.

¹³² *Vera et orthodoxa veteris ecclesiae sententia de coena Domini ad Petrum Scarga per Andream Volanum. Typis Castris Loscensis 1574. Akta synodów III* 1983, 124 fn.2.

¹³³ The decree of Paweł Gericius' excommunication is cited in *Łukaszewicz* 1835, 161-162; *Akta synodów III* 1983, 153.

confessions should meet to deliberate concerning affairs of the church; churches have liberty in maintaining their tradition ceremonies for the present time until a future synod establishes conformity.¹³⁴

The synod of Toruń did not resolve the doctrinal issues. It preferred to establish unity by edict and demand conformity. On one side the situation of the Protestant Churches and the need for union in the eyes of society was critical. Those who supported the *Consensus* looked to it as the only possible means of Protestant survival. On the other hand, some of the Lutherans saw this *Consensus* and agreement as a falsehood which could never accomplish its purposes, because it did not address and resolve the theological issues which had divided Protestantism into opposing camps. Lutherans opposed to the *Consensus* remained adamant. Lutheran leaders in several Major Polish and Royal Prussian cities refused to accept the provisions or sign the protocol of the synod.¹³⁵ When Gliczner was instructed to carry out the decision of the synod to depose Gericius for continually preaching against the union, the strong reaction of the Poznań congregation moved him to abandon the attempt for fear of violence.¹³⁶ He was able to depose only Luperian. In one sense the synod consolidated Protestant leadership in their efforts to stand together against the Jesuits. However, the more visible result of the synod of Toruń was that it made even more evident the inadequacy of the *Sandomierz Consensus* as a basis for union between the churches.

1.5. Catholicism's Successful Efforts to Regain the Polish and Lithuanian People

Protestant concerns about the revitalization of Catholicism were aroused by the actions of the Council of Trent (1546-1563). This council undertook a serious examination of the theological, moral, and social issues which had fed the flames of Reformation throughout Europe. The Roman Catholic bishops of Poland formally accepted the decrees

¹³⁴ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 166.

¹³⁵ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 485.

¹³⁶ *Friese* 1786 b, 247-249.

of the Council of Trent in a synod in Piotrków in 1577.¹³⁷ Among the resolutions of the synod was an emphatic renunciation of the articles of Warszawa Confederation, the issuance of an anathema against those who upheld it, and a petition to the king insisting that it be abolished. The synod called for the reform of the morals of the clergy and the correction of other practices which scandalized the Polish people. The definitive doctrinal position enunciated by the council was finally affirmed. This undercut many of the Protestant grievances which had been presented by the nobles. 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. The Jesuit counterattack in Poland and Lithuania was a model of efficiency and effectiveness. Using the argument of the Protestants that text books in the school should be in the language of the people, the Jesuits produced literature in the Polish and Lithuanian languages to support the Roman position, and in many places they founded their own schools. 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.

Additionally, the Third Statute of Lithuania of 1588 gave the Roman Church a firm legal basis for court action to take back parish churches earlier lost to the Protestants.¹³⁸ By this means numerous churches were regained by the Roman bishops. Now the Roman Church had a power to appoint in these parishes Roman Catholic incumbents to lead the people back into obedience to Rome. Protestants in Poland found it even more difficult to retain church property gained in the Reformation. They had not such privileges as were afforded to Lithuanian Protestants by the Third Statute.

All these factors combined to make it possible for the Roman Catholics to establish a strong network to counteract Protestant influence. Furthermore, the Union of Brześć of 1596 brought under the Roman obedience the majority of Polish and Lithuanian Eastern Orthodox

¹³⁷ *Morawski* 1937, 3.

¹³⁸ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 432.

Christians, materially and spiritually increasing the power and authority of the Bishop of Rome among the Polish and Lithuanian peoples.

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 begun in Vilnius. These were the first signs of the shifting popular sentiment against the Protestants. Later in the same year assaults against church property begun in Vilnius, and in 1591 the Reformed Church was set to the torch. 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.¹³⁹ 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 1613 students from the city extended their destructive activities to churches which had been moved from Kraków into the countryside in an attempt to forestall further violence. In 1606, 1614, and 1616, in Poznań, students formed a mob which destroyed the Protestant churches. Chroniclers of that time 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.¹⁴⁰ 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 (1527-1608), palatine of Kijev, the most important patron of the Eastern

¹³⁹ Lukšaitė 1999, 410-412.

¹⁴⁰ Lukšaitė 1999, 412.

Orthodox in Poland, in which he proposed that a union be effected with the Protestants to strengthen their hand against the Church of Rome.¹⁴¹

A meeting between representatives of the Protestants and the Eastern Church was proposed to be held in Vilnius. This meeting finally convened on May 15 – June 2, 1599 for the purpose discussing of a religious and political union.¹⁴² This purpose was not achieved. Ostrogski and Krzysztof Radziwiłł (“Piorun”), the co-sponsors of the meeting, were not willing to sign the protocol. Union was impossible.¹⁴³

In the rebellion of Zebrzydowski in 1606-1607 the Protestants moved against the policies of King Zygmunt III Waza. The nobles once again attempted to assert their independent authority. It cannot be said that religious motives predominated in this assertion. They played a secondary role, but they must not be discounted. There were plans to raise question of religious tolerance in the parliamentary session of 1606. However, due to Roman Catholic objections, the king did not allow the issue to be raised. This rebellion was not restricted to the Poles; the prominent Lithuanian Duke Janusz Radziwiłł played a major role. By common agreement those who had staged this rebellion were granted amnesty, but in the case of Janusz Radziwiłł amnesty meant the loss of his position of leadership in the political life of Lithuania.¹⁴⁴ This was a considerable loss for all Lithuanian Protestants. 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.

It is not without good reason that in the eyes of some historians this marks the end the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania.¹⁴⁵ After this

¹⁴¹ *Lukaszewicz* 1835, 174.

¹⁴² *Friese* 1786 b, 249-267; *Lukaszewicz* 1835, 174-185; *Lukaszewicz* 1848, 82-89.

¹⁴³ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 486-487.

¹⁴⁴ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 418.

¹⁴⁵ Three possible periods of the end of the Reformation had been proposed by historical scholars. Н. И. Кареев, Н. Любавиць, Т. Wotschke, J. Puryckis and other scholars from the end of nineteenth and beginning of twentieth century date the end of the Reformation to 1565-1570 with the coming of the Jesuits to Poland in 1564

the Protestants lacked both the numbers and the power to progress. And yet note should be taken that even in this time of political reverses the church still had before it a period of intense activity, as can be seen from the publication of a number of worship materials which not only gave guidance to individual ministers and congregations, but also defined the parameters of the church. This body of materials reached its high point only with the publication of the final and definitive liturgical documents at the end of the first half of the seventeenth century. Therefore, from the liturgical and theological perspective it would be wise to leave open questions concerning the end of the Polish Reformation at least until consideration has been given to these important materials.

It was the Lithuanians who first reached the level of liturgical maturity which made it possible to accomplish the important task of unifying rites and ceremonies in their land. Their 1581 *Forma albo porządek*, based squarely on Johannes a Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio*, and published together with the church's catechism and hymnal, was an important indication of the internal strength of the Lithuanian Reformed Church and its early agreement concerning forms of worship. A corrected edition *Forma albo porządek* appeared in 1621.

The Minor Polish Church did not reach this level of maturity before the end of the century. It was not until 1599 that the earliest published agenda, entitled *Porządek nabożeństwa*, prepared by Krzysztof Kraiński, appeared. It met with immediate success because of its size, comprehensiveness, and the scholarly acumen which it displayed. The edition of 1602 *Porządek* brought it into closer with the theological agreement announced by Lasco. It was published for use throughout the entire region of Minor Poland. A new edition of *Porządek* appeared in 1614 reflecting the growing theological maturity in the Minor Polish Church.

and to Lithuania in 1569, signing the union of Lublin in 1569, and Sandomierz Consensus in 1570. Other proposed dates include the first decade of the seventeenth 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 seventeenth 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.

The comparatively small Reformed Church in Major Poland, centered mainly in the District of Kujavia, never had the resources necessary to publish liturgical documents in the form of an agenda. This church supplied its liturgical needs by the use of handwritten manuscripts, as we see in the case of the Communion service which was handcopied from the work prepared by Daniel Mikołajewski early after the turn of the century.¹⁴⁶ The Bohemian Brethren in Major Poland, whose theological position closely approximated that of the Reformed, made use of their own distinctive liturgical forms which they had brought with them into exile and which they had adapted linguistically and ceremonially to meet their new circumstances. They translated their rites into Polish and circulated them in manuscript form.

As early as 1603 hopes were expressed that the promise of the synod of Sandomierz concerning visible unity could be fulfilled by the adoption of common rites and ceremonies in all these churches, including the Lutherans as well. It was not until 1603 that definite steps were taken to fulfill this important dream. Although the Lutherans had indicated that they had no interest of the formulation of common rites, both the Bohemian Brethren and Reformed pledged their full participation in the general convocations at Orla 1633, Włodawa 1644, and the general convocation of the superintendents in Toruń 1636. The result was the publication of a monumental liturgical work, the Great Gdańsk Agenda of 1637. Upon publication of the Great Gdańsk Agenda the Lithuanians begun to strongly question some of its provisions. These questions were addressed in the general convocation at Orla in 1644, and the problems were remedied in the same year in the publication of special edition entitled *Akt usługi*. Although the goal of complete unification proved unreachable, the churches in both countries could point to their accomplishments as signs of continuing vitality of their churches.

We may conclude that this was a period of intense discussion and activity in the Reformed Churches. Although attempts to regain a recognized place in society and further the work of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania were largely frustrated because of the church's

¹⁴⁶ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 347.

precarious legal position and the violence of Roman Catholic reaction against the Protestants, life within the church was lively, and fruitful liturgical work was undertaken to benefit the spiritual life of the church. One must be very circumspect in examining this period and take note of this important creative activity. It indicates that Polish and Lithuanian Protestantism continued to be active and vital long after the events which some have identified as signs that Protestantism had been brought to a halt. While outwardly repressed, the church was still strong in spirit, and her corporate spiritual life and the inner life of her people was being richly nourished.

2. SACRAMENTAL THEOLOGY AND ITS LITURGICAL EXPRESSION IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA

2.1. The Articulation of Sacramental Theology and Worship in the Reformed Church of Poland

Liturgical matters were not of primary concern at the beginning of the Reformation in Poland. The earliest Protestants were Lutherans, and to them the teaching of Luther's theology was far more important than the ceremonial of worship. The Lutheran doctrine which Polish students returning from foreign study and German merchants and travelers brought with them did not require immediate or dramatic liturgical changes. Far more important was the preaching of the pure Gospel; what was uncongenial to that Gospel would in the course of time fall away and die. In consequence we have been left no record of liturgical changes or drastically altered forms of worship.

There were of course some changes in the liturgy necessary, most of them concerned with the omission of some sacrificial prayers found in the Missal. To some, these changes were controversial. Disagreements appeared in 1522 in Gdańsk (Danzig) between those who wished the Reformation to proceed slowly and those who insisted that there must be immediate and radical changes in the liturgy. The king intervened on the side of the more conservative Reformers and brought a restoration

of familiar liturgical ceremonies, while leaving Reformation teaching unchanged.¹⁴⁷ The situation at Gdańsk was repeated elsewhere in cities with large German populations, as in the case of Toruń, Poznań, and elsewhere.¹⁴⁸ Here too only nominal changes occurred in the liturgy. Offensive elements in the Mass were eliminated but the Mass continued with its traditional Catholic ceremonies and vestments. The most radical changes were in the pulpit and in the oral proclamation of the person and works of Christ and their saving benefit.

Although we do not have liturgical materials from the earliest period in Poland, we do possess church orders relating to various aspects of congregational life. These appear to follow a pattern typical of congregations in Saxony during this same period. Apart from the East Prussian church orders, which were territorial, we find Lutheran church orders in Poland for congregations situated in the commercial centers, where German language populations predominated: Gdańsk, Elbing, Toruń, Poznań, and elsewhere. Gdańsk presents us with the richest resource of information concerning parish life. These documents do not detail changes in the Mass but do provide us with information concerning the provisions made for the needs of the poor, as we see in the *Armenordnungen* 1525 and 1551.¹⁴⁹

Catholic ceremonies and Latin hymns were retained until 1557, when the Lutheran congregation in Gdańsk was permitted to make its own decisions in such matters by the special privilege of religion extended to it.¹⁵⁰ The 1557 order is a short Latin document relating to the festivals and other days to be celebrated and includes also the general outline of the celebration of Matins and Vespers. Mass is to be celebrated according to the order customary in their churches. We cannot ascertain the provisions of that earlier order but it is stated that the Latin language

¹⁴⁷ Fox 1924, 22-24.

¹⁴⁸ Similar situations could be found elsewhere in Major Poland in cities with large German populations. In these congregations the German language was used. Spread of Lutheranism among the Polish speaking population came only after several decades. The two groups maintained separate organizations until the middle of the seventeenth century. *Wotschke* 1911 a, 227, 228.

¹⁴⁹ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 175-181.

¹⁵⁰ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 162.

is to be used.¹⁵¹ The royal privileges of 1557 granting legal status to Lutherans affected only the German congregation.¹⁵² The *Verzeichniss und ordnung*¹⁵³ of the same year, providing them equal status, officially encouraged the Lutherans to publish their own German liturgy and directed that it should follow the earlier Latin pattern.¹⁵⁴ Direct references were made to the former order in the *Kirchenordinanz* of 1570.¹⁵⁵ This too was largely concerned with the observance of the church year with special instructions concerning the week day services.

The pattern of Gdańsk also obtained in Toruń and Elbing.¹⁵⁶ The earliest document that we have from Toruń was printed between 1560-1570. *Kirchenordnung von den itzigen dienern*¹⁵⁷ includes specific directions for Holy Baptism and its ceremonies and the celebration of the Holy Communion together with confession of sins. These instructions are mainly doctrinal in nature and are specifically concerned with the Office of Keys.¹⁵⁸ An individual church order for Elbing in the sixteenth century is not extant, although its connection with Königsberg and Gdańsk is well founded.¹⁵⁹ The Lutheran congregations in Poznań have not left behind us any collection of their church orders, but it is known that they wished to distinguish themselves generally from Catholic forms.¹⁶⁰

It would seem that Lutheran liturgical orders in Poland flowed in two streams. In the first we find Gdańsk, Toruń, and Elbing where the liturgy followed, first of necessity and then by conscious decision, a general form which was patterned closely on the Western Catholic litur-

¹⁵¹ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 181.

¹⁵² *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 169, 181.

¹⁵³ *Verzeichniss und ordnung, wie es mit predigt und anderem in der pfarrkirche zu St. Marien zu halten. Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 186.

¹⁵⁴ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 186.

¹⁵⁵ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 188.

¹⁵⁶ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 162-163.

¹⁵⁷ *Kirchenordnung von den itzigen dienern der gemeine gottes zu Torn emtrechtig geschlossen und in folgende artickel vorfasst. Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 228.

¹⁵⁸ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 228.

¹⁵⁹ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 222-224.

¹⁶⁰ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 254.

gical tradition in both language and ceremonies. Information is sparse, and in the case of the second stream, that of Poznań, it is all together lacking. We know only that these congregations wished to separate themselves as much as possible from any taint of 'Catholicism.' This indicates something of the breadth of liturgical expression allowable within Lutheranism. Although Lutheran theology might be congenial with the basic form and many of the liturgical ceremonies of the Western Catholic tradition, none of these could be regarded as essential to the Lutheran doctrinal tradition.

The liturgical materials used by the Polish speaking Lutherans in Prussia were translations of original German language documents, as we see in *Ustawa albo porządek Kościelny*,¹⁶¹ published in Königsberg in 1560. This was a revised edition of an earlier publication, indicating that the Polish speaking Lutherans in Prussia even earlier had a far richer treasure of liturgical forms than their Lutheran brothers in Major Poland and West Prussia. In 1571 in Königsberg the *Ustawa albo porządek Kościelny y Ceremonie*,¹⁶² translated from German by Hieronym Malecki was also published.¹⁶³

The coming of the Reformed Church to Poland was quite late. It begun over a several decades after the introduction of Lutheranism, but in the space of less a score of years the Reformed Church had come to dominate Polish Protestantism. From the first, Lutheranism was largely restricted to the German speaking populations in the larger cities, and it had little support from within the Polish nobility. The situation with regard to the Reformed Church was quite different. In it the use of the Polish language predominated, and both its introduction and its rapid

¹⁶¹ *Ustawa albo porządek Kościelny, iako się w Xięstwie Pruskim s nauczaniem y ceremoniami, y s innemi rzeczami ktore ku pomnoszeniu y zachowaniu urzędu Kasnodzieyskiego, y porządku dobrego potrzebe zachowana snowu przeyrzany y na iawią wydany. Roku nar. Pań. M.D.LX. Drukowano w Krolewcu Pruskim u Jana Daubmana R. P. 1560.*

¹⁶² *Ustawa albo porządek Kościelny y Ceremonie, yako w nauczaniu Słowa Bożego, y podawaniu Swiętości w Kościelech Xięstwa Pruskiego ma być zachowany. Z niemieckiego języka na polski pilnie przełożony przez Hieronyma Maleckiego, Plebana Leckiego r. 1571. W Krolewcu Drukowano u Jana Daubmana, 1571.*

¹⁶³ *Jocher* 1842, 153.

spread were the result of the strong support of Polish nobles who complained about oppressive church taxes and the secular power of the Roman Catholic bishops.

It was in the areas around, but not in, Kraków, in Minor Poland that we find the introduction of any form of Protestantism. The confession of these earliest Protestants is unclear. Protestant preaching was begun by Felix Cruciger in Niedźwiedz on the lands of nobleman Stanisław Stadnicki (†1563), a short distance from Kraków, shortly before 1550. In 1547 the voices of Jakub Sylwiusz, a former Roman Catholic priest, also proclaimed the Protestant faith in Krzcięcice, the village of Hieronim Filipowski.¹⁶⁴ A year later nobleman Krzysztof Pilecki introduced Lutheranism in his lands and insisted that the Roman clergy in Łańcut parish should celebrate Mass according to the Lutheran order. He prohibited the celebration of Masses in honor of the Virgin and Marian devotion in general.¹⁶⁵ Mikołaj Oleśnicki (†1586), noble of Pińczów, became patron of Francesco Stancaro of Mantua, Italy, who had been imprisoned for his Protestant preaching. Stancaro was to play a key role in the establishment of Reformed Church in the area of Kraków and the setting of its ideological standpoint.¹⁶⁶

The situation of early Protestantism can be described as chaotic. It arose independently in several areas and had no common theological foundation or ecclesiology. In one place Lutheranism predominated, while elsewhere other Protestant groups prevailed. It was clear that for Protestantism to become a lively force these diverse movements would need to collaborate closely, or perhaps even unite into a single church, so that all Protestants might share a common confession and practice a common way of worship.

The year 1550 was important for the emerging Protestant Church in Minor Poland. The pressing need for the establishment of a Protestant Church led the Protestants to meet together in October at Pińczów, at what may be called the first synod of the emerging church. The most important Protestants were in attendance, including, among others,

¹⁶⁴ *Wotschke* 1911 a, 57-58.

¹⁶⁵ *Любовичь* 1883, 79.

¹⁶⁶ *Orichovii* 1854, 58-59; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 105.

Francesco Stancaro, Martinus of Opoczno, Felix Cruciger, minister of Niedźwiedź, Jakub Sylwiusz, minister of Pińczów (later of Krzcięcice), Martinus Taurinus, minister of Solec, Gregorius Orsacius, and Melchior Cracovianus.¹⁶⁷ The first order of business was not the formulation of a common theological position, but instead the necessity of uniting around a common form of worship. This would create a visible sign of the church's organization. Reformed sensibilities would make the adoption of a pure Saxonian Lutheran order, such as was used by the Lutherans in Major Poland, unacceptable. In the same way the adoption of Calvin's Geneva service or other published Reformed liturgy would not be acceptable to some. The middle way was proposed by Francesco Stancaro who recommended the adoption the *Consultation* of Archbishop Hermann von Wied of Cologne of 1543. The names of two prominent theologians were closely connected with this work. One, Martin Bucer of Strassburg, had been a close associate of Ulrich Zwingli and a participant, in both, the Marburg Colloquium in 1529 and the Diet of Augsburg of 1530. Closely associated later with the Lutheran theologians of Wittenberg, he was also an important associate of John Calvin who made use of his liturgical material in creating French language services for his congregations in Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545). The other theologian associated with this work was Philip Melancthon, the closest colleague of Martin Luther and second only to him in importance in the Lutheran Church. Bucer may be described as a Reformed theologian with strong Lutheran leanings, and Melancthon may be described as a Lutheran theologian with strong ties to Calvinism. Thus the *Consultation* might be termed a middle way acceptable to those who had not yet determined whether to follow Lutheran and Reformed cause, for the sake of those whom the *Acta Iacobi Sylvii* calls 'weaker brothers.'¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 1-2.

¹⁶⁸ "Hoc tempore Franciscus Stancarus obtulerat iisdem ministris Reformationem Coloniensem, quam in primo motu susceperant; videbatur enim esse tolerabilis pro infirmis fratribus. Quae Reformatio plurimum in se complectebatur ex ritibus misationis Papisticae." *Akta synodów I* 1966, 2.

The proposal of Stancaro was accepted. Stancaro, however, decided to publish a work less dependent on the *Consultation* and more suitable for use in the Minor Polish Church. This work was commissioned in 1550 and printed in 1552 in Frankfurt/Oder under the title *Canones Reformationis Ecclesiarum Polonicarum*. The enlarged Polish version, *Porządek naprawienia w kościołach nassych*, was printed in Kraków in 1553 at the expense of Hieronim Filipowski.¹⁶⁹ This edition met with strong resistance at the synod which met on November 25, 1554 at Słomniki, but nevertheless it was accepted.¹⁷⁰ The work consists of 79 sheets, and, in addition to the Communion service, it includes, Matins and Vespers, Church Discipline, Christian and Pastoral Duties, Warnings against False Doctrine, Organization and Maintenance of Schools and Church Property, and other practical matters for the emerging Church in Minor Poland.¹⁷¹

Stancaro's Communion service takes a form of a directory which tells what is to be done but does not provide the exact forms to be employed. He notes that the exact forms can be found in other works and need not be included in his order.¹⁷² He calls for three Sunday Services. The first is a service of preaching and, on the first Sunday of the month, Communion. After the midday meal there should be an exposition of the Epistle and a reminder of the duties of Christian people. The evening service should include one hour of instruction on the catechism so that the people hearing God's word addressed to the children may themselves come to know his will.¹⁷³ A special service of preparation

¹⁶⁹ Wotschke 1910, 475; *Akta synodów I* 1966, 3 fn.1; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 453 fn.243.

¹⁷⁰ "Secundo, offerebant quidam ex gremio primorum fratrum Reformationem iam in Polonico sermone excusam sub nomine et titulo Stancari Francisci Mantuanial. Non consenserunt huic Reformationi plurimi propter nomen Stancari, qui non pridem ex Regno proscriptus canonicorum studio fuitb. Hoc vero factum est non improbatoinis gratia, sed fugiendi scandali causa; timebant enim sibi a convicio sectae Stancaricae ne scilicet aliquam notam ex huius boni viri nomine habeat ecclesia. Hanc tamen Reformationem ad ritus ecclesiasticos celebrandos in communi sumpserunt ministri consensu totius ecclesiae." *Akta synodów I* 1966, 3.

¹⁷¹ An incomplete and damaged copy of this work is among the holdings of the Jagiellonian University Library in Kraków (acquisition number: Cim. Qu 5485).

¹⁷² *Porządek naprawienia* 1553, rj.

¹⁷³ *Porządek naprawienia* 1553, rj.

should be held on the evening before Communion at which the people are to confess their sins as they have been taught by the minister and receive forgiveness. Ministers exercise the Office of the Keys by deciding who may be allowed to receive Communion and who needs to be placed under church discipline, as Stancaro has already noted in his books on Communion.¹⁷⁴ Provision is also made for the Communion of the sick.

The general impression of Stancaro's work is that it is the production of a former monk who still carries with him many traces of monastic discipline. Provisions for the Sunday services and Matins and Vespers on the week days, Holy Communion for the sick, the use of the Litany and its collects, and other liturgical inclusions go far beyond the norm of Reformed worship.

Stancaro does not provide us with more than an outline, so we cannot be certain about the exact form his Holy Communion service was meant to take. On the basis on his recommendation concerning Von Wied's *Consultation*, and references to existing liturgical books, we surmise that *Consultation* of Cologne provides us with a picture of his service. The Cologne service begins with an admonition to the communicants followed by a sermon of the subject of the Holy Sacrament, followed by another admonition and confession of sins. The form of absolution includes short texts from John 16, 1 Timothy 1, 1 John 2, and other passages. The absolution itself takes a form of a declaration of grace and forgiveness, but without the words: "I forgive you all your sins..., etc." This is followed by the introit, where there are clerks and school children to sing in Latin, followed by the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Gloria in Excelsis*. The collect of the day follows, and after it the Epistle is sung and again, when possible, the alleluia, gradual, or sequence in Latin and German. The Gospel is read to the people in German. After the sermon comes the prayer of the church, followed by the Preface and

¹⁷⁴ Among his other writings on Holy Communion is: *Opera nuova di F. S. Mantovano della Reformatione, si della dottrina Christiana, come della vera intelligentia dei sacramenti. con maturi consideratione et fondamento della scrittura santa, et consiglio de Santi Padri. non solamente utile, ma necessaria a ogni stato et conditione di Persone, Basel 1547.*

the *Sanctus* together with the *Benedictus qui venit*. These too are to be sung in Latin, if possible. The priest then sings the Words of Christ over the bread and wine “carefully and slowly” so that the people “...will give careful attention to the Words of the Lord” and the people then answer with “Amen.” Then is said the “Our Father” and the *Pax Domini*. The pastor says: “The Lord be with you always” and people respond: “And with thy spirit.” Then all who are going to commune come forward devoutly and in orderly fashion, first the men and then the women, to receive the body and the blood of the Lord under both kinds with the following formula: “Take and eat to your salvation the body of Christ which was given for you,” “Take and drink for your salvation the blood of the New Testament shed for your sins.” During communion the *Agnus Dei* is sung in Latin and in German, first one and then the other, then the German Hymn *Gott sei gelobet* and *Jesus Christus unsern Heiland* until all have been communed. After communion the priest sings: “The Lord be with you,” people respond: “And with thy spirit.” Then follows post-Communion prayer from the Nürnberg church order or the prayer from Luther’s German Mass. Then the benediction, “The Lord bless you and keep you..., etc.” from the Nürnberg church order of 1533.¹⁷⁵

If Stancaro’s recommendations to follow “other liturgical books” includes the *Consultation*, the result would be a service which appears strongly Lutheran. It may seem extraordinary that it should be approved for use in Pińczów area of this period. If it is a fair indication of the confessional attitudes of that time, it must be said that the prevailing confession had a Lutheran flavor. There seems little evidence here of Reformed understanding of the Lord’s Supper.

This order provoked a reaction from the Roman bishop. Stanisław Orzechowski describes Stancaro as having introduced the errors of Zwingli.

“When Stancaro had betaken himself to Pinczow, he began to establish the error of Zwingli, and to take pains to lead Olesnicki away from the religion of his fathers and to persuade him to a foreign religion. According to these precepts he ordered that images

¹⁷⁵ *Richter II* 1871, 41-44.

be removed from the church, an outlandish (peregrinam) Lord's Supper be instituted in place of the usual one 'and the rites be abolished that the monks used to perform under the old religion in the church of his town. This church together with the adjoining monks' house, had been erected with great pains and richly endowed by the generosity of [Bishop] Zbigniew Olesnicki and Stancaro was making haste to profane it. But since his plan seemed dangerous to [Lord] Olesnicki, in order that nothing be done unadvisedly, he called his friends and took them into counsel, in which after various judgments had been debated, the following judgment prevailed: the images, together with the rest of the utensils, should remain undisturbed in the church. The monks also should perform their rites according to the old rule, since none of these things could safely be changed. As the king was near at hand, the bishop also had not yet left Cracow. And another time would be more fit for making these changes. For the present it was thought best to institute the Lord's Supper, but this should be done in private in the castle, not publicly in the church, which being in the town is adjacent to the castle. In accordance with this view they permitted Stancaro to appoint the manner of the new Supper and to teach the use of it.¹⁷⁶

The reaction was indeed strong. Oleśnicki was taken into the bishop's court to face the charge of profaning the church. Since Oleśnicki came to court with the strong support of many Polish nobles and even members of the king's household, the bishop was unable to prosecute him successfully. The bishop's court declared that they wanted this matter to be taken up by the king's court, but upon the promise of Oleśnicki that he would allow the monks to return and do their work in peace, the matter was taken no further. The monks returned and this signaled the departure of Protestant clergy, some to other areas of Minor Poland, some to Major Poland. Stancaro himself went to Prussia.¹⁷⁷

Within a few years the monks again left the area and Protestant clergy begun to return. Among those who returned was Marcin Krow-

¹⁷⁶ *Orichovii* 1854, 58-60; English translation quoted from: *Lubieniecki* 1995, 105.

¹⁷⁷ *Orichovii* 1854, 64; *Любовичь* 1883, 103; *Lubieniecki* 1995, 107.

icki (†1573), who begun to celebrate the Holy Communion first in the household of Oleśnicki and then in the monastery.¹⁷⁸ Krowicki was a man in transition. First a Roman priest, he had come under the influence of the teaching of Luther, confessed the real bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and called for the distribution of the Holy Communion in both kinds. After his refugee sojourn he returned, bringing with him Reformed influences,¹⁷⁹ and it was to the Reformed faith that he soon announced his adherence. The same course of development can be seen in the case of Jakub Sylwiusz.¹⁸⁰ In the area of Niedźwiedź, where at an earlier time Cruciger had preached, a similar movement from Lutheranism to the Reformed faith took place. Here Holy Communion was celebrated according to the Swiss rites, as can be seen in Niedźwiedź, where a certain Alberti Magistri had begun to celebrate Communion according to the rites of the Swiss Reformed.¹⁸¹ Soon more than a dozen such churches had adopted this practice.

Again there is no unity in the confession of faith and liturgy. Some of the Protestants came forward with a proposal for the Reformation of Minor Poland based on the models of the Cologne Reformation and the Reformation of the Church of England.¹⁸² In addition, Stancaro sug-

¹⁷⁸ *Lubieniecki* 1995, 103-104.

¹⁷⁹ *Lubieniecki* 1995, 451 fn.253.

¹⁸⁰ Evidence of Jakub Sylwiusz' movement toward to Reformed teaching and practice is found in the letters of Orzechowski, published in 1561 by Jakub Górski. *Любовичь* 1883, 116.

¹⁸¹ *Orichovii* 1854, 79.

¹⁸² "A zgromadzeni będąc tameśmy tę Reformacją Stankarową od początku aż do końca czytali, wzięwszy też przed się i inne dwie: englicką a kolińską, z nicheśmy, co się nam najlepszego, z Pismy św. się zgadzającego zdało, wybrali a wzięli." *Akta synodów I* 1966, 35.

The English Reformation had begun as a purely national movement maintaining medieval theology, but without the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. So it continued until the death of Henry VIII. Then increasing Protestant ferment, fueled primarily by Reformed theologians from Germany and the Netherlands, came to dominate until Queen Mary ("Bloody Mary") ascended to the throne. This Reformed faith was articulated in the so-called London *Catechismus brevis Christianae disciplinae summam continens ... Huic Catechismo adjuncti sunt articuli de quibus in ultima synodo Londinensi a. D. 1552... convenerat*. It was published in Tiguri 1553. This document and the Consultation of Hermann von Wied were proposed as models for the Minor Polish Reformation. *Akta synodów I* 1966, 35 fn.3.

gested the adoption of the *Augsburg Confession* as the church's confession of faith.¹⁸³ This was not an extraordinary suggestion. The *Augsburg Confession* was indeed to serve as a model for the declarations of faith of other churches as well, as we see in the case of the 39 Articles of the Church of England.

The Reformed in Minor Poland looked upon Francesco Stancaro's proposal only hesitantly and lukewarmly. The proposal itself seemed reasonable, but Stancaro was suspect because of his disruptive influence at the University of Königsberg and his famous open quarrel with Andreas Osiander (1498-1552) over Christology.¹⁸⁴ His insistence on such a strict division between the divine and human natures that he insisted that Christ is man's mediator with God only according to his human nature, led to charges by both Lutherans and Calvinists that he was Nestorian. His boastful publication *De Trinitate ... 1562*,¹⁸⁵ giving the record of his controversy with Osiander, only added to the suspicions of Protestants, who were themselves labeled sectarians by the Roman Catholics. An additional reason for the reservations of the Protestants in Minor Poland was the fact that he was not a priest, but only an academic without practical experience.¹⁸⁶

The synod at Słomniki on November 25, 1554 not only gave consent to Stancaro's proposals,¹⁸⁷ but in addition it officially commended the Church of the Bohemian Brethren as a church truly Reformed in all matters, namely in doctrine, liturgy, and church discipline accord-

¹⁸³ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 36.

¹⁸⁴ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 34.

¹⁸⁵ *De Trinitate et Mediatore Domino nostro Iesu Christo adversus Henricum Bullingerum... Ad magnificos et generosos Dominos Nobiles ac eorum Ministeros a variis Pseudoevabelicis seductis, Krakau 1562.*

¹⁸⁶ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 36.

¹⁸⁷ "Secundo, offerebant quidam ex gremio primorum fratrum Reformationem iam in Polonico sermone excusam sub nomine et titulo Stancari Francisci Mantuanial. Non consenserunt huic Reformationi plurimi propter nomen Stancari, qui non pridem ex Regno proscriptus canonicorum studio fuit. Hoc vero factum est non improbatonis gratia, sed fugiendi scandali causa; timebant enim sibi a convicio sectae Stancaricae ne scilicet aliquam notam ex huius boni viri nomine habeat ecclesia. Hanc tamen Reformationem ad ritus ecclesiasticos celebrandos in communi sumpserunt ministri consensu totius ecclesiae." *Akta synodów I* 1966, 3.

ing to the Word of God.¹⁸⁸ The Minor Poles resolved to visit them and become familiar with all aspects of their faith and practice. Hieronim Filipowski and Felix Cruciger, who had already been selected to be the first superintendent of the church,¹⁸⁹ were delegated to visit the *Unitas fratrum* in Major Poland on behalf of the church and to report their findings. The influence of Bohemians was to be of great importance to the Minor Poles.

The Minor Poles initiated a series of meetings with the Bohemians. The first of these meetings was held in the area of Kraków by Jakub Ostroróg and Hieronim Filipowski.¹⁹⁰ Here Filipowski became acquainted with the doctrine and practice of the *Unitas Fratrum*, and upon close examination he determined that the Poles and Bohemians had much in common. He was especially impressed by the high level of organization and order in the Bohemian Church, something lacking among the Minor Poles.¹⁹¹ Subsequent meetings were held first in Krzcieńce on March 18, 1555 in Minor Poland, and then in Gołuchów in Major Poland on March 24.¹⁹² There the Poles asked for further information about Christian teachings among the Bohemians and details concerning their worship and church order. Questions were raised concerning the relationship of Brethren doctrines to Calvin's *Institutes* and the theological position of the Wittenberg theologians. This revealed clear theological divisions among the Poles - some leaning toward Melancthon and Wittenberg theologians, other towards Calvin, and some toward the Bohemians. In particular, differences between Luther's and Calvin's doctrines and practices concerning the observance of the Lord's Supper were at issue. These questions sprung from the Calvinist concerns regarding church discipline and the testing of those who wished to

¹⁸⁸ "Tertio, quidam ex fratribus commendabant ecclesiam Bohemorum fratrum, quos quidam Valdenses vocant. Horum fratrum commendabatur religiosa in omnibus reformatio, scilicet in doctrina, in ritibus et in disciplina ecclesiastica ex verbo Dei. Ex eo tempore institutum fuerat invisendas esse eorum ecclesias, ut probentur meliora et adiu-vante Dei misericordia amplectantur." *Akta synodów I* 1966, 3.

¹⁸⁹ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 4.

¹⁹⁰ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 6; *Dworzaczkowa* 1997, 24 fn.14.

¹⁹¹ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 6-7.

¹⁹² *Akta synodów I* 1966, 6-15; *Dworzaczkowa* 1997, 28.

commune.¹⁹³ Although the discussions did not lead to any satisfactory conclusion, after the meeting Felix Cruciger wrote to the Bohemians expressing the wish that fellowship be declared between them.¹⁹⁴

The Minor Poles and Bohemian Brethren met together in convocation on August 24 - September 2, 1555 at Koźminek in Major Poland. In this meeting the Minor Polish Protestants stated that they had reached unity of confession. "Your teaching is our teaching."¹⁹⁵ The present need was that unity be sought in church order and outward ceremonies. The Bohemians responded that there was no real unity for three reasons. First of all, unity had not yet been achieved in teaching and worship; secondly, the Minor Polish people were not yet prepared to accept major changes; thirdly, by the Bohemian Brethren desired themselves to first consider what is essential to unity and its ramifications.¹⁹⁶ They further stated that they had some questions concerning whether the Minor Polish delegates present really represented the unanimous opinion of Minor Polish Protestants, and whether they accepted everything con-

¹⁹³ "A tu potom kde co který jináče smyslił, ukazovali ne z naší *Confessii*, ale z hlav těch, kteří se moudřejší zdáli nad jiné býti. A některé artikule naše zcela přečítali, a místo tomu dávali, že tak bezodměnně aneb bez odporu smýšlí a drží. Veliká by pašije byla, kdy by se mělo vše vypsati, j ak tu bylo mezi nimi nemálo rozdílů podle rozdílného učení mezi doktory těmi novými německými. Jeden jednoho, jiný jiného více zachytil, však což celnějších, vše v Kalvínovi vězejí a k jeho *Institutiim* jako kteří smeřují. Někteří, a zvláště kteří studovali v Vitemberku, ti početnosti Filipova rozumu přidrobavali. A při něčem se časem pohádali, ale vše, krotce, dali se jedni druhým napravit. A když na mne votum anebo potaz přišel, nevymluvil, ale jsem ukázal na *Confessii* a na *Apologii* naší, že já spolu s bratřími tak držím, dokudž nám co lepšího ukázáno podle s. Pisem nebude. Oni mne také při tom nechávali. A když vše spořádali a již zato tak vzali, že jsou při učení v hlavních artikulích jednomyslní, také o služebních věcech, o Církví, o služebnicích a o službách. Bylo počesti různosti o pokání, někteří byli s Filipem Melanktonem anebo s luterijány, jiní s Kalvínem, a někteří s námi, a potáhnuce kocoura zůstali částku při Kalvínovi, a částku při nás. A *Discordia* zůstal při své vůli. Při Sacramentu Večeře Páně tam s Kalvínem, jednak všickni našeho však nezamítajíc, než Lutera opustili." *Akta synodów I* 1966, 12.

¹⁹⁴ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 16-17.

¹⁹⁵ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 22.

¹⁹⁶ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 22.

tained in the *Confession and Apology*.¹⁹⁷ In response, the Minor Poles asked for copies of these documents along with the forms of worship and agendas for their examination. Upon examining these documents, they confirmed their agreement with their contents and stated that in only ceremonial details did they differ.¹⁹⁸ On this basis the agreement for church union was subscribed by both parties. The union agreement contained five points. (1) The Protestants in Minor Poland stated the *Bohemian Confession and Apology* as good and true, and accepted them as their own; (2) They promised to learn the *Bohemian Confession*, to implement its provisions, and to teach it to their own people; (3) They stated that when new members were accepted into their fellowship they would keep the same order as was practiced among the Bohemian Brethren. (4) They would gradually introduce the same forms of worship and church order as were practiced by the Bohemian Brethren. Some significant differences however still remained, particularly with reference to ecclesiology. (1) Certain higher offices in the Minor Polish Church had no counterpart in the Bohemian Church. The Reformed had the office of superintendent, and the Bohemians were not willing to recognize such an office as higher in their ecclesiastical order. (2) The Poles admitted that they could not speak for all Minor Polish Protestants, and that there might be some who did not favor unity with Bohemian Brethren. (3) They stated their intention to continue to practice their own ceremonies until such time as they were more thoroughly acquainted with the practices of the Bohemians and the people had been adequately instructed concerning them. (4) It was agreed that the practices of the Bohemian Brethren would be regarded as the standard for both churches, and Polish practices would not be introduced among the Bohemians. (5) It was stated that the Minor Polish Church would continue to collect the tithe.¹⁹⁹ In these negotiations we note the reticent of the Bohemians to move forward because of their many questions and concerns about the state of Protestantism in Minor Poland. The driving

¹⁹⁷ The Confession of Bohemian Brethren had been subscribed in 1533 and Apology in 1538. *Akta synodów II* 1972, 230-231.

¹⁹⁸ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 30-31, 37-39.

¹⁹⁹ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 41-42.

force throughout was the determination of the Poles to effect this union. Though the union was signed, Minor Polish determination would prove to be an inadequate basis for a lasting union.

The Koźminek Union brought with it the use of the agenda of Lukas of Prague *Zprawy tyto wsseho vřadu kněžskeho ... 1527*.²⁰⁰ This agenda had been adopted as an effort to unite the Bohemian people behind one Eucharistic doctrine and practice.²⁰¹ Now it was hoped that its use in Minor Poland would accomplish the same result.

This somewhat elaborate order of the Lord's Supper begins with an admonition to the communicants to examine themselves for worthiness, to confess their sins humbly, and to ask for God's grace. This is followed by five prayers: first, concerning the spiritual presence of Christ; second, concerning participation in the body and blood of the Lord; third, concerning the benefits of participation; fourth, concerning power to receive the benefit; and fifth, concerning the consecration of the bread and wine. This is followed by the Lord's Prayer, the admonition of the faithful, and the preparation for the consecration. The consecration includes a canon in remembrance of the Lord, at the center of which the Words of Christ are spoken over the bread and wine, accompanied by the manual acts. Following this there is an encouragement to fulfill the mandate of the Lord and a prayer of anamnesis. Then follows an admonition before the reception, and a prayer for worthy reception, instructions concerning the reception, but no distribution formula. A word addressed to the people after reception is followed by the reception prayer, general prayer, final admonition, and blessing.²⁰²

This agenda pays careful attention to liturgical details and includes a number of admonitions, blessings, and thanksgivings. Several times the worshipers are exhorted to see to it that they receive with pious and thankful hearts, and to confidently believe that they are receiving the

²⁰⁰ *Zprawy tyto wsseho vřadu kněžskeho spolu y po mocnikuo k Imprimowani dane Leta. M. CCCCC. rřvij Skrz Giřika Sstysu w Boleslawi nad gizerau wřtyr mezcymtu hodinu na den. S. Martina wytisknutim dokonany gsu.*

²⁰¹ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 27 fn.1.

²⁰² *Zprawy 1527, cxxxiiij-cxxxviiij*; The agenda of Lukas of Prague (Lukáš Pražsky) is held by Moravský zemský archiv in Brně (acquisition number: G21, III / 582); *Coena Domini I* 1983, 545-561.

body and blood of Christ in a real, but spiritual manner. The nature of this reception is not further explained, so it cannot be asserted that it is built upon a doctrine of bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament. After communion those who have received are assured that in this food and drink they have been guaranteed their participation in the body and blood of Christ, and that even as they had all eaten of the one bread and shared of the one cup, so they are one bread and one body.²⁰³ The liturgy is at once very wordy and yet somewhat vague. It does not clearly and boldly articulate either the Reformed or the Lutheran doctrines. It is a uniquely Bohemian statement.

The acceptance of this agenda indicates that the Minor Polish Reformed Church had not yet arrived at a fully Reformed view concerning the Supper of the Lord. It shows a movement away of Lutheran specificity, - such as was found in Hermann von Wied's agenda, toward a more Bohemian non-specific view, which speaks of spiritual participation without clearly linking it to the bread and the wine. The Minor Polish Protestants were still in the process of coming to a clearer articulation of Reformed theology.

An important aim of the Koźminek Union was the establishment and spread of the liturgy and *Bohemian Confession* among the Minor Polish Reformed. The synod of Secemin was convened on January 21-29, 1555 for the purpose of implementing these objectives. The union was accepted with great joy, but this joy to be short lived. The steadily growing influence of the theologies of Zwingli and Calvin were beginning to predominate among the Minor Poles. The Calvinist influence was at least some measure brought about through the influence of Francesco Lismanini.²⁰⁴

Francesco Lismanini was a close confidant of Zygmunt II August, the King Poland. Outwardly a Roman Catholic priest, he had strong sympathies for the Reformation, and while on assignment from the king to travel to Western Europe for the purpose for augmenting his library holdings, Lismanini became personally acquainted with John Calvin

²⁰³ *Zprawy* 1527, cxxiiij-cxxxviiij; *Coena Domini I* 1983, 550-558.

²⁰⁴ *Lubieniecki* 1995, 140.

and the Reformers of Zürich. He was persuaded to forswear any further association with the Roman Church and declared himself Protestant.²⁰⁵ In 1555 the Minor Polish Protestants invited him to return for the benefit of the church and to provide a positive influence on the king. Calvin was in agreement and wrote a letter of recommendation to the Poles stating that his return would be of great benefit to Reformation in Poland.²⁰⁶

Lismanini came from the West with a 'truer' view of the Lord's Supper, which he had arrived at on the basis of his own personal study and his acquaintance with Calvin and the other Swiss Reformers. He defended the view that the bread and wine are nothing but 'sacrament,' or 'sacred signs or symbols.' Thus he retained the term 'sacrament' but gave it a meaning altogether different from the meaning commonly assigned to it. The sacrament of the broken bread is said to recall the broken body of Christ and pouring of the wine is said to recall the shedding of his blood. Christ's sacrifice is remembered by the acts of breaking bread and pouring wine.²⁰⁷

This new understanding would seem to distance his adherents from the position taken by the Bohemians. Francesco Lismanini came highly recommended, and many of the Minor Poles came quickly to agree with his understanding of the Supper. His influence was felt already in the synod of Pińczów on April 23 – May 1, 1556. The first matter of business to come before the synod was the question of the translation of the *Bohemian Confession* into Polish. Initial discussion centered around the problem of making this a truly Polish document in language, tenor, and thought. Stanisław Sarnicki expressed the thought that perhaps it would be better for the Poles to produce their own native confession of faith rather than to adopt a foreign document.²⁰⁸ Some proposed the adoption of the *Augsburg Confession*, but with the wording of the *Variata* edition.²⁰⁹ No final decision was made on this matter, but the synod ex-

²⁰⁵ *Lubieniecki* 1995, 140.

²⁰⁶ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 72.

²⁰⁷ *Lubieniecki* 1995, 140-141.

²⁰⁸ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 67-68.

²⁰⁹ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 67.

pressed its desire that the union with the Bohemian Brethren be maintained.

Concerning the Lord's Supper, the delegates questioned the representative of the Bohemians to determine whether the Bohemian view was congenial to the views of Calvin and the other Swiss Reformers. Many questions were raised concerning practical details related to discipline, but most important was the interrogation concerning the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament and the manner of its reception. According to the Latin protocols, it was asked whether the manner of reception is spiritual and sacramental, and how that presence is to be understood and comprehended. The answer was given that "...the presence is spiritual and sacramental according to the Bohemian belief and it is known or grasped by faith but not ground by the teeth."²¹⁰ The Polish protocols are far more specific. Here it is stated that Bohemians understand that the consecrated bread and wine are Christ's body and blood. Those who receive may receive to their benefit or condemnation according to their belief or unbelief. The example of Sodom and Gomorrah was given. The Word of God which was proclaimed in these cities was the true and saving Word of God and continued to be true despite their unbelief. Because they did not believe it, they received it to the condemnation. By analogy, the body and blood of Christ are present in the bread and wine regardless of the faith or unbelief of the communicant, but believers alone receive the benefit, while unbelievers receive condemnation.²¹¹ This articulates a confession similar to the Lutheran doctrine of the *manducatio indignorum*. In the protocols the Reformed

²¹⁰ "Septima quaestio de sententia sacramenti Cenaе Dominicae. Matthias Czerwonka superintendens Bohemus respondit in hunc modum: Triplicem esse controversiam in universum de sacramento Cenaе. Prima est horum, qui carnalem praesentiam Christi volunt habere in Cena; huius factionis sunt omnes Papistae et reliqui, qui impanationis sententiam sequuntur. Secunda est, quae habet et credit praesentiam spirituales et sacramentales, quae fide et non dentibus percipitur; huic adhaerere ecclesias Bohemorum dixit. Tertia est eorum, qui signa nuda esse volunt; ab his, inquit, nos omnibus modis abhorremus. Mediam sententiam dixit se complecti." *Akta synodów I 1966*, 57.

²¹¹ *Akta synodów I 1966*, 73.

make it clear that these Bohemian statements are not compatible with Calvinist teaching.

Here the lines begin to be drawn between the Bohemians and the Reformed party, which was increasingly unable to accept the Bohemian doctrine. It was on the question of sacramental teaching, confession, and practice that the Bohemians and the Poles began to diverge. Those influenced by Francesco Lismanini found the Bohemian position far too close to the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation and not specific enough in its repudiation of that doctrine. The mutual fellowship of two churches could continue, but lines of division had become evident.

Perhaps the most significant resolution of the synod at Pińczów was to invite Johannes a Lasco to come to Poland to aid the Polish Reformed Church in its organization and extension.²¹² His coming would soon prove to be of decisive importance in the organization of the Polish Reformed, their theology, and their congregational worship. His influence would be felt also beyond the borders of Minor and Major Poland, in the Reformed congregations of Lithuania.

The family of Johannes a Lasco was well known for its distinguished service to the Polish state and Roman Church. His uncle, Johannes a Lasco (Jan Łaski, 1456-1531), was archbishop of Gniezno and primate of the Polish Church, a distinguished Jurist, and grand chancellor of the realm. The younger Johannes seemed destined from boyhood to serve the church. He traveled to Switzerland to question Zwingli first hand concerning his Reformation faith. It was Zwingli who planted in Lasco his first doubts concerning the Roman Church. A devoted follower of Erasmus of Rotterdam, he purchased his library, while allowing Erasmus its continued use. Erasmus was to have a great deal of influence of Lasco's temperamental and intellectual development. Although, like Erasmus, he remained for the present in the Roman Church, he was increasingly inclined toward the doctrines of the Swiss Reformation.²¹³ When it became evident to him that the Roman Church was incapable of reforming herself, he left the church and went to Western Europe to

²¹² *Akta synodów I* 1966, 66.

²¹³ *Bartel* 1999, 91.

further the cause of the Reformation. When Ennui, the count of East Friesland, determined to introduce the Reformation into his state, he proposed to Lasco that he should undertake it.²¹⁴ He became the superintendent of Friesland. Here the Reformation was accomplished only with great difficulty, because of the indifference of the people and the moral decay of the clergy. It was here that Lasco established what he described as the pure scriptural manner in which Holy Communion should be received. Albrecht, the duke of Prussia, wished him to assume ecclesiastical leadership in his domains, but Lasco refused to do so on the grounds that the church needed to be completely independent of the temporal power, and he objected strongly to the Lutheran retention of the Roman rites.²¹⁵ At this point, Lasco drew up a confession of faith for the churches of Friesland, articulating the doctrine of Communion held in common by the Swiss and the Anglicans. The Lutherans reacted very strongly to this. As a result the Lutherans made great gains, and Lasco determined to respond favorably to the invitation of Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), archbishop of Canterbury, to come to England to assist in the work of Reformation there. He took temporally leave of the congregation and traveled to England for what he described as a temporary visit.²¹⁶ After staying with Archbishop Cranmer for six months, during which time it became evident that he and the archbishop held the same views of the Reformation of the church and Reformation doctrine, he returned to Friesland to address the problems which had risen since his departure. The harsh requirements of the *Interim* enacted in 1548 was a factor in his deciding to leave the country permanently. After spending some time in Bremen and Hamburg he returned in the spring of 1550 to become the minister of the congregation of foreign Protestants which had been organized there. It was in London that he produced his *Forma ac Ratio* in 1550 as the directory for worship and discipline in refugee congregations.²¹⁷ He continued to serve in London until the accession of Queen Mary in 1553, when Protestantism came under severe

²¹⁴ Bartel 1999, 134-136.

²¹⁵ Bartel 1999, 163.

²¹⁶ Bartel 1999, 161.

²¹⁷ Bartel 1999, 166-170.

persecutions. Lasco left for Denmark, where initially he enjoyed the hospitality of the king, but when it became evident to Joachim Westphal (1510–1574) and Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558) that his doctrinal position was inimical to the Lutheran faith, this hospitality was quickly withdrawn. Subsequently he found the same situation in Hamburg, Lübeck, and Rostock. He settled in Frankfurt/Main, where he established a congregation for Belgium refugees, the worship and confession of which received the authorization of the city council. In 1555 in Frankfurt/Main he published his *Forma ac Ratio*, which he had written in 1550. A Dutch language version prepared by Martin Micron dates from 1554. It was printed in Emden. Lasco dedicated his *Forma ac Ratio* to Zygmunt II August, the King of Poland, with a letter of recommendation from Melanchthon. In the dedicatory letter which accompanied this book he expresses the wish that he might be of service to his king and country. Knowing the favorable attitude of the king, he expressed the hope that in Poland a true Christian church might be formed.

The travels of Johannes a Lasco brought him into Lutheran territories. There he wished to be accepted as one confessing with the Lutherans the same faith while not in fact formally adhering to their symbol of that faith – the *Augsburg Confession*. In every instance this brought him into conflict with Lutheran pastors and theologians, particularly concerning to the Sacrament of the Altar. At this point Johannes a Lasco always adhered to the doctrinal position of the Swiss Reformers, against the Lutheran doctrine of the bodily presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine. This moved Lasco to attempt a public reconciliation with the Lutherans as a demonstration of his irenic nature and his passion for unity. In a meeting on May 22, 1556 in Stuttgart it was the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar that again showed itself to be the main source of contention. It was made clear by Johannes Brenz (1499-1570) that the position maintained by Lasco was in clear conflict with the confession of the Lutheran Church as it is found in the *Augsburg Confession*. Even the great friendship which he enjoyed with Melanchthon was not sufficient to overcome the obvious tension

between his position and that of the Lutherans. The king of Poland was in some measure aware of this situation, and in response to Lasco's letters, he stated his concerns and asked him to clarify the matter.²¹⁸ His aims frustrated, Lasco now turned his eyes to Poland and possibilities of effecting union there.²¹⁹ In April 1556 he was invited to return to his homeland and work to establish order in the young Minor Polish Church.²²⁰ In December of that year he arrived, and, despite the strong opposition of the papal legate Lippomanus and the Roman bishops, he began his work.

His teaching concerning the sacrament falls within the Reformed pattern. No saving benefit can be obtained either from the bread or from the earthly body of Christ. This refers to the action of the Supper by which fellowship with Christ and his body and blood is established and sealed. The Words of Christ must be interpreted in a manner which does not conflict with human reason. The word *hoc* refers to the sign of the action what is being done and *est* refers to the sealing with the fellowship of Christ in his body and his blood. When Christ says: "This is my body," he means that the celebration of this Supper is a visible sign of fellowship in Christ's body. This set Lasco at odds not only with the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Transubstantiation, but also with the Lutheran doctrine, according to which the substance of the bread and the substance of the body are united and bound together in sacramental union. Christ did not say: "This is simultaneously bread and my body."²²¹ According to Lasco, to make the natural body of Christ and the bread one is impossible, because it posits the identity of the

²¹⁸ *Łukaszewicz* 1853, 103-104; *Kuyper II* 1866, 738; *Dalton* 1881, 514; *Bartel* 1999, 204.

²¹⁹ *Bartel* 1999, 212; *Kowalska* 1999, 34.

²²⁰ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 66.

²²¹ "Verbum porro 'est' in verbis coenae intelligimus iuxta receptam illius significationem, quoties de signis rruin loquimur, adeoque nonnihil amplius etiam hoc verbo 'est' in coenae verbis comprehendi dicimus, quam significationis solam proprietatem, nempe rei ipsius adumbratae una cum signo fruitionem" "... sub verbo 'est' complectimur non tantum significationem communionis nostrae cum Christo Domino in corpore et sanguine ipsius, sed perpetuam simul etiam communionis illius durationem, fruitionem animorumque nostrorum in ilia obsignationem." *Kuyper I* 1866, 205-206; *Hein* 1904, 141.

hypostasis of the bread and the body of Christ. He held that the presence of Christ is not local and corporal, it is rather to be understood on the basis of Christ's Words: "I am with you always to the end of the world" (Matthew 28:20). This Lasco called the *Unio pacti*. He claimed that other positions make the Scriptures obscure and contradictory and contain many absurdities. He contended that the acceptance of the notion of the real presence of the substantial body and blood of Christ is not necessary to salvation, it is not helpful, and it stands against the Words of Christ in John 6 and the scriptural report of the Ascension. He stated that it denies the comfort which is centered in ones fellowship with church, of which the elements are meant to be signs. It obscures the essence of the faith, and it is not far from the papal doctrine of Transubstantiation and idolatry. The ubiquity of the substance of the natural body and blood of Christ is contrary to nature, because all natural bodies are locally confined. According to Lasco, if Christ is in heaven, he cannot be on the earth. He noted that according to the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity even the godless receive the substance of the natural body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper and thus they must be said to receive the glory of Christ. This dishonors the body of Christ. It also contradicts the passages which speak of the incarnation of Christ and his Ascension. If Christ is locally and naturally present in the bread, then it cannot be said that he has ascended on high.²²²

We may conclude that Lasco's sacramental teaching clearly stands in a tradition which is built upon strong philosophical considerations. According to his own statement, the scriptural witness to the incarnation does not allow an understanding of ubiquity and the human nature of Christ must be understood as standing in the limitations in human flesh also with reference to its mutual relation with the divine nature of the Son of God. His Christology does not permit the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament. The human nature and the divine nature are not to be understood as coming into direct mutual relationship. The Lord's Supper therefore brings us into communion with the divine nature, but not the human nature, for only the divine nature can be of saving value.

²²² *Kuyper I* 1866, pp. 203 ff.

It has nothing to do with the bread and wine as such. The value of the elements is that the Lord makes use of them as the outward signs of fellowship in his body and blood. Thus the Lord's Supper is a social phenomenon which the Lord has instituted to implement fellowship between Christians and to strengthen their hope and their remembrance of his sacrifice and the forgiveness of sins which he achieved on the cross and gives directly from the cross.

It is not difficult to see why the proclamation of such a doctrine would meet with strong resistance and even hostility among Lutherans, especially if the person who is proclaiming it claims that he wishes to unite Lutherans and Reformed in one church. From the standpoint of the Lutherans, Lasco's Christology is the stumbling block, because it does not allow Christ to be bodily present in the elements. No church union could be possible without the resolution of these problems. One doctrinal position must give way to the other; they cannot coexist.

Lasco fundamentally changed the direction of the Protestant Church in Poland. It was through his efforts that the influence of the Swiss Reformation quickly came to predominate. Now the Protestant Church in Minor Poland became the Reformed Church.

Lasco's earliest appearance was at the convocation at Iwanowice on January 1, 1557. This synod was concerned with the implementation of the terms of the union negotiated with the Bohemian Brethren, about which some concerns had been expressed by the Protestants of Minor Poland. The ministers immediately turned to Lasco for his evaluation. No evaluation was immediately forthcoming, and the delegates resolved to approach the Bohemian Brethren asking whether some of the language of the union might be further refined. Lasco indicated that they should make revisions with the regard to ceremonies, rites, and observances of Bohemian Brethren, but that the sphere of the office of presbyter were not subject to change, since presbyters are ministers and pastors of Jesus Christ, and therefore their offices must remain. No overt criticism of the Bohemian Brethren as such was offered. Lasco

preferred to recommend a contrary position in a more settled manner.²²³

Again on June 15-18, 1557 in the synod at Włodzisław Lasco indicated a continued favorable attitude toward union with Bohemians. Visitors to the synod from Bohemian Brethren asked whether the terms of the union were being implemented, especially with regard to matters of ceremony and church order. Concerns were raised by the Reformed concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper of the Bohemian Brethren. Representatives of the Bohemians thought that the union introduced their teachings concerning the real presence of Christ which Minor Poles had never accepted.²²⁴ These questions were not directly addressed. Instead, on behalf of the synod Lasco asked that the Reformed be given again a copy of Koźminek Union document, since many present in the synod had not participated in the original negotiations. We see evidence of the influence of Lasco in the statement made in this synod by members of the Church in Minor Poland, that they were concerned that the Koźminek Union document should neither impede upon their Christian freedom with regard to ceremonies and order, nor impede the possibility of entering into relationships with other Christian churches not included in the union. Lasco personally raised the question whether for the sake of Polish Protestantism it might not be advisable that the groups represented in this synod enter into a theological discussions with the Lutherans.²²⁵ For this purpose he proposed that a colloquium with the Lutherans be organized.²²⁶

The results of Lasco's influence can also be seen in the description of the proceedings of the colloquium held at Lipnik in Moravia, on October 25, 1558. Here again the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was a

²²³ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 173.

²²⁴ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 179.

²²⁵ The Minor Polish Reformed who were in the union with the Bohemian Brethren, saw the possibility after the Koźminek Union of 1555 that closer alignment between the Lutheran and Bohemian Eucharistic theologies might provide the key to Protestant unity in Poland. The terms of Koźminek Union were reaffirmed in Pińczów in 1556, Włodzisław in 1557, and Książ in 1560. *Akta synodów I* 1966, 53, 179; *Akta synodów II* 1972, 32.

²²⁶ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 201.

point of contention between the Minor Poles and the Bohemian Brethren. To answer Polish concerns, the Brethren presented the synod with a detailed description of their doctrinal position concerning the Supper and the nature of Christ's presence in relation to the bread and wine and other issues.²²⁷ The Poles did not find this definition acceptable.

²²⁷ "Christi verbis: Hoc est Corpus meum, hic est Sanguis meus, simplicissime credendum esse docemus. Quia nolumus, ut relationes Hoc et Hic alio quam ad panem et vinum referantur, ut Habrovanitae faciunt, nec admittimus phrases: in hoc, sub hoc, cum hoc, quae ab annis plus minus 50 exclusae sunt. Item, Hoc sum ego. Nec de solis nudis prorsus et vacuis symbolis intelligi ea volumus, sed re vera, quod dicitur, ita esse, panem Corpus, vinum Sanguinem.

Dicimus tamen sacramentaliter, et ea formula primum excludimus a pane praesentiam personae Christi, quia dicit accepto pane: Hoc est Corpus, non autem: Hoc sum ego. Item, praesentiam Carnis Christi realem, substantialem, carnalem, quia iam cessaret esse sacramentum. Item, immensitatem, gloriam et vivi Corporis opinionem, quia expresse dicitur: quod traditur, quod formam mortalitatis nondum exuerat. Item, excludimus panis exinanitionem, panis enim vere natura sua panis manet et vinum vinum. Figmentum ergo est, quod de transsubstantiatione dicitur.

His exclusis ea formula loquendi sacramentaliter docemus, secundo, quo scilicet modo essendi panis Corpus Christi sit et vinum Sanguis. Nimirum sacramentali, id est, qui non mutatis rerum symbolis facit, ut quoque sint, quod dicuntur, non naturaliter, cum hoc a sua natura non habeant, sed per attributionem Domini et institutionem auctoritativam, ut possint efficaciter et significare ac repraesentare et exhibere id, quod dicuntur, eaque ratione esse et non putari sola nuda symbola. Exempli gratia, cera natura sua cera est. Cum autem accedit sigillum ad ceram, iam propter attributionem superioris magistratus dicitur et est quodammodo fides, confirmatio, maiestas regia vel ducalis, non repraesentatione reali, sed attributa, nec sola denominatione, sed praesenti efficacia, quia et vere attestatur ac confirmat. Et si violatur, non cera violata, sed maiestas regia violata dicitur et fit. Extra usum, cera simplex est.

Sic panis et vinum in usu a Domino instituto attributione dicta Caro et Sanguis Salvatoris sunt, dicto modo.

Hinc concludimus pane eso edi Corpus Christi sacramentaliter ore etiam propter dictam connexionem.

Eti etiam a malis sacramentaliter, quod expresse Paulus dicit: Patres eandem escam comedisse, at non in omnibus complacuit Deo. Item: Qui edit indigne, reus fit Corporis etc.

Hinc contrahitur reatus ac poena: Iudicium, inquit, sibi edit, etc. Inde multi mortui, etc., quia Caro Christi, illa, quae pro nobis in mortem tradita est, et Sanguis indigne edebatur.

Ducatur exemplum a verbo. Verbum est organum Spiritus S. Quia dicit: Non estis vos loquentes etc., item: Spiritus S. arguet etc. Et quodammodo praesens est in verbo Spiritus S.

Although Lasco was not present, his Calvinistic teachings had taken root, and agreement between the Bohemians and the Poles had become increasingly difficult. Now differences were evident not only in minor outward ceremonies, but also in basic theological approaches. On this basis the Minor Poles asked that they be permitted to alter the Polish edition of the *Bohemian Confession* to correspond to their theological position. The Bohemians, of course, refused this request, suggesting that it would be more appropriate for the Poles to frame their own doctrinal article and confession.²²⁸

Having succeeded in turning the congregations in Minor Poland to his Calvinist theology, Lasco now turned his attention toward Major Poland where Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren predominated. The evaluation of historians, such as Elert and Любовичь, is that Lasco's purpose was to 'evangelize' the Lutherans and 'complete' the Reformation by spreading Calvinism.²²⁹ Lasco himself indicated that his only purpose was to achieve friendly union between the non-Roman Churches. Through his influence, the synods of the Minor Polish Reformed Church stated this to be their goal. Lasco's aim appeared to go beyond the establishment of friendly relations. While traveling to Königsberg in February 1558, he arranged to meet with Lutheran nobles of Major Poland and proceeded to attempt to convert them to Calvinism. The most influential Lutheran was Stanisław Ostroróg who was married to

At cum in aures perfidorum infertur verbum vere praedicatum, non sola vox et repercussio vocis, sed Spiritus S. ingeritur in aures eorum. (Non intelligatur de substantia Spiritus S.). Ideo rei sunt non ob nudam vocem nudi verbi, sed rei sunt in Spiritum S. Ut: Vos semper restitistis Spiritui S. Item: Tolerabilius erit Sodomae etc. Item: Si non venissem etc.

Sicut ergo verum verbum audiunt impii et ideo rei fiunt, cum non credunt in Spiritum S. et damnationem sibi attrahunt, sic verum Sacramentum et rem Sacramenti sacramentaliter impii etiam usurpant.

In effectu tamen differentia est, quia quod piis est ad salutem, hoc impiis ad ruinam. Et sic totus Christus in verbo, sacramentis ministrisque suis impiis ad ruinam est etc.

Haec de spirituali sumptione non intelligantur, a qua prorsus excluduntur impii. Ideo in morte manent." *Akta synodów I* 1966, 292-293.

²²⁸ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 294.

²²⁹ *Elert* 1962, 282; *Любовичь* 1883, 242.

Lasco's sister. He carefully listened to his arguments, but according to his later correspondence he indicates that Lasco failed in his objective. "He accomplished nothing, he only created dissention."²³⁰

Upon his arrival in Königsberg on April 14, 1558 he entered into a public disputation concerning the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar and the two natures of Christ. Here again he was unsuccessful in moving the Lutherans from their doctrinal position. After the disputation he sought to regain the favor of the Lutherans by presenting a summary of his doctrinal position and calling upon them to enter into fraternal association lovingly in order that they might do battle together against the Papist Church and the power of the Antichrist. Again he was not successful in achieving his goal.²³¹

Lasco saw the importance of consolidating the church's confession in a singular liturgical expression. When he arrived in Poland he found the Protestant congregations to be in a state of disarray. Attempts to implement the order of worship of Hermann von Wied, and, later, the Bohemian Brethren, had not met with general success. The influence of the nobility was very strong and often led the congregations in directions which they did really desire to follow. However, their authority were insufficient to overcome the direction set by the nobles. We must also note, however, that within the Polish Protestants there was still no common mind in matter theological and liturgical. Theological discussions in the synods had revealed wide ranging differences but had been unsuccessful in their attempts to overcome them. Lasco was aware of the nature and scope of the situation. He was not personally inclined to seek closer alliance with the Bohemian Brethren, because their theological and liturgical views were quite different from his own. His interest was to reshape the Polish Protestants into an image which would give precedence to the standards for which John Calvin and he stood. He wanted a Calvinist Church and sought to implement his vision without creating any strong antipathy to Bohemian theology and worship.

²³⁰ "Ex Polonia habeo litteras nempe ab ipsomet d. Stanislao Ostrorogo, qui scribit dominum a Lascho fuisse in majori Polonia et fere nihil obtinuisse, tantum seruisse diseordiam." *Любовичь* 1883, 243.

²³¹ *Wotschke* 1908 b, 340; *Kowalska* 1999, 70.

His proposals concerning church order were modeled after the provisions of his *Forma ac Ratio*, and these provisions became the standard for the examination of those seeking the pastoral office. These provisions covered doctrinal matters concerning God and the church, but included also statements concerning the place of the minister in the pastoral duties and church discipline within the congregation. His suggestions concerning a catechism for the instruction of the people again was built upon the work which he had done in Western Europe and England. Provision was made for the organization of the congregation. In its leadership structure were the superintendent, minister, and the presbyters, or *gubernatores ecclesiae*, to whom the ministers would have to give account of the conduct of their own lives, and deacons who were to assist the minister in administering the material and other means of the parish.²³² The superintendent was a minister on the same level as other ministers, as was also the case with the apostle Peter, and like the other ministers, the superintendent was answerable to the church. It was the special responsibility of the superintendent to work for the well-being of the church by supervising the ministers, by protecting the church against false and misleading doctrine, and by mediating disputes between the ministers.²³³ Ministers were to be ordained in the congregations where they served, and if a minister should move to another parish, his term of service there was to again begin with another service of ordination in the presence of the congregation. Monthly pastoral conferences were proposed at which ministers, presbyters, and deacons were to receive instruction in doctrine and in the proper administration of the church discipline.²³⁴ Over all, Lasco's proposals show a strong Calvinist influence and are reminiscent of the reforms which he had previously introduced in East Friesland and the refugees congregation in London.

Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* of 1550 includes provision for the celebration of the Lord's Supper on the first Sunday of the month. A period of fourteen days before Communion Sunday are designated as a period of preparation. Everyone in the congregation is urged to register their in-

²³² *Kuyper II* 1866, 53-55; *Naunin* 1910, 197.

²³³ *Kuyper II* 1866, 57-59.

²³⁴ *Kuyper II* 1866, 52-55; *Naunin* 1910, 209.

tention to commune with the elders, and all are expected to come unless prevented by serious illness or other pressing necessity. The celebration of Holy Communion is seen to be the highest congregational act, because in it the congregation realizes its true form as *Corpus Christi mysticum*. A final preparation is designated to be held on the last day before the celebration at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and all who intend to participate are expected to be present. For the celebration itself a table is covered with a white linen cloth and the participants gather around the Lord's table. In the midst of the table is the minister, and when the celebration has been completed what remained of the bread and wine are to be taken to the poor, the sick, and the elderly, thus enforcing the close connection between the Lord's Supper and diaconal work.²³⁵

The celebration of the Holy Communion is to be celebrated on Sunday morning, and the sermon is to consider the Holy Supper, its signs, its mysterious significance, and its aim. After the prayers, which conclude with the Our Father, the preacher admonishes the congregation to be worthy to come to the Supper. Then follows the Lord's Supper prayer, for which the congregation kneels. The recitation of the narrative of the Lord's Supper follows the text of 1 Corinthians 11:23-29. At the close of the exhortation the minister breaks bread for himself, the seniors, the deacons, and all others who are around the table, saying the words of Paul from 1 Corinthians 10: "The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ." The bread is then distributed with these words: "Take, eat, and remember the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was given for us into death on the tree of the cross for the forgiveness of all our sins."²³⁶ Then over the cup: "The cup which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ," and then it is given with these words: "Take, drink, and remember the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ was shed for us on the tree of the cross for the forgiveness

²³⁵ *Kuyper II* 1866, pp. 114 ff.

²³⁶ "Accipite, edite et meminertis, corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis in mortem traditum esse in crucis patibulo ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum." *Kuyper II* 1866, 163.

of all our sins.”²³⁷ Men commune first, women second, while one of the ministers reads from John 6, John 14, and John 15. When all have partaken the minister says this to the entire congregation: “Believe and do not doubt, all who are participating in the remembrance of the death of Christ while reflecting upon its mystery, that you have a sure and salutary Communion with Him in His body and blood, unto life everlasting. Amen.”²³⁸ Then comes the prayer of thanksgiving, hymns based on psalms, a blessing and then, as the people dismissed, a collection is taken for the poor.²³⁹

This service Lasco also desired to introduce into the Church in Minor Poland. His authority was great, and many of his proposals related to church order, ordination of the ministry, congregational organization, presbyterial offices, and church discipline met with widespread acceptance, and thus some level of uniformity was achieved. Many of his liturgical proposals, however, were thought to be too innovative. On September 4-15, 1558 the synod of Włodzisław again sought to promote unity in ceremonies and worship, indicating that many groups were not favorably inclined to accept the directives set down in *Forma ac Ratio*.²⁴⁰ Those not fully inclined to Calvinist doctrine would find his order for Holy Communion too radical. His principle goal to unite the congregations around the principles and forms which he had put forward for the celebration of Holy Communion was not achieved. A synod convened on January 13, 1560 at Pińczów within a few days of his death again faced the issue, and concluded that the congregations

²³⁷ “Accipite, bibite et memineritis sanguinem Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis fusum esse in crucis patibulo ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum.” *Kuyper II* 1866, 164.

²³⁸ “Credite et ne dubitate omnes, qui Coenae huic Dominicae in memoriam mortis Christi participastis cum mysterii sui reputatione, habere vos certam et salutarem cum ipso Communionem in corpore et sanguine suo ad vitam aeternam. Amen.” *Kuyper II* 1866, 165.

²³⁹ *Kuyper II* 1866, 165-169.

²⁴⁰ “Hospites petierunt pro uno summe necessario promovendi regni Christi in nostra Polonia servandam esse uniformitatem in ministerio publico tam in doctrina quam in ritibus; disconvenientia enim horum plurimos scandalizat et offendit infirmiores fratres maxime vero in sententia sacramenti Cenae Dominicae et ritu eius.” *Akta synodów I* 1966, 271.

should be advised to implement Lasco's proposals until such time, as by the mercy of God the Church in Minor Poland should be properly and completely reformed and unity achieved.²⁴¹

The period between 1560 and 1570 was important as a time for the working out of theological and liturgical relationships between the Reformed, the Bohemian Brethren, and the Lutherans. Johannes a Lasco had seen the need for the development of a positive relationships between the Reformed and the Lutherans, not least because he understood that both popular sentiment and royal regulation would insist upon a united Protestantism. There could be no multiplicity of Protestant Churches, each claiming its particular jurisdiction. Recognition and acceptance would require that all classical Protestant Churches be united within one national organization with a common confession of faith. However, Lasco's earlier attempt to establish union with the Lutherans had been a complete failure. He had not taken into account the significant differences between the Lutheran doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar and the Reformed understanding of Holy Communion. He had not recognized the importance of the theological dimension of Lutheran sacramental theology and its intimate relationship with Lutheran Christology. The Reformed regarded these as dogmatic issues of only minor importance. For Lutherans, however, they were regarded as essential components of the evangelical confession of the doctrine of Christ.

The Bohemian Brethren had a deeper understanding of the mind of the Lutherans. There had already been a long history of polemical confrontations between the Bohemians and the Lutherans dating back to the time of Lukas of Prague and Dr. Martin Luther. After initial hesitation, Luther and other Wittenberg theologians in 1533 adjudged the Bohemian understanding of the sacrament to be, if not 'Lutheran,' at least unobjectionable. On the one hand Bohemian Brethren might possibly be able to mediate between the Lutherans and Calvinists in the

²⁴¹ "Petierunt, ut in omnibus ecclesiis uniformitas rituum servetur. Responsum: Quandoquidem Deus per suam mirabilem gratiam nobis apostolum Patriae nostrae, d. Iohannem a Lasco miserat ad nostras ecclesias instaurandas, dignum ergo esse videtur, ut eius formula omnes utantur interim, donec Dominus misereatur nostrae Patriae, ut unanimes sit ecclesiarum constitutio et reformatio." *Akta synodów II* 1972, 4.

efforts to achieve unity in doctrine. However, there were already clear evidences of strained relationships between the Lutherans and the Bohemians in Major Poland over doctrinal issues. These strained relationships led to disagreements between the two groups and often resulted in open disputes. Additionally, the Lutherans could not have failed to take offense at the successful efforts of the Bohemians to convert influential Lutheran magnates to their fold.²⁴²

Lasco's vision of a united Protestantism was in some measure achieved with the signing in 1570 of the *Sandomierz Consensus*. In it all three Protestant groups were mutually recognized as true Christian churches, whose common goal was the strengthening of the bounds of union that they might be one Kingdom in Christ. Unfortunately, the *Consensus* does not bear witness to a common confession, worship, and theology of the sacraments. It is instead a pledge by the churches to work together toward a common theology of the Eucharist, not yet achieved. The problematic nature of this *Consensus* is revealed when we examine carefully the history of the intense sacramental discussions of the Bohemians and the Lutherans in the decade before the signing of this document.

On April 15-18, 1557 at the synod of Włodzisław, the Reformed invited the Lutherans and the Bohemians to discuss with them the possibility of union.²⁴³ This invitation was rebuffed by Lutheran passivity. The Lutherans did not think that there was sufficient commonality in sacramental teaching to make the union possible. The convocation in Gołuchów held on October 16, 1557 failed to produce any positive results, because the Lutherans were not present, and the Reformed used this fact as one of the reasons for their own refusal to participate. The Bohemians saw that the vision of the Reformed was unrealistic, because Polish Lutherans were now beginning to question Bohemian sacramental orthodoxy. They expressed the conviction that no further discus-

²⁴² Fox 1924, 28.

²⁴³ "A wszakoż przedtem jeszcze, mogło li by to być za radą braci, żeby chcieli z luteryjany tu w Wielkiej Polsce mieć colloquium a one w taż uniją z sobą a z nami wprawić, a tak jednomyślnie się wszyscy przeciwko papieżnikom zastawić, a Króla o wolność ewangeliji prosić." *Akta synodów I* 1966, 201.

sions with the Lutherans were necessary, since the agreement had been reached with Luther and Melanchthon in 1538.²⁴⁴ The Lutherans were invited to the Bohemian synod in Poznań on November 1, 1560.²⁴⁵ The eighth canon of that synod recommended that universal agreement be sought concerning the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament.²⁴⁶ In 1563 the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren conferred together to consider the charges which Benedykt Morgenstern (†1599) had raised to Bohemians.²⁴⁷ These included questions concerning repentance born of faith, the role of confirmation, and, most significantly, the presence of Christ under the figures of the bread and wine. On January 28, 1567 at the synod in Poznań, Lutherans again leveled against the Bohemians the charges which had earlier been raised by Morgenstern. In response the Bohemians appealed to the Wittenberg Faculty, which disallowed the charges leveled against the Bohemians and declared the orthodoxy of the *Bohemian Confession*.²⁴⁸ Crypto-Calvinists on the Faculty of Wittenberg could be expected to issue an opinion which approved the position of the Bohemians. The faculty's answer did indeed measure up to Bohemian expectations.

²⁴⁴ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 228-229; The confession of the Bohemians published in Wittenberg in 1538 includes a foreword written by Martin Luther in which he expresses his approval of the Bohemian position.

²⁴⁵ *Lukaszewicz* 1835, 54; *Akta synodów II* 1972, 69 fn. 1.

²⁴⁶ "O zgodzie w porządku z inszymi kościoły. Będąc w takim rządzie mamy insze kościoły miłować, chociażby takiego porządku nie mieli, jedno mieli słowo Boże, znać je za braty i gdyby się trafiło, chwalić Pana Boga z nimi i społecznością świętą, braterstwo <im> pokazywać, chociażby też było nieco różnego, jedno w czym by się zbawienia nie obrażało a żeby nie było bałwochwalstwo. I choćby też smysłu doskonałego kto nie doszedł w tajemnicach Wieczerzy Pańskiej, jedno żeby znał społecznością Ciała i Krwie Pana naszego Jezusa Krystusa Wieczerzą, a nie gołym znakiem, taki ma być znoszon, jako rozkazuje Duch Boży, abyśmy trwali w tym, którym jeszcze nie objawiono jest, bo mocen Pan im też objawić." *Akta synodów II* 1972, 71.

²⁴⁷ "Benedykt Morgenstern, De Valdensium schismate ex publico colloquio Thoroniae cum fratribus Bohemicis habito in praesentia duorum palatinorum et aliquot satraparum Polonicorum et fere ducentorum civium anno 1563 8 Septembris die." *Akta synodów II* 1972, 169.

²⁴⁸ *Lukaszewicz* 1835, 69-70 fn.*; *Wotschke* 1911 a, 239-240; *Akta synodów II* 1972, 210-212.

“We have read your Confession before and recognized that in most parts of doctrine and in all the chief articles it agrees with the Confession of our Church, although certain things are expressed in less detail and there is some variety in church practices. Since we do, however, agree in the foundation and in the doctrine necessary for salvation, we have never held that your church and our church are alien.”²⁴⁹

The favorable Wittenberg *Gutachten* seems to have had the desired positive effect. The Lutherans met with the Bohemians in colloquium on February 14, 1570 in Poznań. This colloquium came about at the same time that the king was expressing his desire that his Protestant subjects should be united under one confession of faith.²⁵⁰

In this colloquium a key point in the discussion was concern with the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, more particularly the nature of Christ’s presence in the bread and the wine and the adoration of the body of Christ in the Supper. The Lutherans insisted upon the use of the terminology of the *Augsburg Confession* and their Lutheran fathers, that Christ’s presence in the Supper is *substantialiter, realiter, essentialiter, corporaliter*.²⁵¹ The Bohemian Brethren, while insisting that the bread is the true body of Christ and the wine is his true blood, rejected the Lu-

²⁴⁹ „Wir haben schon vor dieser Zeit eure Konfession gelesen und erkannt, daß in den meisten Teilen der Lehre und in allen Hauptartikeln Übereinstimmung mit dem Bekenntnis unserer Kirche herrscht, wenn auch einiges weniger ausführlich gesagt wird und in den kirchlichen Gebräuchen manches anders geordnet ist. Da wir jedoch im Grunde und in der zur Seligkeit notwendigen Lehre übereinstimmen, haben wir niemals angenommen, daß eure und unsere Kirche sich fremd seien.” *Wotschke* 1911 a, 241; English translation quoted from: *Pelikan* 1947, 836.

²⁵⁰ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 227.

²⁵¹ “Ut igitur ad articulum controversum accedamus de Cena Domini, notandum est, quod nos aliquibus terminis loquendi iuxta Confessionem Augustanam et doctores eiusdem Confessionis utimur, quibus praesentiam Christi et corporis eius in Cena explicamus esse (scilicet corpus Christi), substantialiter, realiter, essentialiter, corporaliter. A quibus terminis fratres declinant neque iis utuntur, immo in sua Responsione eos terminos loquendi crassa adverbia appellant et sibi ab iis cavere censent. Quare si solida inter nos fieri debet concordia et fides nostra de praesentia corporis Christi, ut sit vera, necesse est, ut etiam hos terminos loquendi iuxta Confessionem Augustanam et doctores admittant fratres et illos suscipiant.” *Akta synodów II* 1972, 239.

theran terminology, preferring to define Christ's presence in the earthly elements as *sacramentaliter*,²⁵² according to which Christ's true body and true blood are present in a sacramental manner, that is, in a manner which is unique to the Sacrament of the Altar. On the basis of their interpretation they refused to adopt the *Augsburg Confession*, protesting that their own confessional position was wholly correct and adequate. Concerning adoration, the Lutherans insisted that their position differed from that of the Papists in that they did not address their adoration to the earthly elements but to Christ present in them. For their part, the Bohemians stated that they believed that Christ is to be worshipped in heaven and not in the sacrament.²⁵³ This indicated that the Bohemians did not agree to the Lutheran unitive understanding of the relationship between bread and body, wine and blood. On these points, which included also the nature of faith of children in Baptism, the Lutherans and the Bohemians were not able to agree. They determined to postpone further discussion these matters to the general synod to be held in Sandomierz.

On April 9-14, 1570 representatives of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed, Lutherans, and Bohemian Brethren met in the general synod at Sandomierz to formulate a document mutually recognizing the basic orthodoxy of all three groups and concerning the future creation of a united Protestant Church with one confession and worship. In their attempts to maintain their own particular theological and ecclesiastical

²⁵² "Fratres. Existimamus nos dilucide sententiam et fidem nostram de Cena Domini veraque praesentia corporis Christi in Cena exposuisse tam in Confessione, quam in Responsione nostra, cum dicimus et formalibus verbis Salvatoris loquimur in Cena Domini ea utentes ad salutem nostram. Panis est verum corpus Christi, vinum est verus sanguis Christi sacramentaliter. Ceterum, quod attinet ad vocabula sive terminos, quibus theologi quidam et vos quoque uti soletis nosque adhortamini, ut illis utamur quoque et vobiscum loquamur praesentiam Christi vel corporis eius affirmantes, quod sit substantialiter et corporaliter etc., arbitramur satis perspicue causam reddidisse, cur ab illis terminis semper abstinuimus et hodie abstinemus, ne scilicet aliter loquamur et quiddam plus asseramus, quam nos ipse Salvator edocuit. Contenti igitur Salvatoris verbis et definitione illius praesentiae vel corporis ipsius in Cena, propriis verbis loquimur cum Domino nostro Iesu Christo, quia de Cena Domini melius loqui nullus hominum potest, quam ipse Filius Dei locutus est." *Akta synodów II* 1972, 239-240.

²⁵³ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 240.

positions on their own grounds, each of the three churches presented its classical confession as a working model from which its general agreement could be drawn. For the Bohemians this was the *Confessio Bohemica* 1535, which, as they pointed out, had already been accepted by Luther and the Lutheran Reformers as an acceptable confession of faith. The Lutherans took the position that the *Bohemian Confession* was only one of several and these confessions did not represent a united position. Therefore, Lutherans suggested that the *Confessio Augustana* 1530 alone could serve as the model. The Reformed, who were clearly in the majority, looked to the *Second Helvetic Confession* of 1566 as representing the true spirit of Protestantism. By force of numbers the Reformed prevailed.²⁵⁴ The *Second Helvetic Confession* was read aloud and publicly discussed on April 11-12. The Reformed moved the acceptance of their confession. The Bohemians noted that such acceptance would be possible only if they would be allowed to retain their own *Bohemian Confession* and their distinct form of worship and ceremonies. Surprised by this sudden move, Superintendent Erazm Gliczner said on behalf of the Lutherans that it was impossible that they should give up the *Augsburg Confession*. He suggested that instead of accepting the Calvinist confession, theologians of each group should meet together to formulate an acceptable common confession. A confession acceptable to all would have to be the fruit of their own labors, not the result of the victory of one group over the other two. It was agreed additionally that a *Formula Recessus* be formulated stating the agreement which the three parties had achieved. The basis for this *Formula* was the agreement which had been formulated by the Reformed and the Lutherans in their meeting in Vilnius on March 2, 1570.²⁵⁵ The Lutherans considered the bare text of the *Consensus* to be inadequate. They therefore moved that the text of Melanchthon's *Confessio Saxonica* 1551 be included

²⁵⁴ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 272-279.

²⁵⁵ "Interea przyszła tu conclusio, abyśmy teraz na dowód tej zgody spisali taki reces, jaki w Wilnie jest złożon, w którym by był consensus de re sacramentaria etc." *Akta synodów II* 1972, 291.

with it as an indication of the proper interpretation of the *Consensus*.²⁵⁶ On April 14 the *Formula Recensus*, which begins with the words: *Consensus mutuus in religionis Christianae* ... is the primary source for the study of the common agreement.²⁵⁷

According to the opening words of the *Consensus*, the Protestant Churches of Poland and Lithuania had reached what may be called a 'minimal' agreement on certain essential articles and formulas of Christian doctrine.²⁵⁸ Included among these were the doctrines concerning God, Holy Trinity, the Incarnation of Christ, Justification, and others. The most difficult part in the *Consensus* was the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. With reference to it, the *Formula* states:

"Moreover, as far as the unfortunate difference of opinion on the Lord's Supper is concerned, we agree on the meaning of the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, as they have been understood in an orthodox manner by the fathers, and especially by Irenaeus, who said that this mystery consists of two elements, namely, an earthly and a heavenly one. Nor do we assert that those elements or signs are bare and empty; we state, rather, that at the same time by faith they actually [*re ipsa*] exhibit and present that which they signify. Finally, to put it more clearly and expressly, we have agreed to believe and confess that the substantial presence of Christ is not merely signified, but that the body and blood of the Lord are represented, distributed, and exhibited to those who eat by the symbols applied to the thing itself, and that the symbols are not at all bare,

²⁵⁶ "Denique Gliczneri exigebant, ut integer articulus ille Saxonicus de Cena Domini recessui addatur." *Akta synodów II 1972*, 292.

²⁵⁷ *Consensus mutuus in religionis Christianae capitibus inter ecclesias Maioris et Minoris Poloniae, Russiae, Lithuaniae, Samogitiae, quae iuxta Confessionem Augustanam, fratrum Valdensium (ut vocant) et Helveticam aliquo modo a se dissentire videbantur, factus in synodo Sendomiriensi anno 1570 14 Aprilis. Akta synodów II 1972*, 295.

²⁵⁸ "Posteaquam diu multumque cum sectariis, tritheitis, Ebionitis, anabaptistis conflictatum esset, tandem divino favore ex tot tantisque certaminibus et deplorandis contentionibus emersimus, visum est iisdem ecclesiis Polonicis reformatis et orthodoxis, quae in quibusdam capitibus et formulis doctrinae hostibus veritatis et evangelii minime consentire videbantur, pacis et concordiae studio synodum convocare ac consensionem mutuam testari." *Akta synodów II 1972*, 295.

according to the nature of the sacraments. But lest the diversity of manners of speaking bring forth another controversy, we have decided by mutual consent, in addition to the article which is inserted into our Confession, to add the article of the Confession of the Saxon churches on the Lord's Supper, sent to the Council of Trent in 1551, which we acknowledge as correct and have accepted."²⁵⁹

It is evident from this text that the earlier dissention concerning the Lord's Supper had not been resolved. However, all parties agreed that the Words of Christ concerning the Supper should be understood in a proper manner according to the pattern set by the Church Fathers, most notably by Irenaeus, who distinguished between the earthly and heavenly elements in the Supper. All three groups believed this to be an acceptable formula, perhaps because each saw in it a prototype of their own position. The assertion was made that the elements are not bare and empty signs, but by faith really exhibit and present that to which they point. That is, the substantial presence of Christ is not merely signified, but his body and blood are understood to be represented, distributed, and exhibited to the communicants. We may note that lacking here is the typical Lutheran understanding of the locatedness of Christ in the bread and the wine. Indeed, no reference is made to the bread and wine at all. Neither is it clear how the phrase *Substantiali praesentia* is to be understood. It may be this lack of clarity which led the Lutherans to ask for the insertion of the words *substantialem praesentiam cor-*

²⁵⁹ English translation quoted from: *Pelikan* 1947, 827-828. "Deinde vero quantum ad infelix illud dissidium de Cena Domini attinet, convenimus in sententia verborum, ut ilia orthodoxe intellecta sunt a patribus ac imprimis Irenaeo, qui duabus rebus, scilicet terrena et coelesti, mysterium hoc constare dixit. Neque elementa signave ilia nuda et vacua esse asserimus, sed simul re ipsa credentibus exhibere et praestare fide, quod significant. Denique, ut expressius clariusque loquamur, convenimus, ut credamus et confiteamur substantialem praesentiam Christi non significari dumtaxat, sed vere in Cena vescentibus representari, distribui et exhiberi symbolis adiectis ipsi rei minime nudis, secundum sacramentorum naturam. Ne vero diversitas formularum loquendi contentionem aliquam pariat, placuit praeter articulum, qui est insertus nostrae Confessionis, mutuo consensu ascribere articulum Confessionis Saxonicae de Cena Domini ad Tridentinum Concilium a. D. 1551 missae, quem etiam pium agnoscimus et recipimus." *Akta synodów II* 1972, 292-293.

poris Christi.²⁶⁰ This request was rejected by the Reformed. However the Lutherans were successful in insisting upon the insertion here of the sacramental section from the *Confessio Saxonica 1551*.²⁶¹ The Reformed were not opposed to this insertion, perhaps because the *Confessio Saxonica* leaves open many possibilities of interpretation. It is difficult to distill the essence of the sacramental teaching of this confession. It does not speak in clear terms of the relationship between bread and body, and the cup and blood. The Lutherans, however, regarded this confession as sufficiently specific, and at the same time the Reformed regarded it to be sufficiently vague. Both parties clearly desired to reach a measure of agreement which would make it possible for them to move forward together. For this reason they included a fraternal admonition that all their brethren should recognize this mutual *Consensus* and build upon it by common worship and intercommunion.²⁶² Additionally, it was proposed by the Lutherans that further meetings be held and that the goal be set that a *corpus doctrine* or common confession be produced which would be acceptable to all three Churches in Poland, Lithuania, and Samogitia.²⁶³

The *Formula Reccessus* made it clear that the churches which had subscribed to it regarded it as the first step in process which was to result in the reunion of the Protestants into one church with a common confession. It appears that the *Consensus* did not represent a real at-

²⁶⁰ *Akta synodów II 1972, 292-293.*

²⁶¹ English translation of Confession Caxonixa, see: *Johann Michael Reu* The Augsburg Confession. Chicago 1930, 411-418.

²⁶² “Ad haec recipimus mutuo consensu omni studio nostris fratribus omnibus persuasuros atque eos invituros ad hunc Christianum et unanimum consensum amplectendum et obsignandum, praecipue auditione verbi frequentando tam huius, quam alterius cuiusque confessionis coetus et sacramentorum usu, observato tamen recto ordine et gradu tam disciplinae, quam consuetudinis uniuscuiusque ecclesiae.” *Akta synodów II 1972, 296-297.*

²⁶³ “Atque ut colophonem huic consensui et mutuae concordiae imponamus ad hanc fraternam societatem conservandam tuendamque, non incommodum fore putamus in locum certum convenire, ubi una ex mutuis Confessionibus compendium corporis doctrinae, improbate hostium veritatis ad id adacti, eliceremus et in publicum edeamus, ut invidorum hominum ora obturarentur, cum maximo omnium piorum solacio, sub titulo omnium ecclesiarum Polonicarum reformatarum et Lithuanicarum et Samogiticarum nostrae Confessionis consentientium.” *Akta synodów II 1972, 297.*

tempt by all the ecclesiastical parties to more fully understand and appreciate the theological positions of the three participating groups. Both the Lutherans and the Reformed appear to have moved closer to each other in this *Consensus*. The Reformed were now willing to make use of such terms as ‘substantial presence,’ and the Lutherans expressed a willingness to move toward intercommunion.

How are we to understand the sudden apparent willingness of the Lutherans to abandon the terminology upon which they had insisted in their colloquium with the Bohemians at Poznań on February 14, 1570? There they had sought to require of the Bohemians the acceptance of the terminology characteristic of those who confessed the *Augsburg Confession* – *substantialiter, realiter, essentialiter, corporaliter*. Of these four words only *substantialiter* appears in the *Consensus*. Historians Łukaszewicz,²⁶⁴ Halecki,²⁶⁵ Szujski²⁶⁶ and Pelikan²⁶⁷ posit that the chief consideration behind the *Sandomierz Consensus* was political necessity and the need to present a common front against the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation and Socinianism (Anti-Trinitarianism). Only overriding political necessities could move the Lutherans to such an agreement. The problematic nature of the *Consensus* can be seen from the fact that on May 18-20 in the convocation at Poznań, when the ink of the *Consensus* was barely dry, dissention concerning the Lord’s Supper again became evident. Unable to reach the stated goal of overcoming all differences in the name of peace and concord, it was affirmed that the Supper of the Lord is to be understood according to the agreed terminology of the *Sandomierz Consensus* and the *Confessio Saxonica* of 1551.²⁶⁸

For their part, the Reformed regarded the *Consensus* as nothing less than a document of church union. Frequent references are made to it

²⁶⁴ Łukaszewicz 1835, 112.

²⁶⁵ Halecki 1915, 274-275.

²⁶⁶ Szujski 1894, 399.

²⁶⁷ Pelikan 1947, 831-833.

²⁶⁸ “De Cena Domini illam sententiam amplectimur, quae est annotata in mutuo Consensu Sandomiriensi et articulo Confessionis Saxonicae missae ad Tridentinum concilium anno Christi 1551 vitabimusque terminos, verba et explicationes a verbo Dei et hoc generali consensu et hac ipsa Confessione Saxonicarum ecclesiarum ad Tridentinum Concilium missa alienas.” *Akta synodów II* 1972, 309.

in the protocols of later Reformed synods down to the present time.²⁶⁹ Our examination of Reformed liturgies will show the influences of positions not characteristic of Reformed worship and which can only be explained as part of the legacy of the *Consensus*.²⁷⁰

Within months of the signing of the *Sandomierz Consensus*, the Reformed forwarded to the king a document which they represented to be a statement of the terms of the *Consensus* and union of the Polish Protestants. They asked that the document be accepted and that they be given legal status. This request was frustrated by the objections of the Roman Catholic bishops and their supporters in the Senate.²⁷¹ Any Protestant hopes that the publication of this agreement would occasion a significant change in the status of the Protestants were quickly dashed.

It soon came to the attention of the Lutherans that the document which the Reformed set before the king was not in fact the *Formula Recessus* to which they had consented. It was instead *Wyznanie wiary powszechnej Kościołów Krześcijańskich...*, published under the supervision of Krzysztof Trecius (Trecy, †1591), rector of the Calvinistic gymnasium in Kraków, who had played a supervisory role in its composition in the synod of Sandomierz.²⁷²

In their meeting with the Bohemians on October 4, 1570 in Poznań, the Lutherans characterized this as a misrepresentation of their common *Consensus of Sandomierz*, and stated that in their estimation it represented a calumny of the Lutheran and the Bohemian positions.²⁷³ The Lutherans, who had not been consulted, characterized this as sinful representation of the decision of the synod of Sandomierz, particularly

²⁶⁹ Lukšaitė 1999, 336.

²⁷⁰ Petkūnas 2005 a, 85-104 provides a detailed examination of the *Sandomierz Consensus*.

²⁷¹ Halecki 1915, 336-339;

²⁷² Lehmann 1937, 108-115.

²⁷³ “Praefatus est igitur Erasmus graviter accusans Cracovienses, qui violent Consensum. Żadne, pry, zgromadzenie z swoją konfesyją się wynosić nie miało, ale wszyscy, społem się zjechawszy, mieliśmy spisać corpus doctrinae. Ale bracia Krakówscy wynoszą się z swoją (od nas nie przyjętą, bo w niej wiele błędów etc.) Konfesyją et eam fere pro corpore doctrinae obrudunt, tak jakoby była universalis confessio wszystkich kościołów polskich, i waszych, i naszych, a ku temu się nie mają, aby spisowali insze corpus doctrinae.” *Akta synodów II* 1972, 314.

with regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper expressed in the *Consensus*.²⁷⁴ The Bohemians sought to pass over the event as unimportant, since it had been agreed that each church was to remain free to articulate its own particular theology and to continue to adhere to its own particular confession of faith.²⁷⁵

Even apart from its ecumenical significance, the *Confession of Sandomierz* played an important role in the establishment of a unified doctrinal position among the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed. From the first, the Reformed Church had been subjected to many diverse theological emphases. The struggle against the Anti-Trinitarians at the beginning of the seventh decade of the sixteenth century made it clear that a statement of classical Reformed orthodoxy was necessary to unite the various Reformed factions. The September 1566 signing of the *Second Helvetic Confession* by the Minor Polish Church was an important step in the movement toward the forming of a common mind.²⁷⁶ The composition of the *Sandomierz Consensus* was the final step toward the achievement of a unanimous understanding among the Reformed in Poland and Lithuania of their theological stance which was to become normative for that time.

An examination of the text of the *Confession of Sandomierz* reveals the strong influence of characteristic Reformed sacramental teaching from past generations, beginning with the writings of Ulrich Zwingli and his successors, and in particular the work of Heinrich Bullinger, the author of *Second Helvetic Confession*. It is from the standpoint of the characteristic Calvinist pattern of thought with reference to materiality and spirituality that we must examine the *Confession of Sandomierz* and evaluate its theological emphasis. Most important here is the Reformed dictum *finitum non capax infiniti*, namely, what is finite and material is not able to contain and communicate that which is infinite

²⁷⁴ "D. Stanislaus medicus addidit fratres Cracovienses omnino peccare contra generale decretum synodi Sandomiriensis, ubi ita conclusum est, ut conveniatur ad conscribendum corpus doctrinae. Item, peccare eos, qui nomina illa suspectissima in sententia de Sacramento expresse in Confessione sua posuerint etc." *Akta synodów II* 1972, 314.

²⁷⁵ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 315.

²⁷⁶ *Wotschke* 1907 b, 54; *Lehmann* 1937, 104.

and heavenly. This provides us with the key to the understanding of the relationship of the material elements to the saving person and works of Christ, the value of his presence in the sacrament, and the place of the sacrament in the life of the church.

In order to understand the place of the Lord's Supper and its significance, it must be noted first of all that the Reformed theologians find it useful to begin by positing a general definition of sacraments which fits into the Reformed pattern of thought. Thus both New Testament sacraments are understood to be outward and visible signs (*signa*) of inward and invisible blessings (*res signata*), as is stated in *Confessio Sandomiriensis*, Article XIX. The signs are designated to be sacramental in the sense that they visibly point to the spiritual blessings which God has promised.²⁷⁷ They are not understood to themselves convey the blessings and grace of God, but only point toward that grace which faith alone receives.²⁷⁸ They are observed in obedience to the Lord's command, and by means of them faith is nourished and increased.²⁷⁹

Article XXI moves beyond the *Second Helvetic Confession* in its definition of the Supper of the Lord and its benefits. The definition of the Lord's Supper is not merely a spiritual feeding of the faithful but, while not using the word 'spiritual' which had been used by Bullinger, it is simply stated that the purpose of Communion is that the faithful be fed with Christ's body and blood.²⁸⁰ These benefits are received from the hand of the minister as from the hands of the Lord himself, so

²⁷⁷ "Sákramentá tedy ábo Swiátości sá upominki táyemne álbo sprawy swięte od Bogá postánowyone / złożone s pozwirznych znákw zyemskich y z duchownych rzeczy známionowanych y z obietnice ábo słowá Bożego do nich przydaného." *Confessia* 1570, k.

²⁷⁸ "... iest błąd szkodliwy... Y tych którzy rzeczy duchowne niebieskie y łáskę Bożá ták ścisło do pozwirzchnego używania thych upominkow swiętych przywieszuyá / że mniemáyá áby káždy przestępcá użytelnik sákrámenthu Páńskye..." *Confessia* 1570, kvi.

²⁷⁹ "Thym thedy sposobem przybywa y pomnaża sie wyáry w człowieku Krześciyáńskim / y wáthpliwość przyrodzenia obchodzi..." *Confessia* 1570, lv.

²⁸⁰ "Wieczerza Páńska / ktorá y stołem Páńskim / y Eucháristiá / to iest dziekczynieniem zowiemy / iesth názwaná dla tego pospolicie Wieczerzá... Abowym iáko prawdziwie ná oney wieczerzy swoyey Pan Krystus Apostołem ciało y krew swoyę ku pożywaniu podawał / ták y dzis ná káздеy wieczerzy Páńskiey / prawdziwie wszysczy wierni ciáłem y krwią iego bywáiá násyчени." *Confessia* 1570, l-lij.

that they are united with Christ's holy body and fed through the Holy Spirit.²⁸¹ By the reception of the consecrated material elements the faith of the communicants is sealed, so that they may not doubt that the body and the blood of Christ have been given for them.

The sacraments are related to the work of Christ in that while the communicants receive the earthly elements, Christ through the Holy Spirit inwardly gives them his flesh and blood to nourish them to the eternal life.²⁸² Thus, Christ's body and blood are understood to be given simultaneously with the bread and wine, but on higher spiritual level.

In describing the manner of reception, the *Sandomierz Confession* speaks of several kinds of eating, all them basically spiritual in nature. Corporeal eating is rejected, since this food is not given for the sake of the stomach. It is the heavenly food of Christ's true body and blood that is most important.²⁸³ This differs only slightly from *Second Helvetic Confession*, which includes a very specific rejection of the reception of Christ's true body by the mouth. Indeed, Christ's body and blood cannot come to the communicants by means of fleshly eating, for such can provide no spiritual blessing, as is clearly stated in John 6:63, which *Confession of Sandomierz* quotes in this regard.²⁸⁴ This follows the pattern of the Reformed axiom *finitum non capax infiniti*. It is not earthly, but heavenly and spiritual refreshment that is offered in the Supper. Although in some cases the *Confession of Sandomierz* tries to avoid using specifically Reformed terminology, here it is stated that Christ can and must be received only by faith, so that he might dwell in his people and they in him. This clarifies the position of the confession, although the

²⁸¹ "...prawdziwą wiarą na Krystusá Pána swego pilnie pátrzáia / ták iż iákoby własnie z rąk Pána Krystusá sámeo bráli / to czo przez posługowanie sług koscielnych przijmuyą." *Confessia* 1570, lii.

²⁸² "... od sługi koscielnego bierzemy to obyczáyem widomym / pozwircznym y poświętnym / á od Pána sámeo bierzemy tho we wnątrz przez spráwę Duchá S. ktory nas karmi ciálem Krystusowym / y nápawa krwią iego ku wzrostowizywoťá wiecznego." *Confessia* 1570, liij.

²⁸³ "Abowiem nigdzyey w pismie świętym nie mász tákowych słow y terminow o tey zacney Świętości / żeby cielesnie y máteriálnym sposobem P. Krystusá wierni ieść mieli / chociaź prawdziwie ciáło j krew iego przijmuyą." *Confessia* 1570, liij.

²⁸⁴ "Abowiem nie iest tho pokarm żołądkowi ludzkiemu służyący / ále pokarm niebieski dusze wierne obżywiájący." *Confessia* 1570, liij.

use in some places of such phrases as ‘very body’ and ‘very blood’ of the Lord sounds almost Lutheran.²⁸⁵ Lutherans would state that all communicants receive this true body and blood with the mouths on their bodies, but only those who receive by faith, receive the benefit of the sacrament. The *Sandomierz Confession* speaks instead of a sacramental eating of the Christ’s body and blood by those receive the outward elements. The purpose of this sacramental eating is that their faith may be kindled, increased, and refreshed. It is faith which provides the point of connection between the sacramental eating, that is, the reception of the material elements, and the spiritual blessing which Christ has promised.²⁸⁶

How then can unbelievers be said to eat and drink judgment upon themselves? The *Second Helvetic Confession* says that unbelievers fail to receive the substance of the sacrament; they bring condemnation upon themselves by dishonoring the death of Christ. The *Confession of Sandomierz* says instead that unbelievers dishonor the body of the Lord.²⁸⁷ We may ask if this specific reference to the body of the Lord is meant to approach the Lutheran understanding of unworthy eating and drinking, though without affirming the *manducatio oralis*? The *Sandomierz Confession* moves beyond this by stating that unbelievers

²⁸⁵ “A ták gdy bierzemy y przyjmujemy Sákrámént Páński / bierzemy prawdziwe ciało iego zá nas wydáne / y krew wylaną dla grzechow nászych.” *Confessia* 1570, lvi.

²⁸⁶ “Jest ieszcze trzeći sposob iedzenia pokármu tego / który zowie'm Sákrámen-towy ábo poswiátny / to iest ten widomy y pozwirchny kstált swiátości ciála y krwi Páńskyej / gdy lud Boży do stołu Páńskyejo przystępuye / y niebieskye one á wieczne pokárm w Swiátości od sługi koscielnego widomie bierze. A tu nie rozumiemy żeby to prózna iáka á nieuzyteczna spráwá byé miálá. Abowiem áczkolwiekeś pirwey przez wiárę prawdziwą czuł Krystusá w sobie mieszkájącego / y pożywałéś ciála y krwi iego obyczáyem duchownym / iednák thu przy stole Páńskim większa y obfitsza łaska thobie sie pokázuye / gdyć sie sam pan iákoby w ręce twe podawa y s tobą ono duchowne złączenie iáwnie i widomie wyswiadsza / práwie kładąc przed oczy twoye ony wieczne á niewidome dobrá / ktore nam spráwił męką á smiercyą swoyą.” *Confessia* 1570, lv.

²⁸⁷ “Przetoż winnemi sie stawáją ciála y krwi Páńskiej / y ná sąd á potępienie iedzą y piyą / ábowiem nirozoznawáją y nie uważáją w sobye ciála Páńskyejo ná śmierć wydánego dla odkupienia y zbáwienia wszystkiemu swiátu.” *Confessia* 1570, lv-lvi.

do not participate in the body and blood.²⁸⁸ Although this *Confession* rejected the *manducatio oralis*, it does speak of the possibility that one may receive the sacrament unworthily.

Of special interest is the section on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Although this article follows the pattern set by the *Second Helvetic Confession*, the *Confession of Sandomierz* directs its fire against ‘Roman Sophists’ and their doctrine of Transubstantiation. The Lutheran understating of the hiddenness of the body of Christ in the Bread, or under its form, is also specifically rejected, because both such understandings lead only to virulent disputes and dissensions among the Christians. In order to avoid such eventualities the confessors pledge themselves not to go beyond what Christ himself says by his clear words: “Take, eat, this is my body..., etc.” “And thus when we take and receive the Lord’s Sacrament, we receive the true body given for us, and the true blood, shed for our sins.”²⁸⁹ What is meant by the phrase true body and blood is best understood on the basis of the context in which this phrase is found. Thus we may conclude that in this document the presence of Christ in the Supper is not identified with the earthly elements as such.

We observe that the terminology is not easy to understand. The term ‘sacrament’ appears to refer to the visible elements, the bread and wine. However, in terms of reception, the word ‘sacramental’ refers to a reception which is not bound to the physical elements, but includes the thing signified. The minister gives the outward sacramental gift, while Christ himself administers the substance of the sacrament.²⁹⁰ Thus the

²⁸⁸ “Aczkołwiek ktoby bez wszelákíey pokuthy y wiáry do tey święthey Wieczeryy przychodził / rzecz pewna że thám stąd dárow zbáwiennych ciáła y krwi páńskíey odnieść nie może prze swoye niedowíarstwo...” *Confessia* 1570, lv.

²⁸⁹ “Nie powiádamy też áby Krystus miał być zákrythy w chlebye áłbo pod chlebem / áłbo złączony s chlebem / iákich mow zgorszliwych dosyć tych czásow niespokoyne disputacie námnożyły. Ale ták mowimy iáko sam Pan Krystus ná Testhá-mencie swoim wyswiádszyć raczył: Bierzcie iedzcie toć iest ciáło moye. A ták gdy bierzemy y przyjmuyemy Sákráment Páński / bierzemy prawdziwe ciáło iego zá nas wydáne / y krew wylaná dla grzechow nászych.” *Confessia* 1570, lvi..

²⁹⁰ “Skąd pilnie rozreznawáć powinien káždy wierny przy używaniu Sákrámentow miedzy slugá á pánem: áłbowiem sludzy koscielni podawáyą nam swiátości pozwirzchnym obyczáyem / Lecż Pan Bog sam rzecz duchowná w swiátościach

sacramental eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood may be said to occur simultaneously with the eating of the bread and wine, but there is no direct connection between them. Why? It is because the thing signified is neither defined nor delimited by the sign. Specifically disapproved is the doctrine that grace and the thing signified are bound to and included in the signs in such a way that unworthy persons receive either grace or the things signified, that is the body and blood of Christ. Christ cannot be received in any positive manner by those who do not receive the signs by true faith. For them the sacraments are without value.²⁹¹

It is insisted that it is necessary that the sacraments be consecrated by the word of God. This is the word which was spoken of the Lord at the Last Supper before his passion and death. It is this word which makes the Supper special. Without it, there is no sacrament. It is not the word of man which consecrates, but the Word of God. This Word of God is to be spoken aloud and the divine name invoked to indicate that these elements have been consecrated, and that they have been sanctified by Christ. In other words, the Words of Christ spoken over the bread and wine in the upper room are understood to effectively consecrate and sanctify the bread and wine of the Supper for all time. The words are repeated in the celebration of the sacraments in remembrance of that first act of consecration, so that the congregation does not celebrate the sacrament in any other way but that enjoined by the Lord before his passion.²⁹² This seems to be an approximation of the position taken by

oznámioną y wyswiádszoną podawa sercu wiernemu przez spráwę wnetrzną Duchá S." *Confessia* 1570, kij.

²⁹¹ "Pan Bog w nich podawa práwdziwie rzeczy obiecáne / y wyswiádszone / chociaź niewierni dárow Boskich sobye podawáných nieprzyimują / prze swoję niesposobność y niedowiárstwo." *Confessia* 1570, kvi.

²⁹² "Abowiem przez słowo Páńskie stawáją sie rzeczy zwirzchne swiáthosciami / czym pirwey nie były / ánis przyrodzenia swego są. Lecź słowem Bóżem bywáją poswiécone / y swiétymi wyswiádszone od sámeo Páná ktory ye posthánowić raczył. A poswiécić nic inszego nie iesth / iedno rzecz iáká do Boskwey á swiétety spráwy obroćić od pospolitego używánia wyłączywszy / á słowo Páńska do niey przyło żywszy. Abowiem w káżdey swiátości rzeczy ábo znáki pozwirzchne bierzemy od pospolithego zwyczáyu... Ale gdy do nich przystápi słowo Páńskie / przez ktore tę Pan postánowić y poswiécić raczył / iuź táko we rzeczj sstawáją sie swiétymi / y od Krystusá Páná wyswiádszonemi upominkámi / iż wodá we Krzcie

the Lutherans in *Formula of Concord*, Article VII. However, we observe the same reticence to identify the bread and wine of the Supper with the body and blood of Christ, which is so evident in all Reformed treatments on the Lord's Supper.

Although terminology is often used which is characteristic of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper rather than that of the Reformed or Calvinists, - it can be said that this *Confession* displays at most superficial evidences of Lutheran influence. In general the text follows the *Second Helvetic Confession* of Heinrich Bullinger, in both structure and contents, with only minor omissions or emendations. This is especially evident where the subject matter approximates the Lutheran doctrine, such as with reference to the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament and the consecration.

We may note that the Reformed understood the *Sandomierz Consensus* on the basis of the *Sandomierz Confession*, and this confession has remained an important document in the Reformed tradition in Lithuania and Poland up to the present time. The influence of the *Sandomierz Confession* and its terminology will be evident in the liturgical documents which were produced beginning in the final decade in the sixteenth century and continuing well into the seventeenth century.

It is characteristic of the Reformed Churches that there is no impetus toward doctrinal consensus with the rest of the Reformed world. Reformed confessions are basically national in character, and individual Reformed Churches in the various nations have their characteristic confession. Of course, these confessions have a certain super-national dimension as well; the *Westminster Confession* of 1646, for example, is not limited to the people of Great Britain, but it forms part of the doctrinal position of other English speaking churches as well. So too, the *Second Helvetic Confession* has a significance which moves far be-

iuż iest omyciem odrodzenia / á chleb y wino ná Wiczerzy Pánskyey iuż iest ciało y krew Pánska. Alowiem słowo Pánskye y oná pirwsza ustáwá Swiátości zupełná y skuteczną moc w sobye ma / y teraz y káżdego wieku ludziom, waży ono pirwsze Pánskye poświęcenie / gdzye sie wedle postánowienia iego przy Swiáthosciach sprawuyá. Dla częgo słowa Pánskye ktore mito ustánowić raczył / przy tym czytáne y rozpámięthywane bywáyá." *Confessia* 1570, kiiij-kiiij.

yond the German speaking Swiss Reformed and has impressed itself upon other Reformed Churches, even as, geographically far removed as Poland and Lithuania. However, the *Sandomierz Confession* which interpreted *Sandomierz Consensus* marks the beginning of a theological self-consciousness and self-definition which Polish Reformed Churches had previously lacked. Its significance in the life of Polish and Lithuanian Churches extends far beyond the time and place of its formulation. It marks the particular doctrinal usages of the Reformed Churches in these lands over against other Reformed Churches in Switzerland and Germany, and other Christian confessions. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Reformed in these lands looked upon the *Sandomierz Confession* as an ecumenical document which served as the basis of their discussions with the Lutherans, the Bohemian Brethren, and with the Orthodox Eastern Church as well.

The *Sandomierz Consensus* and *Sandomierz Confession* established the Eucharistic doctrine upon which liturgy and practice in the congregations was to be based. This doctrine moved beyond the doctrine articulated by Heinrich Bullinger in *Second Helvetic Confession* mainly in its terminology, which is meant to assuage the Lutheran clergy and their congregations, and to serve as well a point of possible reconciliation between the churches. The Lutherans found these attempts inadequate. They saw in them the familiar Reformed distinctions between the finite and the infinite, between the corporeal and sacramental presence, with which they were already very familiar. The Lutherans could not hold these documents in the same high regard as Reformed, and with the passing of time their interest in them waned. What was for the Reformed a high water mark in their self-definition and theological articulation was of far lesser significance for the Lutherans, for many of whom the newly published *Formula of Concord* of 1577 and the *Book of Concord* of 1580 were definitive. Here the lines between the Lutheran and Reformed theology were clearly drawn. The Lutherans had now reached a level of self-consciousness which was beginning to lead to a suspicion that union between the churches could not be long maintained. In the ninth decade of the sixteenth century we see increas-

ing evidences of alienation, mainly because of the teaching about the Lord's Supper.

Within the Reformed Church, the synod of Sandomierz and the documents built upon it represent the final statements concerning the churches doctrinal positions, especially with reference to the sacrament. From this point on attention turns away from doctrine to practice, especially to discipline within the congregations, Communion practices, and worship in the church. At the general synod of Kraków on September 29 - October 1, 1573 much attention was given to questions of civil morality, church membership, and excommunication. It was resolved that no person excommunicated from one Protestant Church might be accepted at the Lord's Supper of the another church until the matter will be resolved in the congregation where the excommunication had been declared.²⁹³ Further consideration was given to the question already raised in Sandomierz about the bodily disposition of those receiving Communion, whether it be by standing, kneeling, or sitting, as Lasco had ordered in his *Forma ac Ratio*. Here the synod found it necessary to distinguish the main body of Protestant Christians from the Anti-Trinitarians, who pointed to their practice of receiving Communion while seated as evidence of their continuity with Lasco. The synod resolved in favor of kneeling or standing.²⁹⁴ This indicates not only of variety of practice, but also of the need to counter the claims of the Anti-Trinitarians.

The general synod of Sandomierz, while seeking to foster unity and harmony among the churches, had made provision that each church be free to continue its customary rites and ceremonies. Unification of these rites, although desirable, would have to wait for future implementation. The general synod at Piotrków on June 1-3, 1578 again stated that it would be desirable that the Protestant Churches in the Polish empire administer the Lord Supper according to a common ceremonial procedure. However, the 'weaker brethren' should not be compelled or disciplined because of their reticence to abandon their form of practice,

²⁹³ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 7.

²⁹⁴ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 12.

as long as the sacrament was received while kneeling or standing. With regard to the Communion of the sick and the dying, it was resolved that all Christians should be prepared to leave this present life fully confirmed in the hope of salvation. However, for the sake of weak consciences and the sick who while of sound mind request the sacrament should not be denied their request.²⁹⁵ Properly speaking, Holy Communion is a public or congregational act, but pastoral concern for the individual must prevail. Differences arose concerning the elements in Holy Communion at the general synod of Włodzisław on June 19-20, 1583. The matter was considered on the basis of the terms set down in the *Sandomierz Consensus*.²⁹⁶ The synod limited its consideration of the sacrament to reiteration of the provision that communicants should kneel or stand to receive it.²⁹⁷

It must be noted here that this period of relative peace with regard to the Lord's Supper continued until June 25, 1578, when Lutheran and Reformed theologians met in Vilnius. At this meeting the Lutherans declared themselves against the *Consensus of Sandomierz* as doctrinally unsound and separated themselves from the other Protestants.²⁹⁸ This was a local action about which more will be said when we come to consider the Lithuanian situation in detail. In the same year, however, tensions concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and Lutheran agreement with the *Sandomierz Consensus* were beginning to become evident

²⁹⁵ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 32-34, 40.

²⁹⁶ "In articulo de Cena Domini quicquid difficultatis emergebat, tam in elementis sacramentalibus, quam in communione veri Christi Corporis et Sanguinis. Haec omnia ad expressum sensum in summa Consensus Sendomiriensis composita sunt sacramenta duabus semper rebus constare in sacro usu suo: terrena et caelesti, ut Irenaeus testatur." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 79.

²⁹⁷ "[Z] strony ceremonij przy używaniu Wieczerzej Pańskiej dawna namowa synodu generalnego sędomirskiego i konkluzja synodu generalnego krakowskiego pochwalona jest, żeby siedzenie w żadnych zborzech tego konsensu naszego w Małej i w Wielkiej Polsce, i w Księstwie Litewskim etc. używane nie było, ale koniecznie złożone, a insze, tj. stojenie i klęczenie, jako gdzie zwyczajnie jest, wolne sobie bez obrażania się i przygany jedni drugim zostawujemy." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 82.

²⁹⁸ *Węgierski* 1679, 94; *Jabłoński* 1731, 81-86; *Friese* 1786 b, 98-101.

in Poznań.²⁹⁹ In 1582 Paweł Gericius, the Lutheran pastor in Poznań and Jan Enoch, openly declared against the *Consensus* mainly because of its Eucharistic doctrine.³⁰⁰ Renewed debates concerning the Lord's Supper were on the agenda at the general synod in Toruń in 1595.

The *Consensus* was built upon the willingness of its delegates to remain quite imprecise when speaking of the manner of Christ's presence in the Supper. The Lutherans were left free to consider that presence to be corporeal in nature. The Reformed could understand the presence quite differently. Both churches were free to propound their particular doctrines, because the *Consensus* had deliberately not spoken to this issue. When the Reformed theologian Volanus, in his *Vera et orthodoxa...*,³⁰¹ articulated clearly the Reformed position, the Lutherans reacted strongly.³⁰² Thus it became clear that questions unresolved in Sandomierz are crying out for resolution, but they were ignored. They were simply declared to be out of order, or not helpful. The Reformed theologians were indeed following the provisions of *Sandomierz Consensus* and their own *Confession of Sandomierz*.

There were important debates throughout the whole general synod of Toruń, held on August 21-26, 1595. Of particular interest to us are the statements of Krzysztof Kraiński, who would play the most important role in the formulation of the first Minor Polish Reformed agendas of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Kraiński stated that the Reformed Churches teaches that communicants eat the true body of Christ and drink his true blood, not in physical or miraculous manner, but rather in a mystical participation which by the Holy Spirit

²⁹⁹ *Akta synodów IV* 1997, 49.

³⁰⁰ "Pokazało się, iż x. Paweł, kaznodzieja niemiecki, jawnie szturmuje na Konsens, od niego do Pisma św. się ozywając in sententia de Cena Domini. Także i Enoch." *Akta synodów IV* 1997, 73.

³⁰¹ *Vera et orthodoxa veteris ecclesiae sententia de coena Domini ad Petrum Scarga per Andream Volanum. Typis Castri Loscensis 1574. Akta synodów III* 1983, 124 fn.5.

³⁰² "At nunc ab aliquibus palam rescinditur, praesertim in Lithuania, ubi Consensum alium praefatum inierunt, libros, qui Consensui repugnant, ediderunt, veluti d. Volanus, in cuius contra Scargam responso in fronte libri haec verba extant. In isto libro negatur praesentia Corporis in Cena Domini." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 124.

is apprehended by faith. The fruit of such mystical Communion is the forgiveness of sins, righteousness, and eternal life. This position follows typical Polish Reformed pattern. The true presence of Christ is not denied, but its bodily reception is. To say that one receives mystically rather than physically is again to build upon the conviction that spiritual benefits cannot be directly related to material elements and their physical reception.³⁰³ We will need to take these words into consideration when interpreting the liturgical words and ceremonies which Kraiński included in his liturgical services.

Although the majority of delegates, including many Lutherans, led by their Superintendent Erazm Gliczner, were reassured by the results of the synod and confirmed the *Consensus of Sandomierz*, however, the *Consensus* was beginning to crumble. Gericius was adamant in his rejection of the resolutions of the synod. Future events would show that he did not stand alone. He was the spokesman for a growing number of Lutherans who were clearly aware of deficiencies of *Sandomierz Consensus* in matters pertaining to the sacrament.

With the confirmation of a theological position concerning the sacrament, the synod of Toruń suggested that moves be made toward establishing unity of practice in the congregations of the Protestant confessions, although for a time the churches would be permitted choose to continue to make use of their traditional ceremonies and forms of worship.³⁰⁴ In Minor Poland there was no such unity. A variety of forms had been used since the introduction of Protestantism, all of them expressing the theological viewpoint of one or another Reformed theological

³⁰³ “Licet quaestio de modo manducationis Corporis Christi sit admodum difficilis, non tamen esse reticendam, quatenus in Scripturis exprimitur et articulis fidei ac sacramentorum analogiae respondet. Nos ergo docere pura conscientia nos in sacramento verum Corpus Christi edere ac Sanguinem bibere, sed non modo physico aut miraculoso (prout proprie miracula dicuntur), sed fide apprehendente et Spiritu S. applicante nobis Christum cum omnibus bonis, ut eius vere, mystice tamen, participes facti, remissionem peccatorum, iustitiam et vitam aeternam ex ipso hauriamus.” *Akta synodów III* 1983, 127.

³⁰⁴ “O cerymonijach, na ten czas nie odmieniając konkluzyj przeszłych synodów, ale każdemu zborowi zwyczajne według wolności krześcijańskiej zostawując, na przyszły synod generalny deliberacją o porównaniu ich a przywiedzeniu w jednaką formę odkładamy.” *Akta synodów III* 1983, 606-607.

streams. The establishment of a united Reformed theological position must now express itself by the use of commonly agreed liturgical services. This was a daunting task, given the conservative attitudes of both, ministers and people concerning liturgical matter. Such changes would be difficult for people who clung to the familiar words and forms.

Up until this time, discussion had been limited to matters of discipline related to the celebration and reception of the Holy Communion. In the district synod of Lublin on July 19, 1594 there were discussions concerning liturgical forms. Here it was decided that the next synod should be devoted to the establishment of a common ritual to be used by the parishes in their district.³⁰⁵ An important step toward the implementation of these proposals was made at the district synod of Lublin on May 29, 1595, which decided that there should be everywhere a common ritual for the administration of the sacrament in this district.³⁰⁶ The protocols of the church-wide synod of Ożarów on September 21, 1598 identifies Superintendent Krzysztof Kraiński as the author of the agenda to be used and states that the form that he had recently prepared should be given over to the seniors of Minor Poland for any necessary editing or amendment.³⁰⁷ Kraiński's work, which he finished in 1598, declared that his agenda had been accepted at the district synods of Kryłów and Lublin,³⁰⁸ for the use in Districts of Lublin, Bełz, and Chełm, was published in 1599. Although Toruń is identified as the place of publication, the *Porządek nabożeństwa* was actually published elsewhere. Kraiński gave Toruń as the place of publication in order to cover up the fact that

³⁰⁵ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 105.

³⁰⁶ "Pirwsza, aby jednostajne wszędy były ritus in administrando Sacramento [et in] inauguratione ministrorum." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 112.

³⁰⁷ "Superatendent x. Krzysztof Kraiński ma dać ku rewidowaniu egzemplarze Formy odprawowania nabożeństwa, a to pp. seniorom Małej Polski." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 198.

³⁰⁸ Kraiński does not provide the dates of these synods. A search of the available materials reveals no mention about Kraiński's work. It is first mention in the protocol of the synod of Ożarów 1598. *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 85; *Akta synodów III* 1983, 198.

his work had been published by the Anti-Trinitarian Aleksy Rodecki (ca.1540-1606) in Kraków.³⁰⁹

Kraiński built his Communion service upon existing forms, on the basis of liturgical writings which had appeared in French, English, Scottish, Hungarian, Swiss, Dutch, and other Reformed Churches with which, as Kraiński claims, the Polish Reformed were in doctrinal agreement.³¹⁰ He furnishes in the margins detailed notations of ancient and Reformed writers as an indication of the Apostolic and Protestant nature of his work. At the same time he disputes against the positions taken by medieval Catholic theologians. In his introduction to the work Kraiński notes that his church continued to tolerate diversity in the liturgical usages, as had been approved by earlier synods, beginning with Sandomierz in 1570.³¹¹ He remarks that the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren have a common theological understanding of the Eucharist. If there are any differences, they are not differences in faith, but only in such outward matters which may be turned *adiaphora*, such as in ceremonies and words.³¹² He declared that he has prepared this liturgy for use if not everywhere in Minor Poland, then at least in the Districts of Lublin, Bełz, and Chełm.³¹³ This work of 497 pages attests to the competence of its author and the careful nature of his scholarship. It is impressive that this first Minor Polish Protestant Reformed agenda should be so comprehensive in nature, making provision for virtually every aspect of church life.

The publication of Kraiński's work appears to have met a need and excited further interest in the liturgy for public worship. Although it was accepted by a limited number of districts in Minor Poland, other districts now began to express their interest. Within a year, note was taken at the district synod in Oksza on July 14, 1600 that at the next synod the matter of liturgy would be fully discussed.³¹⁴ At the district

³⁰⁹ Kawecka -Gryczowa 1974, 160; *Akta synodów III* 1983, 198 fn.3.

³¹⁰ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 83.

³¹¹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 17-18.

³¹² *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 45.

³¹³ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 84-85.

³¹⁴ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 214.

synod in Chmielnik held on September 21, 1600, it was resolved that Kraiński's work should be corrected on the basis of the liturgical writings of Johannes a Lasco, whose *Forma ac Ratio* "...was closest to the Word of God."³¹⁵ The church-wide synod at Ożarów, which was held from September 29 to October 1, 1600, established a committee consisting of the Superintendent Franciszek Jeziński (†1617), Seniors Franciszek Stankar (†1621), Krzysztof Kraiński and Maciej from Baranów to meet on November 25, 1600 in Czyżów, to prepare material for a liturgical work which would be acceptable in all districts of Minor Poland.³¹⁶ It was noted that the rites used in the District of Ruś contained only minor differences in wording, indicating that general acceptance of the new work would not be difficult. The committee met a month later in Czyżów and completed its work to the satisfaction of the entire committee and the delegates of the districts.³¹⁷ At the district synod of Kock on February 11, 1601 the seniors approved the work as pleasing the sight of God. They recommended its immediate adoption in the congregations.³¹⁸ At the district synod of Secemin, held on May 4-6 of the same year, the ministers present used their free time to copy extracts from the new form by hand.³¹⁹ The church-wide synod of Włodzisław held on September 28, 1601 declared that it would be pleasing to the Holy Spirit that all congregations should endorse and make use of the new form. District superintendents were directed to

³¹⁵ "Forma x. Krzysztofowa aby była korygowana według Formy sławnej pamięci x. Jana Łaskiego mutatis mutandis, a to co najbliższy słowa Bożego." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 215.

³¹⁶ "Forma nabożeństwa aby była jedna, synod nazaczył pewne osoby: senijora i konsenijora dystryktu sędomirskiego, przy tym x. Franciszka sędziejowskiego, x. F(ranciszka) Stankara, x. superatendenta (Franciszka) Jezińskiego i x. Krystofa Kraińskiego, x. Macieja z Baranowa." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 217.

³¹⁷ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 221.

³¹⁸ "Forma była czytana, od braciej senijorów dystryktowych złożona, i przyjęta z pochwałą Pana Boga wszechmogącego, i według niej zaraz odprawować będą ministrowie nabożeństwo." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 220.

³¹⁹ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 221.

press for its adoption and in their visitations to determine whether these directions were being followed.³²⁰

The new *Porządek nabożeństwa* was authorized by the seniors on January 25, 1602 at their convocation in Radzanów. According to the introduction, Kraiński's work served as the basis of this new edition, which is materially shorter than the model from which it was taken. According to its introduction, the agenda had already been accepted by the church-wide synods of Ożarów and Włodzisław for use in every congregation throughout the Minor Poland.³²¹ The committee explained that what was too long, they shortened, and what was lacking, they had added.³²² Perhaps we see at work here the general principle that successive liturgies tend to move from complexity to simplicity. Additionally, it is probable that in many matters Kraiński's decisions were based upon his personal preferences and did not sufficiently reflect the mind of the larger church.

The 1602 agenda made changes in Kraiński's 1599 order of the Lord's Supper in some details. Here Kraiński's lengthy introduction and its many quotations from the Church Fathers, the Scriptures, and medieval theologians are reduced to a few quotations from Justin Martyr and Augustine. Only one setting of the antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is included. The confirmation of God's grace and exhortation to confession are replaced with a much shorter exhortation. Kraiński's lengthy declaration of forgiveness is abbreviated; now it is called the absolution. The prayer after the *Verba Testamenti* is moved to a place immediately after

³²⁰ "Podobało się Duchowi św., aby zbory ewangelickie w Małej Polsce jednakiej Formy odprawowania nabożeństwa krześcijańskiego, zgodnie od wszystkiego synodu prowincjonalnego spisanej i aprobowanej, używały. Którą senior każdy w swym dystrykcie braciej ministrom powinien będzie podać, obowiązuąc je kościoła Bożego posłuszeństwem, aby tej używali, a na wizytacyjach, jeśli będzie w używaniu, mają się dowiadować i doglądać." *akta synodów III* 1983, 229.

³²¹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, przedmowa.

³²² "Albowiem weyżrawszy pilnie w Formę wydaną 1599 r. brata miłego Xiedza Krzysztofa Kraińskiego, którą zebrał z wielu form różnych w słowicach ale zgodnych w rzeczy y w fundamencie słowa Bożego, y wydał dla districtu Lubelskiego y Belskiego godną zaprawdę czytania, tedychmy w niey to co było przy dłuższym skrocili, a to co było do budowania snadniejszego przydali, y onę na iawie wypuścili." *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, przedmowa.

the creed, before the Words of Christ. The Testamentary Words are accompanied by the manual acts, a new feature in this liturgy. The meaning of the Testament and the admonition shorten the form provided in the 1599 order. The form of excommunication in the 1602 book again shortens the form found in Kraiński's order, and it contains no enumeration of groups to be excluded from the Lord's table. The explanation following the reading from 1 Corinthians 5 is shortened.

The most striking innovation in the 1602 rite is in the distribution. Kraiński's formulas, which repeat the Words of Christ over the bread and the wine, are replaced by more traditional formulas in which the Words of Christ are not repeated over the bread and cup. There are no directions concerning the blessing of additional elements. During communion the hymn from the catechism is sung. A new prayer of thanksgiving is given. It is based upon the Preface of the Western liturgy - beginning with the *vere dignum* and including the traditional *Sanctus* and adding after it a general prayer. Added also is the Aaronic Benediction spoken by the minister before the offering and the final hymn. In general terms it may be said that the shape of the service provided by Kraiński has been retained, and only a few elements have been displaced or completely eliminated. Some new elements have been added, but in most cases Kraiński's service has been retained in a shortened form.

The district synod of Lublin on June 8, 1602 stated that the form which had been approved in two synods was *sacrosanct* and was to be accepted and embraced.³²³ The church-wide synod of Ożarów on September 27, 1602 declared that the form, having been newly published and approved by the two synods, was to be accepted, and no one was to distance himself from it. Again, regional visitors were instructed to determine that the new work was being used.³²⁴

³²³ "Forma albo porządek nabożeństwa we zborzech naszych, na dwu synodach prowincjonalnych od wszystkich senijorów Małej Polski aprobowany i sacrosancte przyjęty, a wszystkiej braciej ku usługowaniu podany." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 236.

³²⁴ "Formę, na dwu synodach prowincjonalnych approbatam, a nowo wydrukowaną, zgodnie wszyscy jako przedtem, tak i teraz przyjmujemy i od niej odstąpić nie chcemy, czego senijorowie mają na wizytacyjach doglądać." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 241.

Through the work of the synods, Minor Polish Church now had one form of worship to be used in all parishes. Parishes, however, were not in every case ready to abandon their traditional forms and ceremonies. synods may move quickly, but parish congregations are sometimes slow to follow. The matter came to the attention of district synod in Gorlice in 1603. The parish congregation in Gorlice had not adopted the new form, and the synod found it necessary to admonish the people to adopt the new form and directed that a parish visitation should ascertain compliance with this directive. For their part, the people had little desire to adopt the new form.³²⁵ Undoubtedly some parishes elsewhere found themselves in the same awkward situation. In response, the church-wide synod of Łańcut held on September 28, 1603 stated flatly that there would be but one form for the celebration of the Holy Communion throughout the church.³²⁶ Later synods reiterated this same declaration.

The wide success of the 1602 agenda opened up for the Reformed the vision of a common form of worship to be used not only by all Reformed parishes in Minor Poland, but also by the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren in both Major Poland and Lithuania. This was not a new idea. The Reformed had aspired to it as early as the time of the Koźminek Union in 1555, when they introduced into their church in Minor Poland the liturgical rites of the Bohemian Brethren.³²⁷ However the use of these rites continued for only a few years. They were soon superseded by the liturgy which Johannes a Lasco brought with him from Western Europe. Still, the church held out the hope that at some point in the future a common Pan-Protestant liturgy could be formulated and agreed. This long held hope was fanned into a living flame by the popular acceptance of the 1602 agenda in Minor Poland. Now the broad vision was brought forward of a rite to which not only the Bohemian Brethren and the Reformed of Major Poland, but also the Re-

³²⁵ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 244.

³²⁶ “Aby ceremonia stania przy użyciu św. Wieczerzy Pana Jezusowej w każdym zborze Małej Polski zachowana była, jedna forma, także i katechizm rewidowany.”
Akta synodów III 1983, 244.

³²⁷ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 18-47.

formed Church in Lithuania and even the Lutherans of *Rzeczpospolita* could accept.

The possibility of Lutheran acceptance was based upon the memory of the successful negotiations between the Reformed, Bohemian Brethren, and Lutheran Churches which led to the *Sandomierz Consensus*. Although in that *Consensus* it had been stated that the three churches would each keep their own characteristic rites and ceremonies, some believed that all shared in common an agreeable doctrine of the sacrament. This statement of common agreement pointed out that all should look forward to the possibility that at some point in the future a common liturgical rite could be formulated. In addition the *Sandomierz Consensus* included within it a statement of the practical expression of agreement produced. It was affirmed that by mutual consent Christians of one confession might receive Communion in the churches of the other confessions so long as they observed the order, discipline, and customs of that church.³²⁸

A hope for the adoption of common celebration and distribution of the Holy Communion in all three churches was expressed in the general synod of Kraków in 1573, but action was not taken at that time. The churches resolved to continue their present individual ceremonial freedom in imitation of the early church.³²⁹ In the synod at Poznań held on April 6-9, 1578 it was the Bohemian Brethren who took the initiative in speaking of the importance of establishing common ceremonies “in Poland with others.”³³⁰ In a special letter to the synod, the ministers proposed that ceremonial consensus should be reached with the Lutherans

³²⁸ “Ritus autem et caeremonias liberos uniuscuiusque ecclesiae hac concordia et coniunctione relinquimus. Non enim multum refert, qui ritus observentur, modo sarta tecta et incorrupta existat ipsa doctrina et fundamentum fidei ac salutis nostrae.” *Akta synodów II* 1972, 297.

³²⁹ “O ceremoniach, a mianowicie przy używaniu Wieczerzy Pańskiej, wzięwszy przed się rozbiernie, mogły li by we wszystkich kościołach naszych być jednakie, tak się zamknięcie stało, żeby według zwyczaju starożytnego kościoła wolności krześcijańskiej ceremonije między nami puszczone a darowane były...” *Akta synodów III* 1983, 12.

³³⁰ “Starać się o tym, żebyśmy mieli jednakie ceremonije tu w Polsce z drugimi.” *Akta synodów IV* 1997, 49.

and to avoid giving scandalous offence to the Germans.³³¹ At Poznań Lutheran Pastor Paweł Gericius had begun to raise concerns about the terms of the *Sandomierz Consensus*. Perhaps the Bohemians thought that the Lutherans would be satisfied with something less than complete doctrinal agreement, especially since the Bohemian Brethren had expressed in the same synod that true Evangelicals could never make use of the same ceremonies as were used by the Pope.³³² The Lutherans for their part had continued the use of some ceremonies which the Bohemian Brethren would call ‘papist.’ Two months later, on June 1-3, 1578 a general synod was held in Piotrków where the matter was once again taken up. It appears that here it was the Lutherans who held back and refused to permit the initiation of practical work toward the goal of a common liturgical expression. Again, Christian liberty was given as the reason for allowing a multiplicity of rites and ceremonies.³³³ Infighting among the Lutherans at the general synod of Toruń in 1595 led to the expulsion of a small, expressly confessional group led by Gericius. Perhaps their expulsion led some to hope that now Lutheran objections would be quieted and that agreement could be built on the level of ceremonies without further concern about doctrine. This hope proved well founded. Strong voices in all three groups asserted that not only liturgy

³³¹ “O ceremonijach, w których nam różność zadawają, starać się o zgodę z luterany. Jako by zabieżeć scandalo excitato per concionatoem Germanicum.” *Akta synodów IV* 1997, 343.

³³² “Ewangelików żeby naszzy nie przyjmowali cum ceremoniis consuetis, jako z papiewstwa przyjmujemy.” *Akta synodów IV* 1997, 50.

³³³ “O ceremonijach, zwłaszcza przy sprawie Wieczerzy Pańskiej, pożądlivać by to a bardzo dobra rzecz była, izby po wszystkich państwach Korony Polskiej we wszystkich ewangelickich kościołach jednakimi ceremonijami Wieczerza Pańska sprawowana była. A owszem nie barzo by trudno tego dowieść, ile się tyczą samych ministrów a baczniejszych ludzi, lecz iż pospółstwo a ludzie prości odmianą obrzędów kościelnych wielce by się obrażali a do ceremonij zwyczajowi swemu przeciwnych zgoła by się przywieść nie dali, a gdzieby więc w tym mieli być niewoleni a przymuszani, snadź by przyść musiało do używania dyscypliny a kaźni kościelnej przeciwko nim. Ale to dla pozwierzchnych obrzędów bić a trapić ludzi pobożne nie jest wola Pańska ani pierwszego szczyrego. kościoła krześcijańskiego zwyczaj. Przetoż ceremonije swobodzie krześcijańskiej darujemy a wolno puszczaamy, żeby stojąc abo kłęcząc ludzie wierni sakramentu Ciała i Krwie Pańskiej pożywali.” *Akta synodów III* 1983, 40.

and ceremony but hymnals and catechisms as well must be brought into agreement. It was decided that work on this project should begin with the next general synod.³³⁴

The Church of Minor Poland invited the Bohemian Brethren and the Lutherans to attend a general convocation to be held in Bełżyce on October 18, 1603 to begin the work. The Lutherans did not attend and the Bohemian Brethren who attended - Maciej Rybiński, Jan Turnowski, and Marcin Gracjan Gertych - were only interested observers. The result was that the proposed general convocation became only a district convocation of the Reformed Church in Minor Poland, capable only to make recommendations. It was decided that the matter of the creation of the common agenda and hymnal should be brought before the general convocation to be held in Baranów on May 1, 1604. The Bohemian Jan Turnowski was assigned the task of studying the hymnals and the liturgies of the three bodies in order to create common hymnal and agenda suitable for use in all three churches.³³⁵ The results of this work were to be presented for discussion in Baranów.

The strong hopes held out for the meeting at Baranów in 1604 were frustrated from the start. Neither the Lutherans nor the Lithuanian Reformed attended the meeting. Discussions were held, but only between Reformed Church of Minor Poland and the Bohemian Brethren of Major Poland. It was decided to postpone any further work on catechisms, hymnals, and liturgical materials until after the new edition of the Bible had been published. Meanwhile ministers so gifted should continue their work of preparing such material with the final goal that one common form should be agreed. The hope was expressed that this goal could be reached at the next general convocation. Special attention was given to the development of a common form for the celebration and

³³⁴ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 166.

³³⁵ "Iż na konwokacyjnej przyszłej w Baranowie mówić mają bracia o jednej formie sakramentów szafowania i o jednym kancyjonale wedle którego nabożeństwo w kościołach tak konfesyjnej helweckiej i czeskiej, jako i auspurskiej mogło być odprawowane, przetoż poruczamy br. x. Janowi Turnowskiemu, aby wzięwszy trzy formy i trzy kancyjonały trzech konfesyjnej, spisał jedną formę i kancyjonał jeden. Którą pracą, da Pan Bóg, ma z sobą przynieść ad diem I Maii do Baranowa ku przeżeniu." *Akta synodów III* 1983, 257.

the distribution of the Holy Communion. A comparison of the several liturgies showed that all were of the same mind with regard to the need to produce a common form. Because no Lutherans were present and the Brethren could not act without the advice and consent of their synods and seniors, it was decided to postpone action for a short time, until with God's help the work could be completed.³³⁶

The wide ranging aims of the convocations of Bełżyce and Baranów were unrealistic. The Lutheran rejection of the Reformed overtures clearly shows that they no longer thought unification to be workable. According to Lutheran principles, a liturgy expresses the church's confession of faith. To fabricate a rite without theological agreement on the doctrine of the sacrament would be to build upon a weak foundation that would soon crumble. No real agreement had been achieved in this area between the Reformed and Lutherans. The Reformed position was indicated by their statement on September 22, 1616 in the church-wide synod at Bełżyce that there was a unity of faith with the Lutherans even though there was a diversity in rituals.³³⁷ Only the Bohemian Brethren and Reformed were willing to proceed with the common project, but it would be almost three decades before the two groups would sit together and formulate a common agenda.

The period between 1602 and 1613 was one of adjustment as Calvinist parishes in Minor Poland came more and more into line with the new form. With both its strengths and the weaknesses becoming evident, by 1613 the time was ripe for the formulation and publication

³³⁶ "Na koniec konferowaliśmy z sobą o porównaniu we zborach zwierzchnich obrzędów i jednostajnym zażywaniu ceremonij w odprawowaniu nabożeństwa, a zwłaszcza przy sakramencie Pańskich, i z łaskiej Bożej doznaliśmy, iżeśmy wszyscy zobopólnie do jedności i zniesienia tych różności w kościele Bożym skłonni. Ale iż nie mogli bracia wielgopolscy nic o tym bez synodu swego i zezwolenia inszych kolegów swych (także przecie oględując się na bracią konfesyji saskiej), konkludować, mając jednak uczynioną od nich dobrą o tym otuchę, decyzją tego odkładamy na czas inszy i narychlej obiecujemy się o tym bądź przez pisanie, bądź przez zjazd senijorów do tego namówiony porozumieć i za pomocą Bożą to wszystko skończyć i do skutku przywieść." *akta synodów III* 1983, 261.

³³⁷ "Reasumujemy kanony synodów generalnych i prowincjonalnych o konsensie z bracią konfesyjnej augustańskiej, aby był zachowany in omnibus provinciis Regni, salva unitate fidei in diversitate rituum..." *akta synodów III* 1983, 375.

of a revised liturgy. This matter came to the attention to the church-wide synod and general convocation at Bełżyce on September 19-24, 1613. There the publication of a new agenda was authorized and signed by Franciszek Stankar, superintendent of Minor Poland and senior of Kraków, Jakub Pabianovius, senior of Sandomierz, Jan Chocimowski, senior of Ruś and Podole, Krzysztof Kraiński, senior of Bełż, Wołyn, and Kijew, Bartłomiej Bythner, senior of Zator and Oświęcim, Jan Grzybowski, senior of Lublin and Chełm.³³⁸

The *Porządek nabożeństwa* of 1614 still built upon the initial work of Kraiński and represented the seasoned practices of the Holy Communion in the Reformed congregations. The form of the Lord's Supper is similar to that of the 1602 and shows increased conformity to Reformed traditions. Lasco's recommendation of a two week period of preparation reemerges in this liturgy. The recitation of the Last Supper narrative is reduced to those sentences directly pertaining to Christ's Words over the bread and cup. The *Agnus Dei* is permitted, but not required. Where used, it is sung at the *Offiara*, rather than at communion. The more important change is found in the formula for the distribution. The words 'in faith' are used at the minister's self-administration, thus indicating that the communicants also receive the heavenly substance by faith, although the words 'in faith' at the distribution of the bread and wine to the communicants are not repeated. Provision is made for the repetition of the consecration should extra supplies be needed. The 1599 liturgy had made this provision, but 1602 book makes no mention of it. This order of the Lord's Supper would prove to be a major development in the maturing of Reformed liturgical worship in Minor Poland until the publication of the Great Gdańsk Agenda.

The new liturgy was adopted unanimously throughout Minor Poland, but in actual practice the ministers in some places ignored it. The synods often had to remind the congregations and clergy that they were to use the officially prescribed services. Protocols of the visitation of Aleksandrowice on September 25-26, 1616 indicate some laxity in

³³⁸ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, przedmowa.

practice, and some departures from the uniformed provisions.³³⁹ Again on September 27, 1624 the church-wide synod at Gliniany called upon the congregations to follow the practices stipulated in the agenda, especially with reference to the Holy Communion.³⁴⁰ In the district synod at Ożarów on July 9-11, 1627 the clergy were reminded to follow the 1614 agenda and not depart from it in the celebration of the sacraments.³⁴¹

The Minor Polish Church continued to pursue the goal of unifying rites and ceremonies with the Church in Major Poland. The outcome of the convocations at Bełżyce and Baranów in 1603-1604 demonstrated that only the Reformed and Bohemian Brethren were willing to cooperate in efforts to establish a common liturgy. Even then, the high hopes expressed in the protocols did not come to immediate fruition, and both groups continued to use their own separate agendas. The Bohemian Brethren again directed the attention of the convocation, which met at Ostroróg on February 23, 1608, to the need for the unification of hymnals, agendas, and catechisms. It was moved that the matter should be thoroughly aired at the next synod, however, this intention was not acted upon.³⁴² At the meeting of the seniors at Ostroróg on October 26, 1611 the Bohemian Brethren announced their intention to proceed with the revision and publication of their own agenda.³⁴³ The work was assigned to the Senior Maciej Rybiński (†1612), with instructions that he keep in close contact with Jan Turnowski (†1629). Subsequently, at the convocation on January 25, 1612 in Koźminek it was resolved that the Polish language agenda of the Bohemian Brethren should be brought into conformity with the Czech agendas and only then should it be sub-

³³⁹ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 379-380.

³⁴⁰ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 462.

³⁴¹ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 496.

³⁴² "Namowę o jedności pieśni, agend, katechizmów etc. odkładamy do blisko przyszłego synodu." *Akta synodów IV* 1997, 186.

³⁴³ "Rewidowanie i w druk podanie agend naszych zostawuje się w ręku br. M[acieja] Rybinijusa, senijora, żeby się za okazyją terazniejszą z br. Turnow-skim o to namówił, a co by w tej mierze nalepszego być nalazł, do skutku przywiódł." *Akta synodów IV* 1997, 238.

mitted for publication.³⁴⁴ Although it is known that a Czech language agenda was published in Königsberg in 1612,³⁴⁵ we have no information concerning the publication of a Brethren agenda in the Polish language.³⁴⁶ It is most likely that the Königsberg 1612 agenda, which is a reprint of a 1580 book, was in fact published by the Bohemian Brethren of Major Poland, because the prayer of thanksgiving after communion appears in the Great Gdańsk Agenda of 1637 as an alternative prayer of thanksgiving.³⁴⁷

The matter of the unification of rites was taken up again in 1613 at the church-wide synod and general convocation in Bełżyce. The Reformed specifically asked that the Bohemians abandon their traditional practice of using communion hosts and placing the sacrament into the communicant's mouth and adopt instead the 'scriptural' Reformed practice of breaking the bread and giving it into the hands of communicants. Bohemian seniors were asked to discuss this matter and arrive at a God-pleasing decision which would make the unification of the rites possible. A copy of a manuscript by the Daniel Mikołajewski,³⁴⁸ senior

³⁴⁴ "Agendy polskie br. Maciej senior ma podług czeskich konformować tym sposobem, jako się tu namowa stała, a potem do druku mają być podane." *Akta synodów IV* 1997, 242.

³⁴⁵ *Agenda při Večeři Páně. Zpravená a wytisštěná, [w Kralicích], Léta Krystowa M.DC.XII.* This book is held by the Morawský zemský archiv v Brně (acquisition number: Přív k č. 53).

³⁴⁶ According to Henryk Gmiterek no Polish language Czech agenda was ever published. Only hand written manuscripts were employed. Among such manuscripts are a 1571 (1609, 1636) work which includes the Polish language agenda of ordination of acolytes, ministers, deacons, and elders, and a manuscript of T. Turnowski which consists in recommendations for visitations, and the 1619 installation of ministers, and the marriage service of 1576, and the 1609 order for ordination of the parish elders into the knighthood, and the form for the administration of the Lord's Supper from the seventeenth century. *Gmiterek* 1985, 98-99.

³⁴⁷ *Coena Domini I* 1983, 544; *Agenda* 1580, 20-25. The 1580 Bohemian agenda is held by the Austrian National Library in Vienna (acquisition number: 15.646 - A). In addition to the 1580 and 1612 agendas, the Bohemians again published an agenda in 1620, entitled *Agenda při Večeři Páně*. This differs from the previous agendas only in some terminology. The 1620 agenda is held by the Library of the National Museum in Prague (acquisition number: 37 F 37 přív.).

³⁴⁸ This manuscript is not extant. *Akta synodów III* 1983, 347.

of the Calvinist Church in Kujavia, Major Poland, was given to them to persuade them of the correctness of the Calvinist practice.

Proposals that work should be done on a common rite were no more than proposals.³⁴⁹ The work was not undertaken. The Bohemian Brethren were very circumspect. While speaking about the desirability of a unified rite, they continued to work on their own Bohemian Rites. The Calvinists did the same. The Bohemians in attendance at the funeral of Stanisław Latański at Izbica on November 25-26, 1619, took time to discuss the matter of common rites among themselves. While remaining open to the discussion of new ceremonies, they determined that the long standing traditions of their church in Holy Communion and other rites should be kept.³⁵⁰

The initiative for further work came unexpectedly within a few years from the Lithuanian Reformed Church. In 1621 the Lithuanians published their own *Forma* to be used in all their parishes. At the synod in Vilnius in 1622 Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł presented his 15 point proposal for a program of Reformation. Among the points was a call for the immediate commencement of work on the unification of all ceremonies to bring the Lithuanian and Polish Churches into agreement. The Lithuanians were not enthusiastic about these proposals, but because of the great stature of the presenter the synod enacted the proposal.³⁵¹

The Lithuanians were reticent to embark on such a program, because they were generally satisfied with the form of worship which

³⁴⁹ “[Z] strony ceremonij, a zwłaszcza przy usłudze Świątości Ciała i Krwie Pańskiej, aby było chleba łamanie i w ręce branie,, zostawujemy pobożnemu sumnieniu braciej senijorów wielkopolskich konfesyjey czeskiej, prosząc ich, aby seiiisim przez nauki pobożnym słuchaczom zalecali ceremonije mające grun] swój w Piśmie św., żeby ad uniformi-tatem za Bożą pomocą przyść mogło. Dla czego dla wietszej perswazyjey oddany im jest skrypt x. Mikołajowskiego, senijora kujawskiego, o ceremonijach.” *Akta synodów III* 1983, 347.

³⁵⁰ “Tylko żeby puriores ceremoniae nie tylko oprymowane nie były, ale żeby i tam, kędy wniesione, zachowane były, a gdzie by Bóg drogę pokazał, wprowadzone ad aedificationem Ecclesiae żeby były, z tym jednak dokładem, aby i dawniejsze, kędy by aedificationis spes nie była, zachowane były, z strony Wieczerzy Pańskiej ceremonije i inny zwyczajny rząd Jednoty cało zostawując.” *Akta synodów III* 1983, 347.

³⁵¹ *Akta synodów* 1915, 71-72.

they had been using. Their liturgical provisions had been in place for over sixty years and from it a distinctive liturgical tradition had grown which was in many respects quite different from practices in Minor Poland. In addition, their own Podlассian District had stirred up negative feelings in the rest of the Lithuanian Church by their adoption of the liturgical forms of their neighboring Minor Polish Reformed Church and their generally independent attitudes. Intolerable to the majority of the Lithuanian Reformed was the use of liturgical terms and melodies reminiscent of Roman Catholicism, with which they wanted nothing to do.³⁵² On the other hand they had only four published liturgical forms, whereas the life of the church required many more.

In agreement with Radziwiłł's proposal, the Lithuanians called for the convening of a general synod to consider the matter. However the Minor Poles responded that the proposed date of the synod was not suitable to them.³⁵³ We see no indications that the Lithuanians were willing to pursue the matter further. They did not rescind the invitation, but apparently they believed that they had done all that ought to do in response to Radziwiłł's directive and left the matter on the table for action at some future date.

By this time the Minor Polish agendas had reached not only the Lithuanian Podlассian District but the congregations in Major Poland as well.³⁵⁴ We do not know to what extent the Minor Polish agendas were influential in Major Poland, but it is reasonable to assume that there was some agreement between the usages of Minor Polish Church and Reformed Church in Kujavia, as we saw in the case where the Minor Polish Reformed recommended to the Bohemians that they examine the agenda which had been prepared by Daniel Mikołajewski.³⁵⁵ It was probably some cross fertilization between the Minor and Major Polish Churches with respect to their liturgical usages.

In 1626 Superintendent Jan Grzybowski invited the Lithuanians to attend the synod in Bełżyce to discuss the unification of catechisms,

³⁵² *Akta synodów Litewskich* 1611-1637, 141, 153; *Tworek* 1971, 122, 124.

³⁵³ *Tworek* 1971, 123.

³⁵⁴ *Agenda* 1637, 7.

³⁵⁵ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 347.

prayer books, hymnals, and agendas. A delegation was appointed with strict instructions not to depart from “the ceremonies of our Lithuanian Church.”³⁵⁶ Once again, while outwardly expressing interest in unification of the rites, the Lithuanians were concerned to hold the line and maintain its own unique tradition. Action was taken in 1627 to prohibit the use of hymnals and liturgical forms other than those provided in the 1621 Vilnius catechism. The only exception to this rule was that Minor Polish sources could be used in cases not provided for in the Lithuanian catechism.³⁵⁷

Eight years passed before any action was taken. A new group of ethnically Czech Moravian Brethren had arrived in Poland after 1629. They brought with them liturgical ceremonies and rites unique to their group and distinct forms used by the Brethren already in Major Poland. In the synod of April, 1632 in Leszno, Bohemian Brethren expressed their strong desire that a consensus and union be established between the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed, the newly arrived Brethren immigrants, and themselves. They called for the seniors to take responsibility for formulating agreements concerning liturgical rites and to produce materials to be used in all the churches. We have no record of a response from the seniors, but within a short time the Bohemian Brethren sent an official communication from their synod to the Minor Polish Church stating their position on the matter. They thought the proposed program to be important and resolved to pursue it on condition that hymns, catechisms, and agendas be made uniform. They proposed that a synod be called in the near future to include the delegations consisting of two clergymen and one laymen from each church to discuss, decide, and finally implement the resolution.³⁵⁸

It was suggested that the meeting be held in Stara Wieś in Major Poland in territory administered by Radziwiłł. Great initiative was shown by the ministers of Bohemian Brethren, especially those who served in Minor Polish areas. Their voices prevailed in the synod of Ostroróg on April 13, 1633, where they asked for meeting with the Minor Polish

³⁵⁶ *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*, 141; *Gmiterek 1985*, 96.

³⁵⁷ *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*, 153.

³⁵⁸ *Gmiterek 1985*, 101.

and Lithuanian Churches at a date and time to be mutually agreed. In 1633, shortly after Easter at a meeting in Leszno the senior clergy stated their approval of further contacts, but insisted that the Czech Moravian Brethren must be included in any plans for unification of rites.³⁵⁹

The Minor Polish Reformed Church responded positively to the Bohemian overtures. Superintendent Tomasz Wegierski sent letters to both the Lithuanians and Bohemians suggesting that a general convocation be held in Orla in Podlussia on August 24, 1633. The initiatory letter was received by the Bohemians early in May.³⁶⁰ The initial response of the Bohemian Senior Jan Rybiński (†1638) indicates some reluctance to become involved in this endeavor, but the general enthusiasm for the project among the clergy soon overcame his hesitancy. In his official response he noted that despite some minor misgivings he and his church would move ahead. They would send delegates to the proposed meeting with the hope, that conformity in rites might indeed result. He further asked that he be informed whether or not this date was agreeable to the Lithuanians.³⁶¹

The Lithuanians discussed this matter in their 1633 synod in Vilnius and agreed that the unification of rites was a pressing need in God's church. The proposed date was acceptable to them, and they chose delegates. The delegates were instructed to make certain that the rites agreed to were simple and pure, thereby indicating that they preferred their simple style of worship to the more highly developed Minor Polish forms which they suspected were rather too 'Catholic.' At the same time they decided again to ratify the *Sandomierz Consensus* with the Lutherans. Were the Lutherans not willing to subscribe to such a reaffirmation, there should at least prevail a spirit of brotherly love between the two groups.³⁶²

The Minor Polish Church elected their delegates in the church-wide synod at Oksza on April 28, 1633, but we are given no clear picture of what preparatory measures they may have taken for the meeting.

³⁵⁹ Gmiterek 1985, 102.

³⁶⁰ Gmiterek 1985, 102.

³⁶¹ Gmiterek 1985, 102.

³⁶² *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*, 401.

Since the Minor Polish Church had a rich liturgical tradition, and it was evident that their agendas would serve as the basis for common rite, it appears that they did not think that it needed to do further preparatory work. Delegates to the convocation included Superintendent Tomasz Węgierski, Tomasz Petricius (†1641), senior of Bełz, Minister Wojciech Węgierski, and lay patron Mikołaj Ossoliński.³⁶³

It was the Bohemian Brethren who devoted themselves to the most extensive and careful preparation for the convocation. In July 1633 at the synod in Leszno the two Bohemian groups, the Bohemian and Czech Moravian Brethren, chose their delegates. Three leading churchmen, Mikołajewski, Cyrillus, and Paliurus, had died since the important 1632 synod, and only Moravian Senior Jerzy Erast was still alive. Many in the 1633 gathering indicated that they had questions about what had actually been decided and to what they had committed themselves at the earlier meeting. It was decided that it was now too late to pull out or to reconsider, and they should move forward and participate fully. They stated that for sixty years the Lutherans had frustrated their attempts to formulate common ceremonies and a united church. Now they could at last move ahead and achieve liturgical unity with the Reformed. Thus two great confessions would become one. Under the present circumstances it would be better to move forward than to move back. Only if the St. Bartholomew's meeting at Orla should prove a failure would they hold back.³⁶⁴ They designated as delegates Marcin Orminius, senior of the Church in Major Poland, consenior Jakub Memoratus, Minister Jan Bythner, and lay patron Maciej Głoskowski, thus following the same pattern as the Minor Polish Church. The delegates were instructed to pay specially close attention to matter of the unification of the hymnal and agenda. A common catechism would be less likely to create problems. Further, no changes were to be allowed concerning internal ecclesiastical structure and polity. Should these matters arise, the Brethren delegates would be expected to support the traditional Brethren position on these matters, since only the unification of rites and ceremonies was to

³⁶³ *Acta et conclusiones* 1547-1650, 508, 510.

³⁶⁴ *Gmiterek* 1985, 103-104.

be discussed. It was further stated that final acceptance of the decisions at Orla must be left to the Bohemian synod.³⁶⁵

The Bohemians gave primary attention to the order for the Lord's Supper and expressed particular concern about the form of confession to be used.³⁶⁶ Kraiński had included a specific form of confession, however he had not given the wording of the prayer to be used. The 1602 agenda also had provided no confession prayer, and the 1614 book as well included the recommendations but provided no form. The Bohemians wanted a settled form. Their views of the Lord's Supper were such that they did not want this matter left to the discretion of the local clergy and the congregations. They affirmed the practice of a two day preparation for the celebration and the reception of the Holy Communion with special emphasis being given to bodily fasting and they traditional practice of using the host instead of ordinary bread.³⁶⁷

Armed with the authorization and the recommendations of the groups they represented, the delegates convened in Orla on St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1633, for the purpose of unifying the catechisms, hymnals and agendas of their respective churches. The progress of the negotiations are not given; the protocols reflect only the conclusions reached by the delegates. They agreed that Kraiński's work should serve as the agenda's basis. Size, script, and title, and outward form of the new book should match that of the 1614 agenda, which they refer to as Kraiński's work.³⁶⁸ Forms were prepared for the pastoral acts, including Baptism, Churching of Women, Lord's Supper, Communion of the Sick, Holy Matrimony, Confirmation and Admission to Holy Communion (separate forms for the Confirmation of Children, Adults, and a form for the Reception of Converts, such as Jews, Turks, Tatars, Arians, etc.), the Ministry of the Keys relating to Discipline and Excommunication, Reception of Penitents, Visitation of the Sick, and Burial of the Dead.³⁶⁹ Most of these forms were taken from the 1614 agenda, with only minor

³⁶⁵ *Gmiterek* 1985, 104.

³⁶⁶ *Gmiterek* 1985, 106.

³⁶⁷ *Gmiterek* 1985, 106.

³⁶⁸ In our study we refer to it as the '*Agenda* 1614'.

³⁶⁹ *Księga synodów* 1636-1678, 39-71.

changes. The title of the agenda should be *Porządek Nabożeństwa etc., przez Starsze Zborow Reformowanych Koronnych y Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*.³⁷⁰ Tomasz Węgierski, superintendent of Minor Poland, was assigned the task of preparing the preparatory service on the day before Communion in consultation with the other two superintendents.³⁷¹ The work of preparing the orders of repentance and excommunication was given to Lithuanian Superintendent Andrzej Dobrzański (†1640).³⁷² He was also made responsible for the rite of divorce, and the introductions to the hymnal and the agenda.³⁷³ By Lithuanian request it was decided to omit the calendar and its explanation. Each participating church was to pay 150 *Złoty*³⁷⁴ to defray the costs of preparing and printing of the agenda and hymnal.³⁷⁵ Each church was asked to conform these arrangements in its own church-wide synod.

The protocols of the general convocation at Orla show that the momentous decision to pursue the work of unifying the rites, hymnals and catechisms of the Bohemian Brethren, the Lithuanians, and Minor Poles was accomplished easily with no dissention. When one considers the years of work and the long held hopes which lay behind the decisions made at convocation at Orla, one may be surprised that these three distinct liturgical traditions should determine to move ahead to merge their worship life and its expression after only few days of general discussion. It is evident that each of the three groups had to make many compromises. This is especially true of the Lithuanians, who agreed to surrender their simple and stark form of Holy Communion for the foreign and far richer liturgical service of Minor Poland. It is evident that it was the urgings of Duke Radziwiłł which moved them to take this path. Up until the day of the convocation he repeatedly urged them to

³⁷⁰ *Akta synodów 1570-1676*, (manuscript 1) 5; *Acta Albo Constitucie 1618-1704*, 149; *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 2.

³⁷¹ *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 40.

³⁷² *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 70.

³⁷³ *Akta synodów 1570-1676*, (manuscript 1) 4-5; *Acta Albo Constitucie 1618-1704*, 149; *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 2.

³⁷⁴ Traditional Polish currency unit dating back to the Middle Ages.

³⁷⁵ *Akta synodów 1570-1676*, (manuscript 1) 6; *Acta Albo Constitucie 1618-1704*, 149; *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 2.

pursue this desirable task to its completion. In a letter addressed to the convocation Radziwiłł expressed his heartfelt joy that this decisive step had now been taken to glory of God and to the good of the church.³⁷⁶

Work on the preparation of the forms for the new agenda was put in the hands of the Reformed of Minor Poland and the Lithuanians. The Bohemian Brethren took no active role. Outwardly it appeared that they were in complete agreement with the Minor Poles and Lithuanians and felt that active participation was unnecessary. Indeed the Brethren willingly put the preparation of the new rites into the hands of Minor Polish Superintendent Tomasz Węgierski. He had been raised as a member of their church and was well acquainted with their traditions and liturgical practices. Further, he had been invited to accept the position of first senior in the Bohemian Church after the death of Paweł Paliurus (†1632).³⁷⁷ Consequently the Bohemians felt that their interests were well represented. However Węgierski did not enjoy such a uniformly high regard in Minor Poland, where the extent of his loyalty to Calvinistic rites and ceremonies was suspect. At the synod of the Lublin District in April, 1634 at Kock a comparison of his forms with those of Kraiński showed that he leaned toward the Brethren. The Lublin clergy, however, favored Kraiński's provisions.³⁷⁸

First reactions to the decisions of the Orla convocation came from the Bohemians at the synod of Ostroróg in May, 1634. Here the ministers publicly expressed their strong desire that the work be completed as quickly as possible. The higher clergy, however, expressed some reluctance at this regard. The ministers, however, enthusiastically responded that even though the liturgy was still unpublished they were ready to introduce the new forms in their congregations. One such innovation was the practice of standing during the singing of the introit. Perhaps the most significant innovation was the substitution of ordinary bread for the host and the practice of breaking of the bread which they called *essentiae ritum*. This was not a small change. It indicates that they have acquiesced to the Calvinist understanding that Christ's command "This

³⁷⁶ Gmiterek 1985, 106-107.

³⁷⁷ Gmiterek 1985, 108.

³⁷⁸ Gmiterek 1985, 108.

do” calls for an imitation of Christ’s actions in the Supper, thus moving away from exclusive concentration on eating and drinking to a more comprehensive imitation of what Christ is understood to have done and required. The synod resolved to communicate to both the Minor Poles and then to the Lithuanians their desire that the book be published as soon as possible after the seniors have reviewed and approve its provisions.³⁷⁹

In a letter to a Minor Polish synod, Bohemian Senior Rybiński asked that no impediments be allowed to interfere with the immediate publication of the work. He expressed his hope that the synod formally affirm the work that had been done and that a convocation of the three churches be called to meet at Toruń to make a final decisions without further correspondence or delay.³⁸⁰

Although Rybiński’s letter of May 12 did not arrive in time to be read and considered, the church-wide synod at Bełżyce held on May 18, 1634 was evidently of the same mind. They approved the Orla decisions and moved that a general convocation be held at Włodawa on September 22, 1634. Superintendent Węgierski’s work was approved and the delegates were appointed to attend the coming meeting. Among them were ten clergy, including seniors and ministers from every district and seven laymen: Jerzy Rzczyski, Zbigniew Gorajski, Samuel Bolestraszycki, Walerian Otwinowski, Mikołaj Dębicki, and Jan Firlej.³⁸¹

The work was positively received in the Vilnius synod in 1634. It may seem strange that most attention at the synod was given to second part of the agenda, the secondary rites, rather than the Communion service which held so much meaning for the people. The Lord’s Super contained within it many features with which the Lithuanians were unfamiliar and some toward which they might exhibit outright hostility. At Orla they had expressed willingness to adopt the new service which was a clear departure from their traditional Communion liturgy, which went back to the time of Johannes a Lasco. However, it was not here that

³⁷⁹ *Gmiterek* 1985, 108-109.

³⁸⁰ *Gmiterek* 1985, 109.

³⁸¹ *Acta Albo Constitucie* 1618-1704, 104-105; *Gmiterek* 1985, 109; *Tworek* 1971, 127.

discussions found their center. Rather, the synod delegates strongly objected to the provision which allowed catechists to perform baptisms and celebrate Communion as though they were ministers of the church. Nor did they agree to the notion that in that case lay district seniors should be ordained to their positions. Further disagreements included some of the provisions for parish visitations by seniors and superintendents and innovations in the marriage rite. They believed the ceremony of installation of regional superintendents to be unnecessary, and they stated that the required examination of candidates for ordination should take place in the synod of the church and not before the congregation. The tone of their criticisms was quite strident and showed that in some of these matter at least they were not willing to compromise in the convocation.³⁸² Perhaps at this point the Lithuanians were expressing some fear about losing their own distinct identity as a national church. They had been caught up in the enthusiasm at the moment, but now, with the objective results of the program to which they had agreed before them, they were beginning to wonder whether the gains would as great as the loose.

On September 22, 1634 representatives of the three churches met at Włodawa as planned for their final deliberations on the new agenda. The proceedings at Włodawa are known to us through the report of the Bohemian delegates to their next synod, which was held on February 27, 1635 at Leszno. According to their report, on the first day the order of business was set. Permission was given for Czech-Moravians to participate, as Senior Jan Amos Comenius (Komeński, 1592-1670) had requested. The delegation of Bohemian Brethren consisted of Marcin Orminius, Jan Rybiński, Paweł Orlicz (Orlicius, †1649), Jan Bythner, who represented Czech Moravian Brethren. Jan Amos Comenius and Adam Hartman were also in attendance as representatives. The delegates gave the impression that proceedings did not go as easily as in Orla. Each group was bound to the close instructions of the synods which had sent them.³⁸³

³⁸² *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*, 413.

³⁸³ *Gmiterek* 1985, 109-110.

As the Lithuanian Church had asked, discussions were primarily centered in the second part of the agenda. Representatives discussed ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially the respective offices and responsibilities of the deacons, ministers, and superintendents, ordination and installation forms and related matters. Complete consensus on these matters could not be achieved. In cases where no agreement could be reached each group, would continue to follow its own tradition, and the appropriate alternative forms would be included in the agenda. Dobrzański was again assigned the responsibility of finishing of the divorce rite, and the preface to the hymnal and agenda. The provisions for the calendar, which had been dropped at Orla at the insistence of Lithuanians, were now reintroduced, indicating that all parties were willing to make at least minor compromises.³⁸⁴ The fifth canon, *De Adiaphoris*, allowed for external ceremonies in the administration of the Lords Supper to be regarded as *adiaphora* and allowed the churches certain liberties with references to them.³⁸⁵ There are no further references to rite of the Holy Communion which later would prove to be a major obstacle to the acceptance of the new book in Lithuania.

600 copies of the new book were ordered to be printed by Hünefeldt in Gdańsk; thus the work has come to be known as the Great Gdańsk Agenda. Each church agreed that after publication they immediately would purchase the number of copies assigned to them: 300 to Lithuania, 200 to Minor Poland, and 100 to Major Poland.³⁸⁶ The work of arranging for the publication was assigned to the Bohemian Brethren. Similar arrangements were made concerning the publication of the hymnal.

All groups came away from the convocation feeling that as a result of the candid and sometimes difficult discussions real agreement had

³⁸⁴ *Acta synodów 1570-1676*, (manuscript 2) 12-16; *Acta Albo Constitucie 1618-1704*, 152-158; *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 73-77.

³⁸⁵ “De Adiaphoris. Na czasy trudne, y insze impedimenta obvia, pilny wzgląd mając, minutiora quaeq; in ritibus externis Ecclesiae Dei maxime in administratione Caenae Dominicae, ut pote Adiaphora, aedificationi studendo, libertati Ecclesiarum cujuslibet Provinciae, mutuo consensu relinquimus.” *Acta synodów 1570-1676*, 15; *Acta Albo Constitucie 1618-1704*, 154; *Agenda 1637*, 264.

³⁸⁶ *Acta synodów 1570-1676*, (manuscript 2) 12; *Acta Albo Constitucie 1618-1704*, 153; *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 74.

been achieved and the work would now go forward unimpaired. All that now would be required would be final ratification of their work by the synods.

The Lithuanians were satisfied with the results of the general convocation, and the synod at Vilnius in 1635 accepted the work unanimously with thanksgiving to God. It was decided that a copy of the proceedings be placed in the archives both as a commemoration of the event and as a research document. It was resolved to pay the Lithuanian portion of the costs for publication and to distribute the new agendas and hymnals to ministers for use in their congregations.³⁸⁷

It was decided at Włodawa that henceforth the superintendents of the three participating churches should meet annually at Toruń, Orla, and Włodawa. The first such meeting was held in Toruń on October 18, 1636 for the purpose of making the final decision concerning the works which have been approved by the participating churches. The forms, prepared by Dobrzański and Węgierski, were corrected by Jan Amos Comenius, Piotr Zimmerman, Paweł Orlicz, Jan Hiperik, and Adam Hartman as evidence of the great faith and careful study of those who had prepared this work.³⁸⁸ Arrangements were made for printing 1000 copies of the hymnal, 800 copies of the prayer book and 600 copies of the agenda.³⁸⁹ Paweł Orlicz put forward the needed payment in return for the promissory notes of the churches. The project had reached its completion, and it appeared to all that the results of the labors which had first begun over sixty years before at Sandomierz at least partly had been reached their successful conclusion.

The Hünefeldt Publishing House in Gdańsk begun work on the new agenda immediately. By May 19, the date of the synod of Bohemian Brethren in Leszno, enough of the first part had been completed for preliminary materials to be put into the hands of all participants. The delegates were most gratified and looked forward the early completed of the entire work in time for it to be distributed to all the clergy in the autumn

³⁸⁷ *Akta synodów Litewskich* 1611-1637, 426.

³⁸⁸ *Akta synodów 1570-1676*, 40.

³⁸⁹ *Akta synodów 1570-1676*, (manuscript 3) 41; *Acta Albo Constitucie* 1618-1704, 161; *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 103.

visitation.³⁹⁰ The new agenda came into the immediate use among the Brethren, and beginning with 1638 the ordination of acolytes, deacons, and ministers was made according to the new order.³⁹¹

The church-wide synod of the Minor Poles in Bełżyce on September 25-29, 1637 received the work with thanksgiving and unanimously moved the acceptance of the already completed agenda, hymnal, and prayer book. The Minor Poles emphatically stated that the agenda was to be used in every parish of every district.³⁹²

The Great Gdańsk Agenda was the most comprehensive liturgical book to have been produced in Poland since the Reformation. It was very detailed and its service of Lord's Supper was more highly developed than any earlier rite. Most importantly, it was produced as a result of the collaborative efforts of the representatives of the Major and Minor Polish Churches and the Lithuanian Church. While generally standing in the Lasco tradition, it was clearly a Polish work in that it builds on the foundation of the earlier Minor Polish agendas and incorporates many features peculiar to that tradition.

The Communion service consists in two sections. The first is a form for the preparation for those who intend to come to the Lord's Supper, and the second is the form of the Communion service itself. For the first time a complete and detailed order is given for the service of preparation on the day before Communion. It includes the invocation to Triune God, the call to self-examination, the form of public examination, the admonition to turn from darkness and walk in the light, the confession of sins, words assuring the sincere penitents of their forgiveness, and the enrolment of the communicants. The dominant note throughout is one of encouragement and reassurance. Sinners who sincerely hope for forgiveness are assured that they are forgiven and those who registered their intention to come to the Lord's table are assured that their names are also written in heaven.³⁹³

³⁹⁰ *Gmiterek* 1985, 112-113.

³⁹¹ *Gmiterek* 1985, 113.

³⁹² *Synody* 1611-1844, 19; *Księga dystryktowa* 1634-1722, 24-25.

³⁹³ *Agenda* 1637, 83-99.

The structural form of the Lord's Supper runs in line with the agendas of 1599, 1602, and 1614. Some sections have been reworked or otherwise moved around. The Lord's Prayer has been moved to a place before the invitation to God's table and the *Agnus Dei*, which in 1599 and 1602 preceded the breaking of the bread, and 1614 the words of 1 Corinthians 5, is now placed much earlier in the service in connection with the confession of sins. Lasco's practice of the separate communion, a feature in all Minor Polish agendas is perpetuated. The distribution formula follows the wording of the 1614 rite, with the omission of the minister's words and his self communion "In faith I eat ..." The words of the communion blessing are new. Newly introduced are Lasco's words of consolation and encouragement after communion which are found in all Lithuanian rites. An additional new element not found in any earlier agendas is the admonition to live true Christian life which precedes the benediction.³⁹⁴

In one important respect the agreement made at Włodawa was not followed. At that convocation it had been agreed that the title of the book was to be called *Porządek Nabożeństwa*. When the book appeared the name on the title page read *Agenda albo Forma Porządku...* instead. The term 'agenda' in the title had not previously been used in Polish or Lithuanian liturgical books, but it was a common usage among the Bohemians, who were responsible for the printing. It seems likely that this change was made by them.

The book was immediately put to use throughout both Minor and Major Poland.³⁹⁵ The Minor Polish church-wide synod again gave its official approval to the work in its meeting on September 24-26, 1638 at Krasnobród³⁹⁶ and on September 23-26, 1639 at Oksza.³⁹⁷ In the face of reticence of some clergy to use the new book, the church-wide synod

³⁹⁴ *Agenda* 1637, 100-127.

³⁹⁵ The great Gdańsk Agenda was especially favorably accepted by the District of Lublin in Minor Poland in the synods in Kock 1637, Bełżyce 1637, Biłgoraj 1638, Kock 1639, and Kock 1643. *Actorum synodaliūm* 1636-1663, 9, 10, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 27, 56, 57; *Księga dystryktowa* 1636-1708, 2, 5, 7, 9, 23, 26.

³⁹⁶ *Synody* 1611-1844, 19; *Acta Albo Constitucie* 1618-1704, 123-128.

³⁹⁷ *Księga dystryktowa* 1634-1722, 31-32.

at Chmielnik on September 28, 1640 provided an incentive for reticent ministers by resolving to impose penalties upon those who did not use the new work.³⁹⁸

Lithuania presents us with a different picture. Here from the start one obstacle after another was raised to prevent the acceptance of the new work. Even before the publication of the whole book, when the delegates became acquainted with the contents of the first 310 pages of the book put before them in the June 1637 synod at Vilnius, they were appalled by its contents and immediately protested.³⁹⁹ The Polish Reformed and Bohemian Brethren were puzzled and chagrined by this development. The Lithuanians had in effect rejected a work in which they had been major contributors. They appeared to be turning their back on the work which they had earlier so enthusiastically supported and subscribed not only in the general convocations at Orla and Włodawa, but also in their 1634 and 1635 synods in Vilnius. Seven years of delicate negotiation would be needed before a solution to this impasse could be found. An accompanying work, *Akt usługi*, published in 1644 in Lubcza, went far to answer the Lithuanians grievances.⁴⁰⁰

In retrospect, we note that liturgical work did not begin until long after the Reformation was first planted in Poland. No effective work could be done until the Polish congregations had reached some tentative consensus concerning the theology of the sacraments. This work could not even be begun until the church had dealt with internal theological divisions caused by the Anti-Trinitarians and other radical groups. In addition to the clarification to its own theology, the Reformed had also to seek an approach to the Lutherans and the Bohemians Brethren. This was accomplished in the meetings which led to the *Sandomierz Consensus* in 1570 and the Reformed *Confession of Sandomierz* which soon followed. Here the Polish Reformed doctrine of the sacraments was finally formulated, to be further refined over the period of the next two decades. The appearance at the end of the century of Kraiński's work represents the fruit of these decades of struggle. The refinement of

³⁹⁸ *Księga dystryktowa* 1634-1722, 40-41; *Gmiterek* 1985, 113.

³⁹⁹ *Akta synodów Litewskich* 1611-1637; *Synody* 1611-1844, 13.

⁴⁰⁰ We will deal more fully with conditions in Lithuania in following section.

the Polish Reformed liturgical tradition would continue through several decades of the seventeenth century with the publication of agendas in 1602 and 1614 and the progressive acceptance of their provisions in the congregations. At the end of this line is the Great Gdańsk Agenda of 1637, usually described as the final and determinative liturgical production of the Polish Reformed Church. It makes selective and critical use of the agendas earlier appeared. Despite its antiquated language, this book continues in use today in the Reformed Churches throughout the region.

The complete unification of the rites and ceremonies in Poland and Lithuania was only partially achieved. Although the churches had hoped that the time would come when a single common agenda for all three churches could be published, these hopes were not to be fulfilled. The churches had to give their primary attention to other pressing matters. They were in a fight for their own survival against the onslaughts of the Counter Reformation led by the zealous and energetic Society of Jesus. In such a situation continued work toward a common agenda had finally to be laid aside in the hope that one day God would make it possible for them to again take up this significant work.

2.2. Developments in Sacramental Theology and Liturgical Practice in the Reformed Church of Lithuania

Reformation theology first came to Lithuania through the influence of Germans and Prussians. As was the case in Poland and elsewhere, the first wave of Reformation thought was predominantly Lutheran. The impact of Lutheranism was seen first among the Franciscan monks in Vilnius. As early as 1525 an unnamed Franciscan monk taught Lutheran doctrine in a local church.⁴⁰¹ This preaching did not long continue. It was not until 1539 that Lutheran preaching was again heard from the pulpit of St. Anna church, the gathering place of the German

⁴⁰¹ Some historians are of the opinion that this monk was Stanislaus Rapagelanus. This is a conjuncture which has been recently called into question. *Lukšaitė* 1999, 131, 132 fn.3.

speaking community in Vilnius.⁴⁰² Here the preacher is known to have been Abraham Culvensis who in that same year established a Lutheran academy in Vilnius, at which some 60 students were tutored in Lutheran doctrine.⁴⁰³ It may be assumed that there was little done to alter the outward form and ceremonies of the liturgy at this time. To do so would have provoked popular reaction by the conservative populace. Culvensis seems to have agreed with the position taken by Lutherans elsewhere that this was not a matter of first concern, for such matters were termed *adiaphora*. Reformation preaching, however, provoked reaction from the ecclesiastical authorities, and Bishop Paulus Algimundus (Algimantas Alšėniškis) called for the immediate suspension of Lutheran preaching at St. Anna church.⁴⁰⁴

Lutheran preaching recommenced with the establishment of the Lutheran parish in Vilnius in 1555. This church was built in the German district of the city and was popularly identified as the German church. From secondary sources we gain the impression that the liturgy of the parish was Saxonian, as was the case also throughout Poland.⁴⁰⁵ No liturgical books of this period are extant. Earliest published evidence dates only from 1640. In that year Pastor Jan Malina published in Vilnius a Polish language agenda *Porządek obzędow zwyczajnych kościoła Augustanskiey Konfessyi* for use throughout the Lutheran parishes in Lithuania.⁴⁰⁶

Elsewhere, in Samogitia, we see a similar development. In 1536 Catholic Priest Jan Tortyłowicz Batocki (Jonas Tartilavičius, Batakietis, †1558) preached Lutheran doctrine in the parish church in Šilalė (Szyłale), near Tauragė in South Western Lithuania. Nothing is known concerning changes in the liturgy in his parish. Because of persecution by the Samogitian Bishop Waclaw Wierzbicki (†1555), he was forced

⁴⁰² *Biržiška* 1960, 46; *Musteikis* 1988, 38.

⁴⁰³ *Węgiński* 1679, 74; *Biržiška* 1960, 45.

⁴⁰⁴ *Wotschke* 1905, 157.

⁴⁰⁵ *Adamowicz* 1855, 42.

⁴⁰⁶ *Jocher* 1842, 154. This source formerly available perished in WWII. It is likely that general rubrics of *Porządek obzędow* were included in a new Vilnius church order, prepared by Jahann Majus in 1648 under the title *D.T.O.M.A. Des Wilnaischen Kirch-Collegii Kirchen-Ordnung ... Den 22 July Vilna Anno M.DC.XLVIII*.

to flee to Prussia, but the promotion of Lutheran doctrine continued in private in that area of the country, under the protection of members of the nobility who opened their estates for Lutheran worship and preaching.⁴⁰⁷ Before the mid 1540's several students from the area, under the patronage of Jan Stanisław Bielewicz (Jonas Stanislovas Bilevičius), starosta of Samogitia, were sent to Königsberg to study Lutheran doctrine at the newly established university.⁴⁰⁸ At the head of the faculty of theology were Dean Stanislaus Rapagelanus and Abraham Culvensis, who had been forced to flee from Vilnius. Both understood the importance of providing worship materials in the language of the Lithuanian speaking people and to this end they translated popular Reformation hymns and Gospel pericopes. Although no liturgical materials of this period have survived, we may assume that parts of the Prussian liturgy were also provided in Lithuanian translation. It was the work of Martinus Mosvidius, a Samogitian student and later pastor in the Ragnit (Ragainė) parish, which had the greatest impact on both the catechetical and liturgical life of the Lithuanian speaking congregations. All the material which he provided in Lithuanian translation was taken from the Prussian Lutheran church orders, which were themselves strongly influenced by the Saxonian orders. Some of the material he included in his catechism – the Litany, Our Father, creed (Apostles' and Nicene), and psalms – is given with melodies which enabled both students and parishioners to rapidly become familiar with them and participate more fully in liturgical worship. He later supplemented this early work by publishing the Rite of Baptism, the Ambrosian hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*, Luther's German litany, the *Paraphrasis*, which consists in an invitation to prayer based on the Our Father and the words of institution as both are found in Luther's German Mass. Mosvidius' *magnum opus* was his two volume hymnal *Gesmes Chriksczoniskas* printed in 1566 and 1570 which included also the Lithuanian translations of the offices of Matins and Vespers, introits, collects, antiphons, versicles, and other liturgical materials.⁴⁰⁹ This work was destined to leave an indelible

⁴⁰⁷ *Fijalek* 1921, 94-104.

⁴⁰⁸ *Biržiška* 1960, 79-80; *Lukšaitė* 1999, 211.

⁴⁰⁹ *Mažvydas* 1993; *Petkūnas* 1997, 58-62.

mark on Lithuanian teaching and practice. Even Reformed congregations in Lithuania would later come to make use of Mosvidius' hymn translations.⁴¹⁰

Lutheran theology and practice did not make deep inroads among Lithuanian people. Only a small number of groups and leading citizens became adherents to Lutheranism. Most notable among these was Jan Radziwiłł who converted to Lutheranism in 1548-1550 and worshipped as a Lutheran until his untimely death in 1551.⁴¹¹ The sudden increase in popularity of Reformed theology was the result of the decision of Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black, whose power and authority was exceeded only that of the king himself. Most historians believe that in his earlier years he was attracted to Lutheranism.⁴¹² He established Protestant worship, probably Lutheran, at his estate in Brześć Litewski in 1533.⁴¹³ During this same period he became attracted to the theology

⁴¹⁰ *Pociūte* 1995, 39, 72-73.

⁴¹¹ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 251.

⁴¹² In a letter to Polish Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579) Augustyn Rotundus-Mieleski gives evidence of the Lutheran confession of Radziwiłł, "...tum (cum) secta haec Luterana in qua Palatinus Vlnensis initio fuit, in Zwinglianum degeneraret..." *Lukaszewicz* 1853, 57 fn.1.

We have the further evidence of a letter written on 13 December, 1553 to Hozjusz from Jan Benedykt, Canon of Kraków, stating that Radziwiłł was encouraging Lutheran preaching: "... Voievodkam et Tricesium jussu Radzivilionis imprimere in Breschie Lithuanico vulgari sermone Lutheranorum nenas et cantillare missam vernaculo contextu..." *Acta historica* 1886, 379 (No. 1132); *Katechizm Brzeski* 1553/1554, XI fn.2.

Another letter to Hozjusz written by Szymon Maricius on 25 January, 1554 states that Radziwiłł had been responsible for the publication of a Lutheran catechism. "... Bernardus Vovevodka, civis Cracoviensis, distractis rebus suis Brestiam, quae in Lithuania est, commigravit, ubi auctoritate Palatini Vlnensis Radzivilii vertit Lutheranos libros in linguam polonicam, ac in vulgum edit. Emisit jam Brencii catechismum, Luteri item." *Acta historica* 1886, 402 (No. 1182); *Katechizm Brzeski* 1553/1554, XI fn.3.

Additional evidence of this is found in the fact that Radziwiłł prominently displayed a portrait of Martin Luther in his personal chapel. It is known that his younger brother Jan Radziwiłł had become a public Lutheran, and this may have influenced him as well. *Lukšaitė* 1999, 251.

⁴¹³ *Lukšaitė* 1999, 250.

of the Swiss Reformers and quickly became the leading advocate of Reformed theology and practice throughout Lithuania.⁴¹⁴

Radziwiłł was a man of immense influence. It was he who determined which path the Lithuanian Reformed Church would follow. He was personally interested in all areas of theology and ecclesiology and was concerned to see to it that the Reformed Church be clearly cleansed of every taint of the Papal Church. The summary of his theological and practical ideas is found in his confession of faith *Responsum Illustrissimi Principis* of 1556, which he composed as a rebuttal to the papal legate Aloysius Lippomanus, who had publicly accused him of being the flag bearer of the heretics in Lithuania.⁴¹⁵ His *Responsum* is apologetic and polemical in nature. In addition to his ecclesiological notions here he informs us concerning liturgical reform. In addition to his statement that both the bread and cup must be administered to the people, he insists upon the elimination of every inward and outward form of Papal idolatry so that only the pure Gospel remains. All traditional vesture and ceremonies must be eliminated, in imitation of primitive Christianity of the post-apostolic age. Rejected also is any notion of the offering of Christ as a sacrificial victim in the Mass. The sacrificial altar must be replaced by a simple table, and pictures of the saints together with statuary and other ornaments must be allowed no place in the purified church. Most interesting is his sacramental theology, which reveals that already by 1556 he had left Lutheranism behind and traveled theologically from Wittenberg to Geneva. In accordance with Reformed he asserts that the body of Christ may in no way be identified with the earthly bread used in the Lord's Supper.⁴¹⁶ He further indicates that Christ could

⁴¹⁴ The date of his conversion to Reformed theology is matter of conjecture. Lukšaitė suggests that it was no earlier than 1556, when he made public his own *Confessio Fidei* of 1556. She states that it is probable that he made no real distinction between Lutheran and Reformed teaching in his Confession. *Lukšaitė* 1999, 251. Other students of the period suggest 1557 or 1558 as more likely dates. *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, II.

⁴¹⁵ *Duae epistolae* 1556, Cijj-Mijj.

⁴¹⁶ “Quo fit, ut repudiatis uestris eiusmodi idolis & superstitionibus, non latitantem, aut delitescentem in placentis uestris, ut uos uultis Iesum Christum Dei & Mariae filium, uerum Deum, & uerum hominem, sed a dextris Deisedentem, ibique cum

not possibly be physically present on the altar according to his human nature, since that nature is spatially limited to the right hand of God.⁴¹⁷ In any case the flesh of Christ can be of no avail, as he understands Christ himself to say in John 6.⁴¹⁸

Among the close associates and members of Radziwiłł's entourage we find the men who would take responsibility for shaping the faith and worship of the Reformed Church in Lithuania. One of these, Szymon Zacjusz, Radziwiłł appointed to be preacher in his chapel. He received his education at the University of Kraków, earned his Master's degree and was ordained to the priesthood in the Roman Church. He enjoyed a good reputation as a learned scholar and taught for several years in the *Collegium Maius* at the university. He became closely acquainted with Reformation theology, converted to the Protestant faith, and in 1550-1551 was subjected to persecution because of his new theological opinions.⁴¹⁹ He fled to Brześć Litewski, where Radziwiłł became his patron and protector.

In the earliest period Reformed preaching was restricted to private estates, but 1557 Radziwiłł determined that the time was ripe to go public. In that year he brought Zacjusz to Vilnius for the purpose of engaging in public debates and establishing Reformed Church in the Capital city.⁴²⁰ Between December 14, 1557 and February 15, 1558 a series of public debates were held at which Zacjusz presented what he termed the "pure" confession of Christian faith. His presentations were published in 1559 under the title *Akta to jest sprawy zboru krześcijańskiego Wileńskiego ...1557*.

ipso Patre, perpetuo regnantem, inferiora haec pro placito gubernantem..." *Duae epistolae* 1556, Fij.

⁴¹⁷ "Sed priuatas uestras Missas, in quibus Coenam Domini, ipsum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, turpissime pro fanatis, filium Dei a dextris Patris in fordissimas omnique scelere plenas Sacrificulorum manus, magicis uestris incantationibus detrahendum..." *Duae epistolae* 1556, Fij.

⁴¹⁸ The public dissemination of Radziwiłł's confession came through the efforts Petrus Paul Vergerio (†1565), Lutheran bishop and formerly Papal nuncio in attendance at the Diet of Augsburg in June 1530. The publication of this important document had a major impact throughout Lithuania. *Любовичь* 1883, 174.

⁴¹⁹ *Lehmann* 1937, 79.

⁴²⁰ *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, II.

These documents, which were directed against the erroneous opinions of the Romans, Lutherans, and sectarians, reveal much about Radziwiłł's and Zącjusz's personal convictions concerning the constitution of the church. The *Acta* probably should not be considered a formal confession of faith, because it was not the purpose of the author to present the comprehensive confession of the whole body of the Christian doctrine. Instead Zącjusz wished to focus upon the controverted articles, namely the Lord's Supper and the person and work of Christ, articles which were in strong contention among the Lutheran and Reformed theologians and churches. Notes taken during the debates indicate that some present at the meetings took strong exception to Zącjusz's sacramental opinions and defended the Lutheran position on the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament.⁴²¹ It appears that Radziwiłł and Zącjusz regarded the Lutheran community, which had already been established, rather than the Roman Church, as their primary focus for mission activity. Evidently they believed that the Reformed Church could be established and prosper most easily at the expense of the Lutherans.⁴²²

At the third meeting differences concerning the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper were addressed. The protocols indicate that some participants confessed the teaching of Christ's bodily presence in the sacramental species and that the body of Christ is bodily received. In rebuttal Zącjusz presented a sacramental teaching with special reference to Christ's Words: "This is my body" which was, according to his words, the true scriptural teaching.⁴²³ After the manner of the Swiss Reformers, he built on the basis of analogous texts a doctrine according to which bread and wine stand as figures representing the body and blood. To clarify his meaning, he made reference to the words: "This cup is the New Testament in my blood" (1 Corinthians 11:25;

⁴²¹ *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 7.

⁴²² *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, II-III.

⁴²³ "Na they Schadzce Simon z Prossowic superintendens, chcąc uczynić dosyć pismem świętym niekthorym bratom, ktorzi twierdzili o wieczerzey Pańskiej, aby tam było cieleśnie ciało Pana Christusowo pożywane, podał na piśmie naukę o wykładaniu świętego pisma, pod them tytułem y themi słowy, iako tu niżej, a to dla wyrozumienia tych słow: TO JEST CIAŁO moie." *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 7.

Luke 22:20). He wondered how a cup could be the New Testament, and discoursed on the phrase: “Where I am, there shall also my servant be” (John 12:26). If Christ were in the bread and in the cup, he posited, then St. Paul and all the apostles must also be bodily present there. Further, if Christ’s Words: “I and my Father are one” (John 10:30) were to be taken literally, then the death of Christ would have to be understood to the death of God. Consequently, we are bound by logic, he asserted, to insist that passages regarding Christ’s presence must be taken spiritually or figuratively.⁴²⁴

In the meeting on February 15 he turned his attention to the doctrine of two natures in the one person of Jesus Christ. His thesis was that the divine nature is unlimited, but the human nature is limited by its humanness. Therefore, although according to his divine nature Christ can be omnipresent in all places, according to his human nature he is limited to the place to which he has ascended, namely, the right hand of the Father in heaven. The divine nature cannot be circumscribed, enclosed, or hidden. According to Zacjusz, this precludes Christ’s presence in the earthly elements, in which he is said to be circumscribed, enclosed, and hidden. He pointed out that in the Scriptures many things are attributed to the human nature which cannot appropriately be ascribed to the divine nature. Thus to speak of Christ’s death, his descent into hell and other experiences is inappropriate speech if the subject is the divine nature.⁴²⁵

In the final meeting Zacjusz summarized his position, stating that reason makes it clear the Christ’s presence in the sacrament must be understood to be figurative in nature.⁴²⁶ Thus he clearly put himself in the main stream of Reformed sacramental teaching as it had been developed by John Calvin. Those who receive the earthly elements of bread and wine in faith receive at the same time the heavenly body and blood of which the former are mere signs and figures. The fruit of the heavenly blessing is that the communicants offer thanks to God, partake of the

⁴²⁴ *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 10-11.

⁴²⁵ *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 15.

⁴²⁶ *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 11.

pledges of his salvation, and are united spiritually with Christ who by faith lives in them and they in him.⁴²⁷

At the beginning of his lectures Zacjusz had stated that his arguments were directed against the Anabaptists, Libertines, Enthusiasts, Swenkfeldians, the followers of Michael Servetus (1511- 1553), and the New Arians. Included also were those who hold an Capernaitic view of the sacrament.⁴²⁸ In the course of the lectures it became evident that his fire was directed specifically against the Pope's theology and that of the Lutherans. He took aim against both the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the teaching that Christ is bodily present under the forms of bread and wine.⁴²⁹ He reiterated the Reformed insistence that the bodily eating would be fruitless, since Christ is not food for the stomach, but sacramental food for the soul, which alone is able to apprehend it by faith.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 19-20.

⁴²⁸ "Tak okrutnie nadyma Złydych swoje dudy, Nowokrczenze, Libertyny, Entusias-ty, Swenkfeldiusse, Serwety y Goniądze nowe Arriany, że tim ich głosnem piskaniem, zasmuca się duch wiela cnotliwych a pobożnych Krzescianskich ludzi. A niektórzy iuż plesać poczynią, czego się panie Boże racz pożalić, które za czelnieysse członki w Kościele Krzescianskiem miano. Nie mnieysse też zaburzenie y Kapernaitowie czynią, które o przitomnosc i ciała i krwi panskiej, w naswietssym sacramencie wiecerzy pańskiej, grube a sprostne mnimania mają, a onych upornie z wielkiem zgorsseniem kościoła wssytkiego bronią." *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 5.

⁴²⁹ "[Y] kościół on stary krzesciański [ta]kiey wsseclimocnoscy Bożey [p]rzy wiecerzy panskiej niew[s]pomynał nyc, any wiedział, [a]ni też znał takiego przewierz[g]ania chleba, w cielesne ciało [p]ana Christusowe abo też ta[ie]nia abo siedzenia pod chle[be]m albo przyńnienia przy chle[bie] abo zamkienia w chlebie, [ia]ko niektorzy chcieli uczyć, y [u]czyły chcą swą rzecz stawyc wsseclimocnością Bożą aleć to przeciw pismu s. isćie było." *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 24.

⁴³⁰ "Bo dla wiary zwał błogosławienie Christus nie dla cielesnego piastowania abo iedzenia etc. My przeto wierniey w tem iego wssechmocnosc znamy y wierzymy że on siedząc na prawicy Boga oycza przenika swą mocą (nie stepując tu cielesnie daley) niebo y ziemie y daie nam swe ciało y krew przyrodzone w świętosiach że używamy go wiarą, choć ustha cielesnie osoby sacramentalne iedzą, ktemuż prawie y papiesnicy w decretach swych wziawssi wyrok s. Augustina napysali, że sacra[ment] iest ciało onego ciała, a [krew] zaś iest Sacrament oney [krwi]e Christusowey. A tamże też trochę wyssei. Nie to cia[ło] b]ędziecie iesc które żydowie [na] krzysz wbyią any tey krwi [pyć] będziecie kthorą żydowie [wy]leją, boć wam Sacrament [zle]cam ktory duchownie rozu[mi]any ożywy dusse wasse." *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 24-25.

All this represents a mature Reformed position which with regard to the sacrament, is Calvinistic in approach and content. The axiom *finitum non capax infiniti* reveals itself as a basic principle upon which the relationship between the divine and human nature of Christ and the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper are to be understood and confessed. His lectures are built in a logically congruent fashion upon his major premise. Only in conclusion does he draw specific attention to the errors of Roman Catholic Transubstantiation and Lutheran sacramental teaching, but it is evident that this conclusion has from the start been his goal. Although it would be quite unfair to characterize Roman and Lutheran sacramental teaching as Capernaïtic, he is able to make clever use of this pejorative to characterize the position of his opponents. We may also regard this confession and its conclusions as liturgically significant, in that the importance of frequent Communion celebration and reception receives scant attention. Holy Communion is to be an occasional service which seals and certifies the forgiveness one has received apart from the Communion itself, rather than the acknowledged normal weekly worship service in the churches. More important than Communion reception is preaching and teaching by which faith is instilled and fortified. Without this faith the celebration and reception of Communion would be of no spiritual value.

In retrospect, historians regard this series of meetings to have been the first synod of Lithuanian Reformed Churches. It was at the third of these sessions on January 18, that, according to the protocols, Zajczysz became the superintendent of the Vilnius District.⁴³¹ As catechist the assembly selected Szymon Budny, who already was espousing an unsound theology and soon became an Anti-Trinitarian. At a synod on December 15, 1558 in Brześć Litewski, a second district was created, testifying to the expanding influence of Reformed Church.⁴³² This was a clear sign of a rapidly expanding network of districts and local churches throughout the region.

⁴³¹ *Akta to jest sprawy* 1913, 7.

⁴³² *Lubieniecki* 1995, 176, 199-201, 323-324.

As noted above, Lasco had been unsuccessful in his attempt to unite the Reformed and Lutherans in Poland. His public debates in Königsberg in 1558 had been a complete failure. Radziwiłł thought that his immense political and social prominence would make his attempts to implement Lasco's program successful. His vision included also a union which would extend beyond the borders of Lithuania to encompass both the Prussians and the Livonians in a united Protestant Church.⁴³³

This matter was publicly presented on May 5-9, 1560 at the synod in Pińczów, in Minor Poland, where Mikołaj Wędrogowski, superintendent of Vilnius District, spoke of the creation of such a union.⁴³⁴ This would necessitate an easing of theological tensions between the groups, especially with reference to Christology and the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament. In a letter addressed to the Prussian pastors an attempt was made by the Reformed congregation in Vilnius to establish the goal of the union of their confessions. This letter was received by the Prussians on September 26, 1560.⁴³⁵

This letter, entitled *De Confessione ministrorum ecclesiae Vilnensis*, represents the confession of faith of the Vilnius Reformed parish.⁴³⁶ As was the case in the public debates of 1557-1558, attention is directed specifically to the question of Christ's presence, the adoration of the sacrament, and related matters. The position of the parish is presented on behalf of all, but its author is unknown. This document, which consists of seven articles, is important source material for us regarding the theological position of the Reformed Church in Lithuania in a situation which called for the easing of theological tensions.

⁴³³ *Wotschke* 1911 b, 251, 265.

⁴³⁴ "Nicolaus Wędrogowski publice rogavit istud fieri a nobis, ut significemus ecclesiis de generalibus synodis, adferens praeterea eum affectum inesse aliis provinciis, puta il. principi duci Prussiae et magistro Livoniae, qui cupiunt legatos suos interesse synodis nostris, ut sua quoque nobiscum componant." *Akta synodów II* 1972, 20.

⁴³⁵ *Wotschke* 1911 b, 279.

⁴³⁶ *De Confessione ministrorum ecclesiae Vilnensis, quara de coena domini conscriptam ad ministros ecclesiarum Prutenicarum miserunt, eorundem ministrorum Prutenicorum sententia*. The document itself became available in 1913 when it was included in the appendix of Theodor Wotchke's *Vergerios zweite Reise nach Preussen und Lithauen*. *Wotschke* 1911 b, 302-305.

In the confession the congregation says that those who eat and drink in faith receive the true body and true blood of Christ. The use of the term *corpus verum* is not a typical Reformed term. However, in line with the Reformed tradition, it is said that only those who eat and drink in faith receive the body and blood, and unbelievers do not, for its reception is spiritual and available only by faith.⁴³⁷ The second article deals with differences between the Reformed and Lutherans. Christ's presence is understood to be neither natural nor corporeal, and the body and blood of Christ are said to be only spiritually present, not locally included in the bread and wine. While acknowledging that this terminology is different from that used by Luther, the claim is made that the differences are only minimal and therefore insignificant.⁴³⁸ Without direct mention of either of Roman Catholics or Lutherans, the article goes on to deny any understanding of the sacrament involving a Capernaïtic reception or the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and states that the impious fail to receive sacramental benefits.⁴³⁹ In the third article, the adora-

⁴³⁷ “Quod in primo articulo profitentur et asserunt omnes pios in coena domini manducare verum corpus Christi et bibere verum sanguinem fide, item nostras animas manducare et bibere fide, id, quantum ad affirmationem istam attinet, extra controversiam est. Nam non modo ii, qui Zuingliani vocantur ei sine omni exceptione subscribunt, sed et nostri palam profitentur et decent, spiritualem manducationem fieri, qua corpus Christi manducatur et sanguis eius bibitur fide tum in usu coenae domini, tum extra usum sen sine usu. Sed quod ad negativam attinet, quae hic tacite comprehenditur infraque expresse ponitur, nempe impios non manducaro verum corpus Christi, de ea est iddensusio, itemque de exclusiva, manducationem corporis Christi tantum esse spiritualem seu sola fide fieri.” *Wotschke* 1911 b, 302.

⁴³⁸ “In quo asserunt nullam esse naturalem aut corporalem Christi praesentiam in sacramento seu vescentes de coena domini nequaquam Christum corporaliter manducare, quemadmodum Capernaïtae verba Christi de usu sui corporis accipiebant. Joh. 6. Nullam donique localem corporis et sanguinis Christi inclusionem in pane et vino fieri, etiam praesentium Christi in sacramento esse spiritualem. Haec verba, si recte sineque ambiguitate accipiantur, a doctrina nostrarum ecclesiarum, quae Lutheri sententiam amplectuntur et sequuntur, minime dissentiunt.” *Wotschke* 1911 b, 303.

⁴³⁹ “Sic et vocabulum spiritualiter non in alieno aut impio aliquo sensu hoc loco accipiendum ost, quemadmodum a quibusdam fieri videmus, qui corpus Christi in spiritum commutatum esse fingunt, vel spiritualis praesentiae appellationem solam cogitationem nostram seu recordationem corporis et beneficiorum Christi intelligunt. Sed spiritualis praesentia intelligatur ea, quo coelesti quodam ac spirituali seu mystico modo fit, qui modus fide apprehendi potest, ratione autem et intelligen-

tion of the sacrament is denied. Article six rejects the *ex opere operatio* understanding of the sacrament, and the seventh article again denies that the impious or unfaithful receive the sacrament or its benefits.⁴⁴⁰

It must be said that the general tone of the document is clearly Reformed and runs in line with the 1557 confession. However, it should be noted that no mention is made of Christological doctrine, and nowhere is the Lutheran position held up to criticism. Instead, the impression is given that differences between the Reformed and the Lutherans with reference to the Supper are of little consequence. The *manducatio oralis* is denied and it is definitely stated that reception is not with the mouth, but rather by faith alone.

We have no information concerning how the Prussians may have replied to this document. Perhaps we may rightly expect that those who had failed to be convinced by the arguments of Johannes a Lasco in 1558 remained unmoved by the overtures of the Lithuanian Reformed. Two years later, when Duke Albrecht sought a theological opinion concerning the union between the Reformed and Lutherans, the response of the Faculty of Theology in Königsberg warned him about the Calvinist doctrine of Holy Communion.⁴⁴¹

It is difficult to determine what liturgies were actually used in the Reformed congregations in Lithuania in the earliest period. The pertinent synodical records, together with the Reformed church building, were destroyed by students of Vilnius University in 1611, upon the urging of their Jesuit instructors. Consequently, we lack any primary source material and must depend upon second hand reports.

Two students of this period, Józef Łukaszewicz and Joseph Puryckis, both of whom wrote long after the fact, report that Marcin Czechowic (1532-1613), minister of the Reformed congregation in Vilnius, was sent by Radziwiłł in 1561 to Geneva to meet with John Calvin on matters pertaining to Lithuanian Reformed Church.⁴⁴² They report that he

tiae nostrae, dum in hac vita versamur, comprehendi nori potest.” *Wotschke* 1911 b, 303.

⁴⁴⁰ *Wotschke* 1911 b, 304.

⁴⁴¹ *Wotschke* 1911 b, 279 fn.2.

⁴⁴² *Łukaszewicz* 1850, 96.

brought back to Vilnius the liturgical rites of Calvin's Church in Geneva, and that these were adopted for use in Lithuania.⁴⁴³ Both of these scholars quote the Socinian Stanisław Lubieniecki to this effect. However, we do not find in the latter's work any clear indication of this report.⁴⁴⁴ Further it must be asked whether an established church or group of churches would find it necessary or advisable to so radically alter their present liturgical services. In our examination of Lithuanian liturgies we will find influence of Calvin's Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) rites, but not to the same extent one might expect from reading the statements of Łukaszewicz and Puryckis.⁴⁴⁵

Reformed influences from outside Lithuania were not lacking. A most important influence was Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio*, which was introduced in many congregations. Records of the period indicate that Lithuanians were often in attendance at synodical gatherings in Minor Poland during Lasco's residence there. Further, Lasco was Radziwiłł's guest in March 1557, when he traveled to Vilnius for the purpose of meeting the king. We may suppose that their discussions covered not only theoretical matters but practical matters as well. The thesis that Lasco's liturgical rites in Minor Poland also exercised an influence in Lithuania as well is defended by Theodor Wotschke. He states that the church order of Minor Poland was introduced into the Lithuanian congregations as a result of the synod at Włodzisław on September 4-15, 1558.⁴⁴⁶ It should be noted, however, that we lack the evidence supporting this move. Poland and Lithuania were separate countries, and the Polish synod was not empowered to legislate on behalf the Lithuanian congregations. The protocols of the synod speak only of the importance of uniformity in the public ministry doctrine and rites in Poland,⁴⁴⁷ al-

⁴⁴³ Puryckis 1919, 127.

⁴⁴⁴ Lubieniecki 1995, 183.

⁴⁴⁵ Lithuanians in their 1581, 1594, 1598, and 1600 Agendas reproduced Calvin's introductory rubric concerning the observance on the week before communion and on the day of communion together with the form of excommunication from his Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders. This, however, cannot be equated to the influence of Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* of 1550.

⁴⁴⁶ Wotschke 1911 a, 177.

⁴⁴⁷ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 271.

though Lithuania, Ruś, and Podlattia are also mentioned with reference to a common public confession.⁴⁴⁸ Zacjusz participated in this synod as the delegate from Radziwiłł and the Podlastian District. However, he is mentioned in the protocols only with reference to the discussion concerning the two natures of Christ.⁴⁴⁹ It is more likely that the influence of Lasco's rites came gradually over a period of several years as a result of the continuing close contact between the Lithuanians and the Poles. The evidence of Lasco's influence on the Lithuanian worship will become clear to us later, when we examine the 1581 service of Holy Communion.

The period from 1560 to 1570 was a time of growing dissention caused by the Anti-Trinitarian movements. This dissention was great enough to push problems with the Roman Catholic and Lutheran sacramental teaching to one side, while full attention was given to this issue. Although they denied essential doctrine to the Christian faith, the Anti-Trinitarians strove in every way possible to give the appearance that they were the church which was the legitimate heir of Johannes a Lasco. The form for the celebration of the Lord's Supper found in Peter Morzkowski's Socinian agenda of 1646, almost three quarters of the century after the death of Lasco, is patterned after the *Forma ac Ratio* in its ceremonial detail. The preparation of the table, the manner in which it is set, and the directive that worshipers approach and seat themselves around the Lord's table as the disciples were gathered around Jesus follows Lasco's service in minute detail. Even the admonition which follows the words of distribution is based upon the words of Lasco whose Calvinist presuppositions about the nature of Christ's body are still clearly evident in this Socinian liturgy.⁴⁵⁰

Since the outward expression of Anti-Trinitarianism was so similar to that of the Reformed Church, Polish and Lithuanian people were unable to distinguish properly between them. The Reformed reacted by discarding some of their traditional practices. To disassociate themselves from this movement, the Lithuanian and Polish Reformed both

⁴⁴⁸ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 269.

⁴⁴⁹ *Akta synodów I* 1966, 280.

⁴⁵⁰ *The Polish Brethren* 1980, 468–471; Petkūnas 205c, 100–134.

repeatedly directed that communicants should receive communion standing or kneeling. With the passing of time the outward form of worship came to be so altered that by the end of the sixteenth century it was no longer recognizably Lasco's service, but it had become a service which flowed from the Lasco tradition.

Events of the 1570 proved to be very important for the program of unifying the Lithuanian Reformed and Lutheran Churches. Here the goals which the Poles had failed to achieve in their meeting in Poznań in February, 1570, were successfully accomplished. Representatives of both groups met in Vilnius under the auspices of Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Brown in a two day meeting, which begun on March 2, 1570. They succeeded in devising a formula of agreement between the two Churches. We have only indirect information concerning this meeting.⁴⁵¹ It is generally held by students of Lithuanian and Polish Church history that it was agreed that church buildings would be opened for the use of both groups, that the official acts of ministers of both churches would be mutually recognized, and that both churches would work together in the matters relating to the government. It has been suggested by some that agreement was at the same time reached concerning the Lord's Supper and that this agreement was brought to the attention of those who shortly afterwards met in Sandomierz. However, since we have no definite evidence of this, we may suggest that any agreement of this nature would have been cast in very general terms, such as would be acceptable to both the Reformed and Lutherans.⁴⁵²

It may be that the Lithuanian Reformed representatives came to the general synod of Sandomierz held on April 9-14, 1570, with optimism because they had a formula of agreement with the Lutherans in their hands. Agreement at Sandomierz proved far more elusive than had been the case at Vilnius. Representatives of the three churches found held their ground, and thus they were unable to formulate a mutually agreeable confession. The Lutherans were unwilling to accept the Reformed doctrine found in the *Second Helvetic Confession*, which had been used

⁴⁵¹ *Jabłoński* 1731, 35-36; *Friese* 1786 a, 432; *Akta synodów II* 1972, 291.

⁴⁵² *Lukšaitė* 1999, 334.

as the basic framework for a consensus. In frustration the delegates turned to the Vilnius agreement as the only possible statement to which all could agree. It was this document which provided the shape and the content of the new consensus. However the Lutherans did not regard this as a sufficient statement. They insisted that the *Confessio Saxonica* of 1551 must be included as well.

The *Consensus of Sandomierz* was not sufficient. Although all three churches consented to it, it was evident that no real harmony had been achieved on sacramental teaching. The political situation was such that the deficiencies of the *Consensus* could be overlooked for a time. For the next several years all three groups determined not to press the matter further in their general synods. Instead, they turned their attention to matters all could agree were *adiaphora*. The deficiencies of the *Consensus*, however, could not long be ignored. With the publication of the Lutheran *Formula of Concord* in 1577, the Lutherans began to examine the positions to which they had agreed in the light of their church's fuller doctrinal statement on the sacrament of the Altar. Now they would be forced to choose whether to remain Lutheran, or go to Geneva.

By June 25, 1578, the 48th anniversary of the presentation of the *Augsburg Confession*, the Lutherans in their convocation with the Reformed at Vilnius repudiated the terms of the *Consensus*, as did Paweł Gericus in Poznań in that same year.⁴⁵³ Meeting in Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł's palace, they formulated a statement entitled *Concordia Vilnensis*, which expressed their dissatisfaction with the terminology in which the *Consensus* had described the nature and purpose of Christ's presence in the Supper. The Lutherans were represented by Maciej Dambrowski and Job Sommer, pastors of the Vilnius Lutheran parish, Mikołaj Talwosz, castellan of Samogitia, and others. Included among the Reformed participants were Mikołaj Kantz a Skala, Stanisław Sudrowski, minister of Vilnius Reformed parish, Caspar Tarasowski, superintendent of the Reformed Church, Stanisław Martianus and Reformed Pastor Dziewałtowski (Deltuviškis). It is noteworthy that among those present in the convocation was Mikołaj Pac, the former Roman Catho-

⁴⁵³ *Akta synodów IV* 1997, 343.

lic bishop of Kijev, who after his earlier allegiance to the Reformed had now begun to incline toward Lutheranism.⁴⁵⁴

These open differences between the Reformed and the Lutherans with regard to sacramental teaching made it necessary for Krzysztof Radziwiłł (“Piorun”), palatine of Vilnius and hetman of Lithuania, to make an attempt to reconcile them. He convoked a colloquium in Vilnius on June 14, 1585 for this purpose. Present at the meeting were distinguished members of the Reformed aristocracy as well leading theologians and pastors from the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Among the magnates present, all representing the Reformed Church, were in addition to Radziwiłł himself Stanisław Naruszewicz, castellan of Mińsk, Jan Abramowicz (†1602), starosta of Lida, and Andreas Zawisza, the assessor of the court. Representing the Reformed Church itself were Andreas Volanus, eminent Reformed theologian and royal secretary, Stanisław Sudrowski (Sudrovius, c.1550–1600), senior of Wilno District, who would later serve as editor of 1600 Reformed Catechism, Johann Ulricus (Ulrich) from Saxony, Pastor Andrzej Chrząstowski (Andreas Chronsdovius, c.1555–1618), and Mathias Johannides. The Lutherans were represented by Job Sommer, pastor of Vilnius, Paul Oderborn (Paulus Oderbornius, c.1555–1604), pastor of Kaunas, the Reverend George Plotkowski (Plotkovius) from Poland, who in the early decades of the seventeenth century served the Lithuanian Lutheran congregation of Šiaulėnai (Szawłany),⁴⁵⁵ a distinguished pharmacist Johannes Scleae, and Magister Johannes Rivius (1528–1590) from Courland, the notary of the colloquium. At the request of Radziwiłł, Georg Friedrich (1539–1603), margrave and duke of Prussia sent Lutheran Professor Paul Weiss of the Königsberg Faculty and his chaplain and Court Preacher Martin Henrici. In addition, a number of nobles and land owners, and other public figures listened the debates of the colloquium.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ *Węgierski* 1679, 94; *Jabłoński* 1731, 81-86; *Friese* 1786 b, 98-101.

⁴⁵⁵ *Lukšaitė* 1998, 108 fn.255.

⁴⁵⁶ *Colloquium habitum Vilnae* 1585, 265; *Friese* 1786 b, 131-139; *Lukasiewicz* 1848, 36.

Volanus, speaking for the Reformed, made the Lord's Supper the central subject. He stated that pressures from the forces of the Anti-christ made it most desirable that Lutherans and Reformed should form a common opinion. He declared that this could best be accomplished by laying aside the important work of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Oecolampadius, and all other human authorities, excepting only ancient fathers. Weiss warned that it would be best not to give undue credence to the works of the fathers, since even Augustine of Hippo was not entirely free of foreign influences. Volanus begun his presentation by stating that the united confession of the evangelical churches of England, France, Switzerland, Belgium, together with most of the German churches and the Reformation churches in Poland and Lithuania could be defined as follows:

“We believe and confess that when the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ is distributed to the faithful according to his institution, the bread is his body and the wine is his blood, not by the changing of the outward and the visible elements into heavenly elements so that the heavenly are locally included in the external elements but rather the true and real body and blood of Christ are given in such a way that those who are truly faithful and penitent according to the Lord's gift receive the external elements in their mouths while at the same time receiving the body and blood of Christ by faith through spiritual participation (to the end that they receive) the certain forgiveness of their sins and eternal life which Christ alone obtained for us by his death.”⁴⁵⁷

Volanus' subsequent arguments are built upon the foundation which he established by his careful distinction between earthly and heavenly things, after the manner of the distinction between the *signa* and *res signata*. It is basically a Neo-Platonist argument. He alludes to evangelical confessions from other countries, all of which clearly built upon the same philosophical foundation. He speaks of the true gift of the body and blood of Christ, but he does not equate it with the physical eating of

⁴⁵⁷ *Colloquium habitum Vilnae* 1585, 267.

the external elements. While using terminology which Lutherans employ in speaking of the sacramental gifts, he did not connect the heavenly gifts to the consecrated bread and wine in a manner acceptable to the Lutherans. Weiss, speaking of behalf of the Lutherans, noticed this at once and objected to this omission of the doctrine of the *manducatio indignorum* and the terms *substantialiter* and *corporaliter*. In support, Pastor Sommer stated that the sacrament had been instituted for whole church, which in this world is *ecclesia mixta*. Volanus responded to the Lutheran arguments using a crude illustration according to which the body of Christ is received naturally, and must therefore also have eliminated waste naturally, a point which the Lutherans refused to discuss or accept.⁴⁵⁸

The Lutherans and Reformed had reached an impasse. Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł saw the need to find a solution. He himself was no stranger to the intricacies of sacramental theology. Lew Sapieha, in a letter to him on December 24, 1580, observed that earlier Radziwiłł had entertained a teaching of the sacrament which was not identical to that of the Lithuanian Reformed Church. In his letter Sapieha confessed his own belief that the sacrament is not a figure and that Christ is bodily present in the sacrament, a teaching clearly at odds with the official position of the Reformed Church. But he feels bound to his belief because the Word of God so clearly teaches it. It is hard to escape the impression that he believed that Radziwiłł shared the same position.⁴⁵⁹

Radziwiłł himself thought it best that at the convocation in Vilnius traditional terminology be replaced with words which were not quite so provocative. He therefore proposed to the Lutherans that they avoid using the terms *corporaliter* and *corporalis*. The Lutherans presented as their final word a confession which goes beyond anything permitted in the *Sandomierz Consensus*:

“We believe and confess that in the most Holy Supper which our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God and of Mary, instituted in the last night, when he was betrayed, the true, natural, and real body

⁴⁵⁸ *Colloquium habitum Vilnae* 1585, 265-279.

⁴⁵⁹ *Archiwum domu Sapiehów* 1892, 12-13.

of Christ which was given for us is truly and substantially present and his true, natural, and substantial blood which was poured out for us on the altar of the cross is present on earth in the lawful action and distribution in such a manner that when the element of wine is distributed and received the blood of Christ is truly received in the mouth of the body in a manner which is incomprehensible and inscrutable, not only by believers and the worthy, but also by unbelievers and unworthy, for the believers it applies and seals the forgiveness of sins, but the unworthy eat and drink judgment upon themselves and are made guilty over against the body and blood of the Lord. This our doctrine we have established upon the sure, steadfast, and immutable words of Christ who instituted this Supper. For Christ is the way, truth and the life (John 14), of whom the eternal Father says: 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him' (Matthew 17)."⁴⁶⁰

The term *corporaliter* was not used, but even without it such a confession was beyond possibility of ratification by the Reformed. It was evident that no progress had been made in the effort to develop a united theological position on the Sacrament of the Altar and it was increasingly clear that this was only the tip of the iceberg. Both the Lutherans and the Reformed left the colloquium even more firmly grounded in their sacramental doctrines than they had come. Both agreed that the Holy Scriptures are the Word of God, but they could not agree concerning the meaning of the words of Scripture. There would be no united Protestant church in Lithuania, but instead two churches both of which must fight for their survival in the increasingly hostile counter-Reformation environment. In consequence the meeting was unable to meet the goal which Krzysztof Radziwiłł ("Piorun") had envisioned.⁴⁶¹

The Vilnius meeting reveals the firmness with which the Reformed had come to regard their traditional sacramental teachings. According to the Reformed, rational philosophical principles concerning the relation-

⁴⁶⁰ *Brevis et perspicua 1585.*

⁴⁶¹ *Petkūnas 2005 b* provides a detailed examination of the Vilnius 1585 colloquium.

ship between the material and heavenly worlds and their relation to the Lord's Supper should move the Lutheran to make such adjustment. They themselves could not adjust their position, because the Reformed *corpus doctrine* is built upon it. From the standpoint of Reformed liturgy, this meeting would serve to indicate that some adjustments might be allowed in matters judged to be *adiaphora*, but the liturgy itself must reflect the characteristic emphasis of the Reformed doctrine of the Supper.

In 1596 the Jesuits succeeded in their efforts to attract the Eastern Orthodox Church of Poland and Lithuania into a union with the Roman Church. The Eastern Orthodox synod which convened in Brześć Litewski in that year resolved to put itself under obedience to the papal sea.⁴⁶² However, a large number of Orthodox believers were firmly opposed to this action and resolved to remain in communion with the patriarch of Constantinople. Duke Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski attended the 1595 general synod in Toruń, bringing with him a letter which he had composed depicting the miserable conditions under which Orthodox believers were forced to live. They found their situation similar to that of the Protestants. He called for a meeting between the three main Protestant Churches and the Orthodox Church for the purpose of creating a union for their mutual defense and protection against the Roman Church.

The meeting was finally convened in Vilnius, where the Reformed, representatives of the Eastern Church, and representatives of the Lutherans met from May 15 to June 2, 1599. At this convocation it became clear that there was no possibility that the Eastern Church could come to a consensus with Protestant Churches under any circumstances. Even if such a consensus were within the realm of possibility, it still would be hindered by the internal doctrinal divisions within Protestantism. Nevertheless, a statement of articles in which the Protestants agreed with the Eastern Orthodox was drawn up with the hope that it might lead ultimately to union. With reference to the sacrament it was noted only that in the Lord's Supper all the faithful are to receive both kinds.⁴⁶³ Lucas,

⁴⁶² *Lukaszewicz* 1848, 42-56; *Lukšaitė* 416, 420.

⁴⁶³ *Lukaszewicz* 1835, 184.

metropolitan of Białogród (Bilhorod), declared that while the Eastern Orthodox would continue to live in concord and mutual love with both Protestant Churches, there was no possibility of union short of the conversion of the Protestants to Eastern Orthodoxy.⁴⁶⁴ Subsequently when Cyril Lukaris, future patriarch of Constantinople, visited Lithuania in 1600, he met with Radziwiłł the Orphan (“Sierotka”) (1549-1616), a converted son of Radziwiłł the Black and a committed Roman Catholic; he did not meet with the Protestants at all.⁴⁶⁵

From the beginning the Lithuanian Reformed Church developed a stable tradition which was based upon the liturgical materials provided by Johannes a Lasco in Polish translation with such minor adaptations as the situation of the Lithuanian Church dictated. None of these liturgical materials from the earliest period have survived. The earliest extant Lithuanian Reformed liturgy available to us is *Formá álbo porządek* published in 1581 in Vilnius.

The 1581 book consists of a hymnal, liturgy, and catechism, according to the pattern of that period. Such an arrangement was common also in Germany and elsewhere where the people were provided their own book with the public services of worship, hymns, and other devotional aids and a summary of the church’s faith in the form of the catechism. Already in use from 1563 was the hymnal and catechism published in Nieśwież for use by the Lithuanian Reformed, but in the extant copy of *Katechizm* of 1563 we find no liturgy included.⁴⁶⁶ Now all three elements were included in one small manual for daily service in the home, school, and church.

This book reveals Lasco’s strong influence among the Lithuanian Reformed. Indeed, we find that many phrases have been translated *verbatim* from Lasco’s *Forma ac Ratio*. The Lithuanian text in general, however, is much shorter and for the sake of economy of expression it summarizes the verbose Lasco text. Most of Lasco’s provisions are

⁴⁶⁴ Friese 1786 b, 249-267; Łukasiewicz 1835, 177-178; Łukasiewicz 1848, 82-89; Lukšaitė 1999, 486-487.

⁴⁶⁵ Lukšaitė 1999, 406-407.

⁴⁶⁶ *Katechizm zborów ewangelickich litewskic...1563* is held by the Uppsala University Library (acquisition number: Obr. 65:233).

found also in the Lithuanian text. Some differences are minor; others, however, are more significant. Lasco's instruction that communicants should receive the Supper while seated is not followed, since the church had already passed through the Anti-Trinitarian controversy. Further, although Lasco places the invitation to the Lord's table before the setting apart of the bread and the reading of 1 Corinthians 10, the Lithuanian 1581 agenda places it after these elements, immediately before the prayer of humble access and distribution. Lasco's distribution formula stressed the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. In the Lithuanian order its place is taken by the traditional bread formula, in which central attention is given to nature of the gifts and the forgiveness of sins that comes with them. The post-communion liturgy of 1581 agenda is followed with the addition of a specific form of blessing, which is in this case not the Aaronic Benediction.⁴⁶⁷ Lasco provides for the inclusion of a benediction, but does not give us a text for it.

A notable feature of the 1581, 1594, 1598, and 1600 forms of Holy Communion is that it is written in the Polish language rather than Lithuanian. Lithuania was at that time a vast country, covering a wide area and many diverse populations with languages including not only Lithuanian and its many dialects, but also Polish, Belarusian, Ukrainian, and Russian. Nobles who identified themselves as Lithuanians were most often referring to their nationality, not their language or culture. While maintaining a strong national self-consciousness, their *lingua franca* was not Lithuanian. Lithuanian was the language of the hinterlands and of the inhabitants of the villages and countryside in Western Lithuania. These people were untouched by the Reformed. Whereas the Lutherans had published materials in the Lithuanian language from as early as 1547, the Reformed took no interest in following their example. This eventually would be one of the factors in the Reformed Church's loss of influence among Lithuanian speakers. The Reformed did not become aware of their plight until the end of the sixteenth century, when as a result of the work of the Society of Jesus in Lithuania they began to lose their churches. In 1595 the Jesuit Mikołaj Dauksza (Mikalojus

⁴⁶⁷ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, ciiij.

Daukša, ca.1527–1613) published a *Kathechismas* and in 1599 a *Postilla Catholicka* for use among Lithuanian speaking people, in imitation of the common practice of the Reformation Churches.

The first Holy Communion order in the Lithuanian language *Sprovva Wećiaros Poná*⁴⁶⁸ was published in the book *Polski z Litewskim Katechism* 1598.⁴⁶⁹ The form of the Lord's Supper in this catechism corresponds exactly to the traditional Lithuanian rite of Holy Communion as it is found in their Polish language catechisms of that time. The 1598 catechism's translator, Malcher Pietkiewicz (Merkelis Petkevičius, ca.1550-1608), a secretary in the territory of Vilnius, gives the Polish text and an exact Lithuanian translation on facing pages. As he states in his introduction to the work, the church had in the past neglected the needs of the Lithuanian speaking people by failing to provide Lithuanian speaking ministers and books in the Lithuanian language. The nobility knew Polish, and because they were unable to find Lithuanian speaking ministers, many of them put Polish speaking ministers into office. It is his hope that this book - the catechism, hymnal, and rites of the church - would help to remedy this deplorable situation and to move God's church forward.⁴⁷⁰

The appearance of this book and *Postilla Lietuwiszka* published by Jakob Markowicz (Jokūbas Morkūnas, 1550–1611) in 1600 represent a tardy entrance of the Reformed into the world in which most Lithuanian people lived. It was only in the seventeenth century that we see significant results of this strategy. In several places this plan was without positive effect, and the Polish language continued to predominate. In the case of Vilnius, German was used together with Polish as the languages of worship and catechesis in the Reformed community. In Biržai (Birže), Kėdainiai (Kiejdany), Papilys (Popiel), Raseiniai (Rosienie),

⁴⁶⁸ *Katekizmas* 1598, Ddijj-Ggij

⁴⁶⁹ *Polski z Litewskim Katechism* Albo krotkie w jedno mieysce zebranie / wiary y powinności Krześciańskiey / z pasterstwem Zborowym / y domowym / z Modlitwami / Psalmami / y Piosnkami / ná cześ á chwałę Pánu Bogu / á Zborowi iego ku zbudowaniu / teraz nowo z pilnością wydány. Nakładem Jego Mści Páná Málcherá Pietkiewiczá / Pisarzá Ziemściego Willeńskiego. W Wilnie / Drukował Stánisław Wierzeyski / Roku 1598. - *Katekizmas* 1598.

⁴⁷⁰ *Katekizmas* 1939, XIV-XV.

Gėluva (Giałów), Pašuvys (Poszuszwie), Švobiškis (Szwabiszki), and many other areas of Samogitia, Vilnius, and Biržai Polish and Lithuanian language were used side by side.⁴⁷¹ The patrons of the parishes continually advised the synods that the pastoral candidates and teachers must speak Lithuanian. The move from Polish was gradual. By the middle of the seventeenth century 17 of the 37 congregations in Samogitia district were conducting services in Lithuanian.⁴⁷² In the whole of the country 37 parishes out of 229 came to conduct liturgy and catechize in the Lithuanian language.⁴⁷³ As a result of this strategy by the end of the century, the Biržai parish was growing and requested the service of one additional minister and catechist.⁴⁷⁴

More certain information concerning liturgical developments among the Lithuanian Reformed comes from the synodical protocols which date from the second decade of the seventeenth century.⁴⁷⁵ The records trace the decisions of the Lithuanian Reformed synods concerning the forms of worship to be used and the manner of their implementation.

One of the earliest records preserved from this period, the protocols of the Vilnius synod held on July 1-4, 1612 note that decisions concerning the form of the administration of the sacraments would be taken up at the synod to be held in the next year.⁴⁷⁶ At that subsequent synod in Vilnius held on June 13-19, 1613 Ministers Jan Zygrowius (1574-1623), Samuel Lenartowicz, and Marcin Bielański Tertullian were appointed to implement such corrections as the synod deemed necessary. The corrected form was then to be introduced in the Vilnius parish and become the standard to be used in every parish throughout the Lithua-

⁴⁷¹ *Lukšaitė* 1970, 15-31.

⁴⁷² *Lukšaitė* 1970, 28.

⁴⁷³ *Lukšaitė* 1970, 1, 48.

⁴⁷⁴ *Lukšaitė* 1970, 29.

⁴⁷⁵ As the result from the loss of the Vilnius church and synodical archives at 1611, the Reformed resolved henceforth to preserve several copies of all pertinent records in separate places. *Lukšaitė* 1999, 422.

⁴⁷⁶ "FORMA USŁUGOWANIA SACRAMENTAMI S. S. Szlubem S., iest odłożona na przyszły synod." *Akta synodów* 1915, 7.

nian Church.⁴⁷⁷ At the same synod a committee was selected to work on the hymnal and catechism.

These synodical resolutions indicate that there was a need to reestablish unity of liturgy and ceremony in the face of the growing practice in some places of introducing unauthorized forms and ceremonies from other churches. The church understood that in this situation it needed to evaluate the available materials and decide what could most appropriately be used in the congregations. According to traditional Lithuanian practice the liturgy, hymnal, and catechism were published in one volume, therefore revision of the liturgy would necessitate a careful review also of the other material to be included in the same book. At the synod which ended on June 25, 1614 the need for uniformity in liturgy according to the standard forms in the Vilnius parish was again urged.⁴⁷⁸ Questions concerning the proper celebration of the major church feasts were answered by the adoption of new forms for these celebrations. Again for the sake of unity parishes and their ministers were admonished not to depart from these provisions.⁴⁷⁹ At the Vilnius synod held from June 30 to July 6, 1615 it was stated that with God's help a new edition of the church's catechism had been prepared. The delegates were assured that all review work and last minute adjustments by the ministers whom they had appointed could be completed at their meeting in Vilnius on St. Bartholomew's Day.⁴⁸⁰ Actually the work was not completed on schedule. At the June 7-13, 1617 synod in Vilnius the committee, consisting of the Andrzej Chrzastowski, superintendent of Vilnius, Fineasz Goiski, superintendent of Nowogródek, Paweł Lucynjusz Papłoński, superintendent of Samogitia, Jan Kozakowicz, and the lay patrons Adam Talwosz, Chorąż Wołkowysk, Kamieński, Paweł Progulbicki (†1625), and Dawid Szwykowski was instructed to remain

⁴⁷⁷ Forma wczym poprawy potrzebuje, na to X. Zygroviusa, X. Samuela Lenartowicza y X. Tertulliana wysadzili. A wszakże niżli do poprawy przydzie tedy tey formy Wileńskiej zażywać mają." *Akta synodów* 1915, 16-17.

⁴⁷⁸ "NAMOWIONO spolnie, aby we wszystkich Zborzech uniformitas była katechiz-mow także y Formy w usługowaniu Słowem Bożym, y szafowaniu Sakramentami. Forma ma być taka, jaka jest we Zborze Wileńskim." *Akta synodów* 1915, 22.

⁴⁷⁹ *Akta synodów* 1915, 25.

⁴⁸⁰ *Akta synodów* 1915, 29.

in the city until the review had been completed, the corrections made, and the work was finished.⁴⁸¹

Apparently the work was not completed at that time, because the catechism that appeared in print in 1618 in Lubcza was not an edition authorized by the synod. At the 1618 synod in Vilnius this fact caused great consternation. Minister Jan Zygrowius, one of the correctors of the liturgy appointed by the synod in 1613, had taken it upon himself to publish this catechism. Not only was it an unauthorized publication, but it also contained many deficiencies and doctrinal errors, the most infamous of which was that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was left unclear. To address this problem a committee consisting of Mikołaj Minwid, superintendent of Samogitia, Ministers Samuel Lenartowicz, Jan Dominik, and Jan Minwid and the lay patrons Hołubicki, Rafał Roszczyc, Hieronim Czechowicz, and Salomon Rysiński was appointed. After thoroughly examining the book the committee was instructed to meet in Vilnius at Pentecost 1619, to review their findings and prepare them for presentation at the synod to be held that year.⁴⁸²

The matter of the catechism was the first item on the agenda at the 1619 synod in Vilnius. It was again noted that the catechism of 1618 was an unauthorized publication. The problem was serious, because several dozen copies had already been distributed in congregations throughout the church. A thorough investigation of the matter was called for, and Jan Szwykowski, Jan Frąckiewicz-Radzimiński, Minister Piotrow, and Minister Łukasz Bednarski together with Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł were asked to go to Lubcza to investigate how this had happened. The former committee consisting of ministers and laymen, was reappointed to prepare a corrected edition of the catechism. They were instructed to thoroughly review all materials, including psalms, hymns, catechetical material, and other related elements to determine that no terms or phrases of Papal or Anabaptist wordings were found in them and to make certain that the name of the Holy Trinity was given prominence in the title of the work. The corrected material was to be put into the

⁴⁸¹ *Akta synodów* 1915, 42.

⁴⁸² *Akta synodów* 1915, 46.

hands of the superintendent, who would meet with the ministers on St. Michael day and give the work final approval. The official publication of the authorized manuscript was delegated to the control of Salomon Rysiński and Jan Dominik.⁴⁸³

Some of those involved in this important work voiced the opinion that Polish Reformed materials should also be examined in the reviewing of the catechism. In a letter of September 16, 1619 Bartłomiej Krośniewicki wrote to Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł expressing his opinion that the Polish catechetical materials should be duly noted, despite the opposition expressed at the synod in Vilnius of that year. In that meeting many had clearly stated that the Lithuanians wanted nothing to do with the Polish catechisms. Krośniewicki asked that a copy of Zygmunt's unauthorized catechism should be sent to the Polish Church for their review and comments.⁴⁸⁴

The work went more slowly than had been anticipated. It was not until the 1620 Vilnius synod that the new edition of the catechism was officially approved. The protocols indicate that the major obstacle was the agenda which was to be included in the catechism and, more specifically, the order of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The orders of Holy Baptism, Marriage, and Visitation of the Sick were to be kept according to the old forms, which had already been corrected by the ministers. Concerning Holy Communion two forms would be provided. The first rite would follow the provisions of the traditional Lithuanian pattern with any necessary corrections, and the second rite would incorporate forms from Lithuanian and Polish Reformed Churches. Unable to make a final decision in this matter, the synod asked Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł to decide which rite should be authorized and published. Supervision of the publication of the corrected work was put into the hands of Samuel Lenartowicz and Jan Dominik.⁴⁸⁵ The decisions of the

⁴⁸³ *Akta synodów* 1915, 49-50.

⁴⁸⁴ *Archiwum Radziwiłłowskie no. 7801*; *Tworek* 1971, 122.

⁴⁸⁵ "Postanowiono na tym synodzie świętym, żeby ten Katechizm do druku był podany, który teraz ostatnią razą od Braci na to wysadzonej był przejrany, j od synodu approbowany. Forma o krzcie świętym, o Małżeństwie świętym, o nawiedzeniu chorych według starego katechizmu od tej Braci poprawionego ma być zachowana. A co się tkanie Wieczerzy Pańskiej ta dwoiaka ma być napisana. Jedna od Braci, na

synod show us that although Krośniewicki represented a minority opinion, his suggestion to the duke was not summarily cast aside. He was successful in pressing the point that Polish liturgies should be taken into consideration. In his letter of July 9, 1620 to Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł he presented the synod's request and suggested that the final decision should be based upon a consideration of what would be closest to hearts of the Lithuanians.⁴⁸⁶

At the June 28, 1621 synod in Vilnius the delegates were informed that the new catechism had been printed. It was solemnly declared that the long period of consideration and review had been completed and now their prayers had been answered. The synod declared that it was not scarcity of available copies of the old catechism which had necessitated this new work, it was instead the need for uniformity in the form of worship in God's church in Lithuania which had impelled the church to issue this revision. The synod directed that this book alone should be the standard for all worship services, prayers, hymns, and sacraments in the church. In addition to its public use this book should be used also for devotion and instruction in the homes of all families of the Reformed Church.⁴⁸⁷

przyszłym synodzie na to naznaczonej, według starego katechizmu poprawiona, a druga z Litewskiej y Polskiej formy od Braci niektorej na tym synodzie złożona; która się z tych obudwu form będzie podobała Xiążęciu JEomś(c)i Panu Hetmanowi, ta ma być do druku podana. Druku doyrzeć ma ią X. Samuel Lenartowicz z X. Janem Dominikiem, który sumptem Zboru Wileńskiego ma być wydrukowany, a w nagrodę pracy podiętej X. Samuelowi synod daruie exemplarzow trzydzieści. A X. Dominikowi exemplarzow 15. X. Ambroży Dąbrowski ma noth doyrzeć, a w nagrodę onemu ma być dano exemplarzow 15.” *Akta synodów* 1915, 55.

⁴⁸⁶ *Archiwum Radziwiłłowskie no. 7801, 37.*

⁴⁸⁷ “CANON 1. O KATECHISMIE. Jako tego od niemalego czasu kościoł Boży gorąco affectował, aby katechism renowowany y w druk podany był, a to nie tylo dla niedostatku pierwszey Editiej exemplarzow: ale tesz dla zniesienia wszelkiej rozności, a wprowadzenia w Kościoł Boży jednostajnej w odprawowaniu nabożeństwa harmoniej. Takisz za łaską Bożą, a pilnym przeszłych synodow obmyślanem, iusz teraz żądaniu pobożnych ludzi, corrigowanym y w druk wypuszczonym nowego katechismu, dosić się stało. Przeto synod terazniejszy cum invocatione Spiritus Sancti to postanawia: aby z tego, a nie z żadnego inszego, katechismu pieśni spiewane, modlitwy mowione, y usługa sakramentami świętemy, y insze nabożeństwa odprawowane były, tak publice w zborzech wszystkich W^o X^a Litew^o tak też private w domiech Ewangelickich.” *Akta synodów* 1915, 60.

Of special interest is the order of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Only three identical copies of the catechism are extant and all three of them lack title pages. This causes some perplexity: is this the unauthorized 1618 book or the authorized 1621 book? In addition, none of these catechisms contains the *Forma* of the Lord's Supper usually found in the official books. The synodical protocols of the period in question give no indication that the 1618 book included this form, however, they clearly state that it was included in 1621 catechism together with other rites. This leads us to the conclusion that the manuscript rite of the Lord's Supper *Sprawa Wieczerzey Panskiej*, which Samuel Lenartowicz advertised as having been taken from a Lithuanian catechism is the official 1621 order and the three identical copies of the catechism which are available to us are in fact from 1618.⁴⁸⁸

The 1621 order of the Lord's Supper shows itself to stand squarely within the Lithuanian tradition. It indicates that Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł had a good understanding of the mind and heart of the Lithuanian Reformed people and knew what they would be willing to accept as clearly Lithuanian. Many sections of the old liturgy remain exactly as they had been in the past. There are few changes and most of them bring the liturgy more closely into line with Johannes a Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio*. Major provisions of the older order, such as the orders for the Second Week before Communion and the day before Communion, are lacking in the manuscript copy, probably because the copier saw no need to reproduce them. Among the changes are the addition of a call to worship from the Psalm 124:8, a logical separation is placed between the exhortation and excommunication, and a form for excommunication is shortened. The prayer for right and God pleasing worship is inserted between the exhortation and excommunication. The admonition to worthy reception and the prayer for communion are both shortened, and the invitation to the Lord's Supper is altered by the introduction of a new question which asks of communicants that they solemnly affirm

⁴⁸⁸ The absence of the title pages strengthens this impression. It is likely that they had been removed because of their lack of Trinitarian soundness. Those who possessed these books would not want known that they possessed catechisms which had been officially condemned as heretical.

the nature of the church and the truth of the word it proclaims and the sacrament it administers. Finally, the reading of John 6 during distribution is replaced by the singing of Communion hymns.

Although Krośniewicki was not entirely successful in his efforts to move toward uniformity in the celebration of the Lord's Supper with the Poles, he did plant a seed which would soon bear fruit. In 1622 Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł presented to the Vilnius synod his 15 point proposal to begin without delay to consult with the Polish Churches with the aim that the church might soon achieve uniformity in the churches' rites and ceremonies. Krośniewicki and Maciej Bańkowski were made responsible for pursuing this matter.⁴⁸⁹ It was difficult to agree concerning a date for a meeting. The Minor Poles did not find the dates which the Lithuanians suggested agreeable to them. The Lithuanians did not press the issue, and it was four years before the Vilnius synod again brought up the matter.

The 1626 Vilnius synod again considered the question of the unification of the rites together with the new common edition of the Bible prepared for use in both Poland and Lithuania. Superintendents Andrzej Dobrzański (Nowogródek), Adam Raszewski (Samogitia), Jan Raniszewski (Ruś), and Mikołaj Wysocki (Podlattia) were appointed to participate in the convocation at Bełżyce and were given detailed instructions concerning the process of negotiations with the Minor Poles. They were instructed to work toward unity with the Minor Polish Church in catechism, prayer book, hymnal, and liturgical rites. At the same time they were reminded that the Lithuanians had no interest in departing from their own worship traditions and practices in any respect. They should proceed most carefully and dexterously in their negotiations, especially in matters pertaining to the Lord's Supper and hymns used at the sacrament. Lithuanians could not tolerate some Minor Polish Communion hymns which they believed to be reminiscent of Catholicism.⁴⁹⁰ These instructions seem to indicate that the Lithuanians were less than wholeheartedly in favor of unification unless it could be accomplished on

⁴⁸⁹ "Znieść się bez odwłoki z Pany Coronnymi de Uniformitate odprawowania wszytkiego Nabożeństwa." *Akta synodów* 1915, 71; *Tworek* 1971, 123.

⁴⁹⁰ *Akta synodów Litewskich* 1611-1637, 141.

their own terms. They officially supported Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł's proposal, but they were not really eager to see it fulfilled.

The question concerning uniformity of rites and ceremonies in the 1627 Vilnius synod did not concern itself primarily with negotiations with the Polish Churches. It was more concerned with the ongoing work of achieving uniformity according to the 1621 rite among its own congregations. This synod resolved that all services in Lithuanian Church be held according to the provisions in the 1621 book and charged the superintendents with the responsibility of enforcing this resolution. Liturgical problems were most evident in the Podlassian District, where many new practices had been imported from Minor Poland without approval from Vilnius. It soon became evident that the liturgical situation in Podlissia was out of control, and Vilnius decided not to make an issue of the matter for the present. Officially it was stated that liturgical forms from Minor Poland could be used in those cases where Lithuanian forms had not been furnished. As a final point the Lithuanians assured the Poles that the unification of rites was still their goal and they would take up the matter again in the future.⁴⁹¹

The Lithuanian Church was clearly not of one mind on liturgical matters. The group pushing for unification grew to the point where large numbers supported Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł's proposals and pressed for change. Now for the first time the church officially permitted the general use of some Minor Polish forms in its congregations. Although the synod still pressed for conformity to the 1621 book, it was evident that the situation was complicated. Under these circumstances the wisest course of action was for the Lithuanians to enter discussions aimed at conformity of rites and ceremonies with the hope that it could maintain as much as possible of its Lithuanian heritage.

The Vilnius synod of 1633 took a major step toward liturgical conformity by resolving to participate with Minor and Major Poles and the Bohemian Brethren in a general convocation at Orla. According to the synodical protocols this step was necessary for the well-being of God's church. Delegates to the convocation included Andrzej Dobrzański,

⁴⁹¹ *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*, 153.

superintendent of Nowogródek and Vilnius, Piotr Kochlewski, senior and deputy respectively of Vilnius, Samuel Minwid, superintendent of Samogitia, Mikołaj Wysocki, superintendent of Podlussia, and Rejnold Adami, doctor of theology. Lay patrons were: Tomasz Wolan, marshal of Ašmena (Oszmiana), Piotr Kochlewski, Aleksander Przypkowski, and Daniel Naborowski.⁴⁹² They were instructed to give most careful attention to the need for simplicity and purity in the rites and to insist that the traditional Lithuanian psalms, prayers, and hymns be included. With regard to the Lord's Supper it was important that the breaking of the bread be maintained, and that the kneeling posture and the giving of communion into the mouth during the distribution be rejected.⁴⁹³

Leading churchmen of both areas of Poland and Lithuania were eventually successful into approving a common agenda of the ministerial acts in the general convocation at Orla in August, 1633. The work which resulted from this resolution would become the first part of the Great Gdańsk Agenda.

In a letter addressed to the Lithuanian Church signed by all the delegates from the church-wide synod in Bełżyce on May 22, 1634, the Minor Polish Church expressed its great joy at the positive results achieved at the convocation at Orla. The delegates further emphasized that it was essential that unification of the rites proceed and asked that the Lithuanian Church make known their proposals concerning the second part of the agenda for consideration at the convocation to be held at Włodawa.⁴⁹⁴

The 1634 Vilnius synod received the report of the delegates they had sent and approved the results of the convocation. Recommendations were given concerning the second part of the agenda rites to be administered by superintendents and seniors. The following were appointed to attend the next convocation at Włodawa: Mikołaj Wysocki, Andrzej Dobrzański, Balcer Łabecki, minister of Vilnius parish, and Samuel Minwid, minister of Seirijai (Sereje) parish. The laity were represented by

⁴⁹² *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*, 401.

⁴⁹³ *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*, 401.

⁴⁹⁴ *Synody 1611-1844*, 9.

Tomasz Wolan, Piotr Kochlewski, Daniel Naborowski, Jan Szwykowski, Piotr Piekarski, and Mikołaj Kościuszko-Ciechanowiński.⁴⁹⁵

The success of this collaborative work led to a further resolution at the general convocation at Włodawa on September 22, 1634 to revise the second part, pastoral acts reserved to seniors and superintendents.

In a letter addressed to Lithuanian Church on May 11, 1636 Tomasz Węgierski, superintendent of Minor Poland, expressed thanksgiving for all that had been accomplished with the help of God to further the objecting of the unifying of the rites. He gave details concerning the publication of the agenda to be done in Gdańsk by the Hünefeldt publishing house together with its publication of hymnal and the prayer book. Final decisions concerning the forms to be included in the agenda would be made on the day of St. Luke (October 18) in the meeting of the superintendents of the participating churches in Toruń, he noted.⁴⁹⁶

At the following synod held in Vilnius in 1635 thanksgiving to God was expressed for the successful work at Włodawa and the results of the meeting were accepted unanimously. It was resolved to pay the costs of publication assigned to the Lithuanian Church.⁴⁹⁷

The completed work was received and accepted at the general meeting of the superintendents at Toruń on October 18, 1636, with Andrzej Dobrzański signing for the Lithuanians.⁴⁹⁸ Signers included: Tomasz Węgierski (†1653), Jan Amos Comenius, Piotr Zimmerman, Paweł Orlicz, Jan Hiperik, Adam Hartman, and others.

The new book, commonly called the Great Gdańsk Agenda or *Agenda álbo Forma Porządku 1637*, was the most significant liturgical production of the Reformed Churches in Poland and Lithuania. It brought with it the introduction into Lithuania of many elements from Minor Polish sources. The result was a form of Holy Communion quite foreign to the experience of the Lithuanian Reformed. Their previous standard, the 1581 *Formá álbo porządek*, had been built upon the model provided by

⁴⁹⁵ *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*, 413.

⁴⁹⁶ *Synody 1611-1844*, 10.

⁴⁹⁷ *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*, 426.

⁴⁹⁸ *Akta synodów 1570-1676*, (manuscript 3) 41; *Acta Albo Constitucie 1618-1704*, 161; *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 103; *Spis synodów 1913*, VII; *Tworek 1971*, 130.

the liturgical work of Johannes a Lasco. It was very simple and straight forward, and over a period of 50 years it had won a cherished place in the hearts of the people. Now something almost entirely new was being set before them.

Although the new liturgy perpetuated some familiar elements from the Lasco tradition, these seemed almost lost among the new and elaborate provisions. New and unfamiliar to the Lithuanians was the invocation of the Holy Spirit with the hymn *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Included for the first time also was a formal absolution pronounced by the minister acting in the name and the place of Christ. The Lithuanians had not had an absolution in their service, but instead a declaration of grace stated in general terms. Also among the newly added elements were the *Agnus Dei*, not included in most Reformed liturgies, since it awakened suspicions concerning the adoration of Christ in the sacramental elements. New also was the use of Apostles' Creed furnished with traditional Gregorian melody. Like the *Agnus Dei*, the Apostles' Creed was not a familiar feature of Reformed liturgies, nor were the Reformed familiar with notions of consecration in the prayer before Christ's Testament. Another major innovation was the introduction of the separate distribution of the bread and the cup. What had for them always been a single act was now a double act, with a separate distribution of the bread after Paul's words concerning the bread in 1 Corinthians 10, followed by the communion of the cup after the recitation of Paul's Cup-words in the same chapter. In addition, the invitation to God's table had been removed from its accustomed place and put much earlier in the service, before ceremonial act of the breaking of the bread. The invitation, which the Lithuanians had always associated with their communion, was now made to serve as a general introduction to the rite of Communion. Also for the first time for Lithuanians the Old Testament Aaronic Benediction is given before the final Ascription of Praise, the hymn *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*. The Lithuanians were happy to see Lasco's familiar admonition *Credite et ne dubitate* after communion, but that

seemed small recompense among so many new terms, new words, and new liturgical actions.⁴⁹⁹

The Poles and the Bohemians thought that because the Lithuanians had so wholeheartedly participated in the work of preparing the new rites in Orla and Włodawa, the Vilnius synod would quickly overcome any initial hesitancy, mollify the antagonized, and, after thoughtful and prayerful discussion, move to accept the book as presented and proceed with its implementation. No one was prepared for the strongly negative reaction of the Lithuanians. It came as complete surprise. The expected approval was not forthcoming. In fact, the Lithuanians decided not even to mention the agenda in the official minutes of the Vilnius synod, which began of June 21, 1637. The protocol states only that the hymnal and prayer book were accepted, though without much enthusiasm.⁵⁰⁰

A careful examination of the protocols of the general convocation at Orla in 1633 reveals a significant reason for the Lithuanian rejection of Great Gdańsk Agenda. Among the matters which the editors who prepared work for publication ignored were alterations in the service of the Holy Communion. The Lithuanians were not consulted in this matter, and it is clear that had they been consulted they would not have agreed to the changes. The Orla convocation had agreed to the distribution of the Holy Communion according to the Lithuanian pattern, which was quite different from the Polish order. The Lithuanians distributed the blessed bread and wine together, whereas the Poles separately distributed the elements with the Pauline Cup-words, prayers, and hymns standing between the two distributions.⁵⁰¹ The Lithuanians had made it clear at Orla that they were not willing to accept this change in the manner of distribution, and the convocation had agreed to follow the traditional Lithuanian pattern.

When the first 310 pages of the new book appeared, the Communion was found to follow the Polish order rather than the Lithuanian. When the Lithuanians examined these pages at the Vilnius synod in 1637, they were infuriated. It was as though no discussion of the matter had taken

⁴⁹⁹ *Agenda 1637*, 78-127.

⁵⁰⁰ *Akta synodów Litewskich 1611-1637*.

⁵⁰¹ *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 47-48.

place at Orla, or that the resolutions of that synod were being treated as inconsequential. Nationalistic feelings too were aroused. It seems to them that the Poles were treating them in a high handed and dismissive manner. This was inexcusable. There was only one course open to them. The book must be rejected.

Other factors in the reception of this book were stated in a letter from the Vilnius synod to the Polish Churches dated June 25, 1637. (1) They could not agree to the new title given to the work because it used terminology with which they were not familiar and which was reminiscent of the Church of Rome. Lithuanian ears were no longer familiar with such sounds, they wrote. They saw no need to speak in complicated terms when simple words were adequate. (2) They were disturbed by the inclusion of the 'Catholic' calendar. They saw no need for it, since the ministers could easily teach the Christian story without resorting to spurious tales and legends which are full of superstitions. (3) They wanted only liturgical acts clearly warranted by the Holy Scripture to be included, but they noted that several acts were found in the book which had not been practiced in Lithuania for decades. Such observances as the Advent and Lenten seasons were no longer used in Lithuania. They also found the inclusion of citations from the Church Fathers, councils, popes, and synods to be both unnecessary and offensive. (4) The contents and form of the preface of the book were far removed from any with which the Lithuanians were familiar in their tradition. (5) They objected to the inclusion of the form of divorce, since it was used only by superintendents and seniors, and needed to be only in manuscript form. (6) Concerning the forms which they had not yet seen, they could not yet make any evaluation. Only when they had the complete book would they be able to provide an adequate critique of these services.⁵⁰²

The Lithuanians stated that there had been a heated discussion in their synod, that many parishes simply would not accept the work, and were it to be introduced it would cause an undesirable schism. At the same time they assured their Minor and Major Polish brothers that they wished to remain in a warm, fraternal relationship with them, and they

⁵⁰² *Synody 1611-1844*, 13.

expressed the hope that the work would be revised and put in into an acceptable form. This would require that the preface be revised, the original agreed title of the work be restored, and the offensive orders, such as the Advent, Lenten, and other observances, together with the citations from Church Fathers, popes, councils and synods be removed. Precise instructions concerning corrections to the Communion liturgy were also included. They insisted that the entire historical recitation of the instruction of the Lord's Supper as written in 1Corinthians 11:23-30 must be included, and not just the Instituting Words of Christ.⁵⁰³ The form of the hymn invoking the Holy Spirit *Święty Duchu zowiąy k nam* should be in the same form that as found in the old Lithuanian catechisms. The short prayer preceding distribution *Boże bądź miłościw* must be restored. The Lithuanians had based their criticisms of a review of the first 310 printed pages, since the rest of the book had not been printed by the time of the meeting. They noted that if there were objectionable features found in the rites they had not yet seen, they would notify the Poles about them.⁵⁰⁴

One may appreciate the perplexity of the Poles at the Lithuanian reaction. After having been so closely involved in the production of the common agenda, the Lithuanians now abruptly rejected the work. The Poles were certain that the forms provided were not new to the Lithuanians. They had all been scrutinized by the delegates of all three churches at Orla and Włodawa. Agreement had been reached concerning the contents and terminology. They could not understand how the minor changes incorporated in the final edition should cause such a strong reaction among the Lithuanians. Surely the rejection of the book was unwarranted.

In a July 1637 letter to the Bohemian Superintendent Marcin Orm-inius (†1643), Lithuanian Superintendent Andrzej Dobrzański revealed that the leader of the opposition to the new book was Piotr Kochlewski, who had been one of the delegates and had approved the work at Orla and Włodawa. He had offered no objections at those meetings, but now

⁵⁰³ The Lithuanians never included verse 30 in the historical recitation of the Institution. Here they had in mind 1Corinthians 11:23-29.

⁵⁰⁴ *Synody* 1611-1844, 13.

his complaints were loud and harsh. The work as published was not in agreement with the protocols of the 1633 Orla meeting. Dobrzański and some others still desired the authorization and use of the material from new book in Lithuania, but the opposing forces won the day by employing powerful, sensitive arguments to which they could give no satisfactory response.⁵⁰⁵

In their church-wide synod at Belżyce held on September 25-29, 1637 the Minor Polish delegates gave their approval to the agenda and discussed the impediments to Lithuanian acceptance of the work.⁵⁰⁶ In a September 29 letter signed by all the delegates they sought to reassure the Lithuanians that they understood the difficulties which they were experiencing and appreciated their concerns. They reminded the Lithuanians that constructing an order uniting three diverse traditions was no easy matter; there were bound to be difficulties. Furthermore, it had not been their aim to produce a book which would be perfect in every respect, indeed it was not possible to produce such a work. Their own synod had thoroughly considered these matters and decided to accept the book, and heartily encouraged the Lithuanians to do the same. Since the Great Gdańsk Agenda was meant for use by the ministers, and not for common parishioners, it could be put to use until such time as the second edition was ready - in it all problems would be addressed and corrected. They stated that it is their fervent prayer that with God's assistance the agenda could be used and all the difficulties overcome.⁵⁰⁷

At the same time, Andrzej Węgierski, the notary of the synod, wrote a personal letter to the Lithuanians in which he wondered how, after having been so completely involved in the production of the work and agreeing in every aspect of it, the Lithuanians could now become so completely negative. They had known what they were doing, and they had ratified the decisions of the convocations at the synod in Vilnius in 1635. He especially noted that a large number of copies had been printed, on the basis on the expressed understanding of Lithuanian participation, and now they were morally bound to accept them. Of course,

⁵⁰⁵ *Gmiterek* 1985, 113.

⁵⁰⁶ *Synody* 1611-1844, 19; *Księga dystryktowa* 1634-1722, 24-25.

⁵⁰⁷ *Synody* 1611-1844, 12.

if some parts of the work were totally unacceptable they could be corrected by mutual agreement.⁵⁰⁸

The Bohemian Brethren expressed similar sentiments. They addressed a letter to the Lithuanians during their convocation at Leszno in 1638, in which they expressed astonishment that the Lithuanians were now renouncing a work to which they had previously put their signatures. The letter brings to light a further point of contention. The Lithuanians had agreed to pay their proportion of the expenses for the production of the book in the convocation, and they had not done so. They pleaded that the Lithuanians both preserve to whatever degree possible the unification of the rites and pay the debt which they had incurred to Paweł Orlicz.⁵⁰⁹ No one was more disturbed than Orlicz himself. He had advanced the cost of publication upon the solemn promise of the churches that they would repay him in a timely manner. No payment from the Lithuanians had been made. In a long letter from Toruń to the Lithuanians dated May 24, 1634 he reminded them of the obligation

⁵⁰⁸ *Synody 1611-1844*, 20.

⁵⁰⁹ “Nam wielce łaskawi w Chrystusie Bracia! Na list synodu prowincjalnego wileńskiego anno superiori do nas die 25. Junii pisany, odpisaliśmy Jchmościom Panom i patronom ecclesiarum vestrarum in M. D. Lit. a przy Jch Mość i WM. naszym w Panu wielce łaskawym Braciom. Hoc vero satis mirari non potuimus, żeśmy i przy innych Jchmościach Chirografy WMościów w tym liście widzieli, WMościów, którzyście na konwokacyach przeszłych, a osobliwie włodawskiej z nami wespół agendy albo formy usług kościelnych, approbowali. Teraz, ut videmini, one z innymi Jchmościami retraktujecie i ręce swe rękóm własnym, zdania zdaniom i samych siebie sobie opponujecie. Już to po czasie deliberować o tem, jeżeli agendy przyjąć, czyli nie, które od WMciów, jako plenipotentów zborów litewskich approbowane i do zborów Bożych w Wielkiej i Małejpolsce już introdukowane. Teraz czas nietylko je rekomendować Braci Ministrom i onych własnemu mądrym w zborach pańskich używaniu powierzyć się, ale też i zapłacić te. Brat miły X. Paweł Orlicz założył tymczasem WMościów i zapłacił te wszystkie exemplarze, które na stronę WMościów przejść miały, a uczynił to za wolą a rozkazaniem, jako on pisze, a my za prośbą i assekuracją waszą prędkiej zapłaty. Exsolvenda vobis fides et nostra et Reverendi Domini Dobranii i żebyście WMość autoritate Vestra w to potrafiali, żeby pomienionemu Bratu X. Pawłowi Orliczowi jako najprędzej satysfakcja się stała, o co prosimy. Officium nemini debet damnosum, a dopieroż takie i na takowych ludzi publiczną affektacją i assekuracją etc.” *Lukaszewicz 1843*, 259-260.

they had undertaken and its terms. He appealed to them to honor their obligation as Christian gentlemen to settle their debt.⁵¹⁰

At the Vilnius synod in June, 1638 the real Lithuanian situation came to light. The church dissociated itself from the Great Gdańsk Agenda, but in order to preserve their brotherly relationship with the Poles they indicated that they were willing to make use of some of the forms included on a temporary basis until new forms have been agreed. But this did not include the forms already provided in the Lithuanian catechism, namely, Holy Baptism, Lord's Super, Visitation of the Sick, and Holy Matrimony. In these services only the traditional Lithuanian rites would be permitted. The synod's debt to Paweł Orlicz was also discussed. Józef Pietkiewicz, notary of the synod, was authorized to transfer to Orlicz from synod's treasury the full amount of the debt which they had incurred.⁵¹¹

The Minor Poles continued to press the Lithuanians to be more specific in their criticism, since the goal of the book was the unification of all rites in all three churches. The church-wide synod of the Minor Poles held on September 24-26, 1638 at Krasnobród, again approved the hymnal, prayer book, and agenda.⁵¹² The synod charged Superintendent Tomasz Węgierski with the responsibility of writing to the Lithuanians stating their policy and concerns.⁵¹³ It was their earnest desire to address the problems in such a way that full participation by the Lithuanians would be assured.

On behalf of both churches Węgierski addressed a letter to Lithuanians on May 31, 1639, in which he asked that for the sake of a God pleasing unity in the one orthodox faith the three groups meet together in general convocation at Orla on October 18, 1639, for the purpose of adjudicating their differences so that agreement might be reached. He asked also that the Lithuanians bring with them examples all of the

⁵¹⁰ *Synody 1611-1844*, 17.

⁵¹¹ *Księga druga aktów 1638-1675*, 3-4.

⁵¹² *Synody 1611-1844*, 19; *Acta Albo Constitucie 1618-1704*, 123-128.

⁵¹³ *Synody 1611-1844*, 14; *Acta Albo Constitucie 1618-1704*, 123-128; *Tworek 1971*, 132.

forms in use in their churches and to appoint their delegation at their coming synod in Vilnius.⁵¹⁴

At their synod in Vilnius in July, 1639 the Lithuanians discussed and accepted the proposal. They chose a sizeable delegation to represent them. Included were Mikołaj Wysocki, superintendent of Podlussia, Balcer Łabecki, superintendent of Vilnius, Samuel Minwid, superintendent of the trans-Vilnius district, Jan Raniszewski, superintendent of Ruś (also known as Mińsk or Białoruś), Samuel Tomaszewski, superintendent of Samogitia, Andrzej Musonius, consenior of Nowogródek, Jakub Biskupski, consenior of Podlussia, and Ministers Tomasz Chociszewski, Fineasz Goiski, and Jan Ostrowski; also lay patrons Tomasz Wolan, Piotr Kochlewski, Daniel Naborowski, Stanisław Krzyszkowski, and Joachim Morlin. However the Lithuanians asked that the meeting be postponed until February 10, 1640.⁵¹⁵

A delegation of sixteen representatives was selected by the church-wide synod of the Minor Poles at their meeting on September 23-26, 1639 at Oksza. Included among their delegates were Tomasz Węgierski, Wojciech Węgierski, Andrzej Węgierski, Jan Militius, senior of Kraków, Adam Jarzyna, senior of Bełż, Jan Żurowski, consenior of Lublin, Paweł Bochnicus, consenior of Ruś, Jakub Milius, and Łukasz Dobrzański. Lay seniors were: Aleksander Rożeński, Jan Gliński, Paweł Zieliński, Franciszek Gorzkowski, Zbigniew Latyczyński, Stanisław Drohojowski, and Jan Gorajski.⁵¹⁶

However, the meeting was not held, because of two important developments which shook the Lithuanian Church. The first was the death of their great benefactor, Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł, and the second was the destruction of the Vilnius Reformed Church by students of Vilnius University incited by the Jesuits. Immediate attention had to be given to these open wounds, and liturgical matters had to be laid aside for the present time.

At the Vilnius synod in June, 1641 first attention was given to providing security for worship service and ministerial acts throughout the

⁵¹⁴ *Synody 1611-1844*, 19.

⁵¹⁵ *Księga druga aktów 1638-1675*, 21-22; Tworek 1971, 133.

⁵¹⁶ *Księga dystryktowa 1634-1722*, 31-32; Tworek 1971, 133.

church. But now there was again opportunity take up the matter of the unification of rites, as 26th item for consideration. The synod resolved to reaffirm its 1639 canon on *Uniformitas* and to invite their Polish brothers to meet with them on October 13, 1641 in Zabłudów to discuss the matter. Those who had been appointed in 1639 were asked to take up the responsibility which they had been unable to fulfill earlier. However, the upheavals of the past year and the continuing situation in the church made it simply too difficult to keep this schedule.⁵¹⁷

In its 1642 meeting the Vilnius synod briefly discussed the matter and determined that because of other pressing concerns it could not see any possibility of holding a general convocation with the Polish Churches. It was left to Superintendent Mikołaj Wysocki of the Podlasiian District to communicate with the Poles about the matter and report back to the synod for them to consider and decide.⁵¹⁸

The Minor Poles were unwilling to drop the matter. At their church-wide synod in Krasnobród on September 26-28, 1642 they wrote another letter to the Lithuanians, again signed by all the delegates stressing the importance of consensus in faith and unification of the rites.⁵¹⁹ They proposed that final adjustments could be made and approved at the general convocation at Orla or Zabłudów, on September 21, the Day of St. Matthew.⁵²⁰

The Vilnius synod in 1643 again confirmed interest in pursuing the matter with both the Minor and Major Poles. Apparently the September date in Orla or Zabłudów was not agreeable, for they asked again for a statement of place and time for convocation.⁵²¹

The Minor Poles decided that it was time for them to encourage the Lithuanians to action. At their church-wide synod at Oksza on September 24, 1643 they resolved to press the matter not only by letter, but also by sending to the Vilnius synod Andrzej Węgierski, senior of Lublin, as their representative to make concrete suggestions to finalize their

⁵¹⁷ *Księga dystryktowa* 1634-1722, 41.

⁵¹⁸ *Księga druga aktów* 1638-1675, 35, 41.

⁵¹⁹ *Synody* 1611-1844, 24; *Acta Albo Constitucie* 1618-1704, 136-145.

⁵²⁰ *Synody* 1611-1844, 24.

⁵²¹ *Księga druga aktów* 1638-1675, 59.

proposals and to establish a date for the general convocation.⁵²² A special letter was sent from the delegates of the synod to the Lithuanians informing them of this decision.⁵²³ The Major Poles concurred with the resolution of the Minor Poles in a letter sent to the Lithuanians from their 1643 synod at Leszno.⁵²⁴

Węgierski's mission was successful. The 1644 Vilnius synod, at which he was in attendance, agreed to meet for general convocation at Orla on August 29. All three churches begun their final preparations for this important gathering.⁵²⁵

The Lithuanians decided that their representatives should be Superintendents Jakub Biskupski, Jan Grzybowski, and Apollos Styrzyński, and lay patrons Stanisław Rajski, Piotr Siestrzencewicz, and two new lay delegates Bneski and Wotkowiski.⁵²⁶ The synod gave them very specific instructions. (1) The work should proceed according to the letter of instruction which the Lithuanians had sent to the Poles at 1637. (2) Purity, antiquity, and simplicity were to be the three characteristics of the work. Nothing was to be allowed which would leave the church open to charges of idolatry or 'unfaithful Arianism.' (3) If the Bohemian Brethren were to create difficulties by introducing their peculiar practices, then the Lithuanians should at least strive for agreement with the Minor Poles, with whom they shared allegiance to the *Second Helvetic Confession*. They should strive for agreement with the Major Poles for the sake of simplicity and purity of the rites such as was found in the early church. (4). It should be made clear to the Poles that only if they agreed completely to the requirements of the Lithuanians could unification of the rites proceed. Here they seemed to leave very little room for negotiation. (5) The delegates should consider the statements presented by the Poles in their 1639 Vilnius synod concerning the need to formulate common rites. Added was a final reminder of the need to print a corrected edition of the new hymnal.⁵²⁷

⁵²² *Księga dystryktowa 1634-1722*, 55-57.

⁵²³ *Synody 1611-1844*, 25.

⁵²⁴ *Tworek 1971*, 134.

⁵²⁵ *Księga druga aktów 1638-1675*, 70.

⁵²⁶ *Księga druga aktów 1638-1675*, 71; *Tworek 1971*, 134.

⁵²⁷ *Księga druga aktów 1638-1675*, 71.

These instructions given by the Lithuanians appeared to leave them very little room for movement. It was made to appear that if the Poles do not agree to every demand of the Lithuanians they would be responsible for dooming the project to failure. Some of the Lithuanian points seemed to be ultimatums. The emphasis on purity, simplicity, and antiquity indicate that two different liturgical traditions were locked in a struggle for supremacy. The Lithuanians did not consider the richer and more complex forms used in Poland to be purer than the simple and chaste forms with which they were familiar. The negotiations at Orla would be difficult, and their outcome would clearly indicate which side had prevailed.

The Minor Poles chose the following clergy as their delegates: Tomasz Węgierski, Andrzej Węgierski, Paweł Bochnicius, Jan Malkolm, Daniel Stephanus, Jan Żurowski, Jakub Milius, Samuel Płachta, Stanisław Zajączkowiec, and Krzysztof Pandlowski. Lay patrons were: Aleksander Rożeński, Jan Gliński, Andrzej Rej, Adam Rej, Franciszek Gorzkowski, Stanisław Drohojowski, and Gabriel Hulewicz. They advised their delegates to listen calmly to all of the criticisms and comments of the Lithuanians and to make only those concessions which they had thoroughly discussed among themselves and mutually agreed. Clearly, the Minor Poles were entering the negotiations with a wholly different spirit from that of the Lithuanians. They would hold their peace, listen carefully, and respond thoughtfully and as a group.⁵²⁸ Delegates from Major Poland included Superintendent Jan Bythner, Senior Jan Amos Comenius (Komeński), Minister Maciej Ambroscius, lay patron Stanisław Kochlewski, and others.⁵²⁹

The consideration of the unification of the rites would prove only a secondary matter in the convocation at Orla from August 24 to September 4, 1644. Of first importance was the call that had been issued by King Władysław IV Waza for a *Colloquium charitativum* among all Polish Christians to established peace between them and to pave the way for the reconciliation of all groups into one church. The Reformed,

⁵²⁸ Akta synodów 1570-1676, (manuscript 4) 16-21; *Tworek* 1971, 134.

⁵²⁹ Akta synodów 1570-1676, (manuscript 4) 16-21; *Tworek* 1971, 134.

Bohemian Brethren, and Lutherans all looked with suspicion upon this proposal. They understood that the goal was unrealistic and unreach-able, but since the king was behind it, they had to participate. It was their hope that through their participation they perhaps might achieve some legal standing in the country.⁵³⁰ The Bohemians and Polish Reformed wanted to present their own united confession to the Catholics in the *Colloquium*, and they entertained the hope that the Lutherans might be willing to participate in its formulation. The Lutherans declined. It was the Polish Reformed and Bohemian Brethren alone who formulated their common confession at Orla for presentation to the Roman Catholics.⁵³¹

Consideration of the agenda was postponed until the last item in the protocol. It was agreed that the preface should be rewritten and that the new preface would include an explanation concerning the inclusion of the calendar, the citations of the Church Fathers, and councils, “public prayers read in public gatherings,”⁵³² and other matters which had raised the concerns of some. Lithuanian concerns were addressed by the decision to publish liturgical forms for Holy Baptism, the Lord’s Supper, and marriage. According to the protocols, this matter was thoroughly discussed and unanimously agreed by all three delegations. The title of the book would be *Akt usługi chrztu s. y s. wieczerezy panskiej...1644*, the name originally agreed upon. The book would be meant for public use in Lithuania. In addition 100 copies would be sent to the church in Minor Poland and 50 copies to the Brethren in Major Poland. Other forms from the Great Gdańsk Agenda might be corrected as needed in the next edition of the full agenda. The act of divorce was to be removed from the book and given into the hands of the seniors and super-intendents. If the Lithuanians wished they might print it for themselves as page 441. Special attention was given to the form of Lord’s Sup-

⁵³⁰ Gmiterek 1980/1981, 69-89.

⁵³¹ *Generalis Confessio Doctrinae Ecclesiarum Reformatorum in Regno Poloniae, Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae ... ad Liqidationem Controversianum maturandam proposita. Sprawy-Duchowne 1612-1853*, 64-73.

⁵³² Akta synodów 1570-1676, (manuscript 4) 12-13; *Księga dystryktowa 1634-1722*, 65-66.

per, which was revised according to the requirements of the Lithuanian Church. These changes were to be printed and subscribed by hand by all the delegates with the appropriate seals and signatures.⁵³³ Because of Lithuanian concerns over the term ‘agenda,’ it was decided that they may be allowed to title the book *Akt usługi*. However, it was stated that this must not be understood to establish a precedent. The term ‘agenda’ could still be used as the title of a future book.⁵³⁴

The *Akt usługi* appeared in the Polish language late in 1644 in Lubcza, Podlissia. The order of the Lord’s Supper exhibited some minor changes. The Polish tradition predominated, but some Lithuanian elements had been reintroduced. Two hymns were given at the invocation of the Holy Spirit, one of which was from the Lithuanian catechismal tradition. The prayer towards the Words of Christ, which the Great Gdańsk Agenda has joined together with the confession of sins, was restored as a separate act before the Testamentary Words. The recitation of the narrative of the institution from 1 Corinthians 11:23-29, a Lithuanian tradition, was offered as a permissible alternative to the form found in the Great Gdańsk Agenda. The Our Father was given without melody, although it was noted that it was permissible to sing it. The most significant alteration was a restoration of a single distribution of the bread and wine together. The Gdańsk Book had called for the distribution of the bread after Paul’s words over the bread (1 Corinthians 10) had been spoken, then the distribution of the cup was to take place after the speaking of Paul’s words over the cup. The Lithuanians solved this problem by issuing the invitation to God’s table only after Paul’s words have been spoken in their entirety. They had not been satisfied with the distribution formulas in the Great Gdańsk Agenda and therefore amended them by adding the words “Christ said, this is my body...” and “Christ said, this is my blood...,” thus muting the significance of the phrases “Body of Christ” and “Blood of Christ.”⁵³⁵

⁵³³ *Księga synodów* 1636-1678, 112-120; *Księga dystryktowa* 1634-1722, 65-66.

⁵³⁴ *Akta synodów* 1644-1775, 1-4; *Akta synodów* 1570-1676, (manuscript 4) 1-21; *Acta Albo Constitucie* 1618-1704, 170-172; *Księga synodów* 1636-1678, 109.

⁵³⁵ *Akt usługi* 1644, 20-47.

It may seem strange that the 1644 service included some elements against which the Lithuanians had earlier complained, such as confession (*spowiedź*) and absolution (*rozgrzeszenie*).⁵³⁶ It is noteworthy too that they continued to allow the use of the *Agnus Dei*, which in the Western tradition is a prayer of adoration directed to Christ on the Altar. Here, however, it was placed earlier in the rite to be sung in connection with Paul's words concerning the broken bread from 1 Corinthians 10. Remarkably, this service also included a Gregorian melody for the singing of the creed, a melody which one would have expected to be dropped because of its association with the Roman Church.

It is difficult to avoid the impression that Lithuanian victory in the convocation at Orla was not as comprehensive as they may have thought it to have been. In the end we find a basically Polish Holy Communion rite to which some Lithuanian elements have been added. Although the Lithuanians might be said to have been victorious in their struggle, the cost of victory was in fact the surrender of a liturgical tradition which extended back to the time of the important Polish theologian and liturgist Johannes a Lasco. Lithuanians had come to Orla in a contentious spirit, issuing ultimatums to the effect that the Poles must accept all their proposal for the sake of unity. However, their proposals, though strictly worded, were too narrow. They called for no major reworking of the service. What they proposed was easily fitted into the pattern of the Gdańsk Service of the Holy Communion. In the last days of the convocation at Orla the spirit of contention seems to have disappeared, with the result that in the end the Lithuanians accepted terms, such as 'confession,' 'absolution,' and 'agenda' which they had earlier labeled offensive and reminiscent of Rome.

The *Akt usługi* was to meet the needs of the Lithuanian Reformed Church. It was used in Lithuania, but copies were distributed also to the sister churches for their use. The Poles saw no pressing reason to make use of this book or its provisions. They were already well used to the Great Gdańsk Agenda and it reflected well their own traditions.

⁵³⁶ In the case of "confession" ("spowiedź") this agenda also provides for the use of an alternative title, "confession of sins" ("spowiedź, ábo wyznánie grzechow").

Their participation in the formulation of *Akt usługi* must be seen as evidence of their intense desire to maintain some measure of unity with the Lithuanians in the hope that future negotiations would indeed result in the unification of the rites and the publication of the new agenda.

The final goal of the Orla convocation was the publication a single agenda to be used in Poland and Lithuania by all the Reformed and Brethren congregations. The publication of the 1644 book was a step forward, but the final goal had not yet been reached. Within a year, at their convocation at Bełżyce held on May 1, 1645, the Minor Poles recalled that aim and formally acquainted their congregations with the terms of the Orla agreement.⁵³⁷ The question would be put before the next general convocation of the churches.

The Lithuanians too brought up the question of the unification of the rites in their synod, which began on June 10, 1646 in Vilnius. Here the delegates declared themselves heartily in favor of the unification of the rites, but at the same time they insisted that the continued use of their familiar Lithuanian services did not impede unity. This statement indicates a certain ambivalence in Lithuanian attitudes. They desired to please the Poles with words supporting unification, but at the same time they sought to placate their own Lithuanian congregations by assuring them that they could continue to use some of their familiar rites and ceremonies.⁵³⁸

Eight years passed before any action was taken on the agenda. At their church-wide convocation in Bełżyce on May 1, 1654 the Minor Poles seized the initiative. Perhaps remembering that positive results had resulted in 1643 only because they had sent to the Lithuanians both a written petition and a personal representative, the Poles delegated their Minister Arnolf Jarzyna to Vilnius synod persuade the delegates to act favorably on the matter of unification.⁵³⁹

In the synod at Vilnius which began on June 14, 1654 the Lithuanians assented and assured the Minor Polish Church that they maintain unity in the sacred rites. They noted that in accordance with the decisions at

⁵³⁷ *Acta Albo Constitucie* 1618-1704, 172.

⁵³⁸ *Księga druga aktów* 1638-1675, 105.

⁵³⁹ *Księga druga aktów* 1638-1675, 185; *Tworek* 1971, 136.

Orla they were making frequent use of the three sacred acts printed in the 1644 book, but that with regard to the observance of the administration of the Lords Supper, they exercised that liberty which the Włodawa 1634 convocation had allowed them. They noted that they were not alone in exercising such liberty, for the other churches were doing the same. The other ministerial acts of the agenda which were corrected at Orla had been introduced into the congregations to be used as feasible. They stated their agreement that the other rites and ceremonies should be negotiated in the coming general convocation. In addition they sent Minister Andrzej Paszkowski to the Minor Polish synod at Oksza to discuss these statements and the question of a general convocation.⁵⁴⁰

At the church-wide synod at Oksza on September 18-21, 1654 both this question and the question of establishing a seminary for the Lithuanian and Minor Polish Churches were on the agenda. The Poles asked that Lithuanians consider these matters at their next synod.⁵⁴¹ The Vilnius synod, which began on June 6, 1655 resolved that both questions should be put to a coming general convocation to be held shortly. They send Andrzej Paszkowski as their delegate to the synod in Chmielnik to discuss the question of the convocation on their behalf.⁵⁴² The convocation did not meet, and no further work was undertaken on the unification of the rites in that decade.

On October 5-6, 1663 at the church-wide synod at Chmielnik, the question of a general convocation was again raised. The synod decided to send Samuel Keszner, senior of Lublin, to Lithuania and Daniel Kałaj, consenior of Kraków, to Major Poland to urge the convening of a general convocation.⁵⁴³ Reasons unspecified made it impossible for Keszner to go to Vilnius. Subsequently the district synod held from September 30 to October 1, 1665 at Oksza, decided that the security of a general convocation could not be guaranteed. Therefore it was necessary to postpone it.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴⁰ *Księga druga aktów* 1638-1675, 185-186.

⁵⁴¹ *Księga dystryktowa* 1634-1722, 119-123.

⁵⁴² *Księga druga aktów* 1638-1675, 204.

⁵⁴³ *Księga dystryktowa* 1634-1722, 140-142; *Tworek* 1971, 137.

⁵⁴⁴ *Księga dystryktowa* 1634-1722, 148.

The next initiative came from the Lithuanians at their 1668 Vilnius synod. The second matter on the agenda was unification of the rites and church order. They declared that this was a pressing necessity to which all three churches must give attention at a general convocation. As an indication of their seriousness, they selected delegates to represent them at the meeting. Delegates selected included the magnate Bogusław Radziwiłł, along with the lesser nobles Jan Tryzn, Teofil Rajewski, Jan Gruzewski, Jan Frąckiewicz-Radzimiński, Puzyn, Jan Czyż, Jan Cedrowski, Stefan Cedrowski, Jan Kamiński, and Jan Rynwid. Their instructions were to observe the same instructions as had been issued to the delegates attending the 1644 convocation at Orla. The meeting was set for September 20, 1671.⁵⁴⁵ The 1669 meeting reaffirmed these arrangements.⁵⁴⁶ However, once again it was not possible for the general convocation to gather.

The Vilnius synod which began on July 3, 1672 once again affirmed the importance of a general convocation. Krzysztof Potocki, the Lithuanian representative, and Samuel Keszner, superintendent of Minor Poland, were given the responsibility of finalizing arrangements for the meeting.⁵⁴⁷ The Vilnius synod which began on June 26, 1675 called the convoking of a general convocation a matter of great necessity and approved the selection of Chmielnik as the site of the meeting to be held in 1676. On the list of delegates we find Krzysztof Żarnowiec, senior of Białoruś, Mikołaj Minwid, superintendent of Samogitia, Krzysztof Kraiński, consenior of Podlassia, and others. Once again precise instructions were given to the delegates.⁵⁴⁸ For reasons which are not altogether clear, no reference is found in these instructions to the matters of the unification of rites. It may be that political conditions were more pressing, and the question of rites had once again been relegated to a secondary position.

At long last the general convocation of the three churches convened at Chmielnik on January 21-23, 1676. Twenty one items were on the

⁵⁴⁵ *Księga druga aktów 1638-1675*, 289-291.

⁵⁴⁶ *Księga druga aktów 1638-1675*, 307.

⁵⁴⁷ *Księga druga aktów 1638-1675*, 336; *Tworek* 1971, 137.

⁵⁴⁸ *Księga druga aktów 1638-1675*, 375.

agenda for discussion, with unification of rites in last item. Little more was said about it than that it would be on the agenda for the next general synod.⁵⁴⁹ They were not to know at that time that the next general synod would convene only after 53 years had passed. When the churches gathered again at the 1719 general synod in Gdańsk the unification of the rites was no longer a matter of concern.⁵⁵⁰ The Counter Reformation had swept through Poland and Lithuania, and the Protestant communities were now living in hostile territory as a faithful remnant concerned chiefly with the ultimate question, the question of survival. The time of persecution was only beginning; it would become far more intense in the decades to come.

By the second half of the seventeenth century the older forms were beginning to disappear from Lithuania and memories of past traditions were fading. In their hands they had the Great Gdańsk Agenda and the 1644 *Akt usługi*. Younger generations had grown up knowing only these, and thus the disappearance of the uniquely Lithuanian tradition of Johannes a Lasco was inevitable. In its place was a liturgy agreed at Orla 1644, a Polish creation with a few specifically Lithuanian elements. As *Akt usługi* came into ordinary usage, it engendered in the people a loyalty which looked upon it as truly Lithuanian. They remained faithful to it, and in 1742, 98 years after its first publication, they reprinted it in Königsberg, giving it the title *Sześć aktów*. To its three services they added three more forms, taken from the Great Gdańsk Agenda, to make it more useful to the ministers as manual of pastoral acts.⁵⁵¹ In its new and somewhat more adequate form it would continue in use to be treasured by generations yet to come.

It must be said that the unification of the rites, at least as far as the Poles envisioned it, was only partially accomplished. Although the Lithuanians may be said to have lost their unique tradition of the Lord's Supper, the spirit which formed that tradition remained. Thus something of a uniquely Lithuanian liturgical identity was never completely eradicated, but continued to endure.

⁵⁴⁹ *Akta synodów 1570-1676*, (manuscript 5) 1-15.

⁵⁵⁰ *Akta synodów 1570-1676*, (manuscript 9) 1-11.

⁵⁵¹ *Sześć aktów 1742*.

3. THE CONTOURS OF THE HOLY COMMUNION RITES IN THE AGENDAS

The 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. In every case it represents a special, occasional celebration of great spiritual moment in the life of parish and its members. In this it 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.

The usual Sunday worship among the Reformed found its center not in Holy Communion but in systematic preaching, usually based upon the exposition of a book of the Bible. Holy Communion was celebrated only occasionally and this made of the celebration a great social, as well as, spiritual event in which all members of the community were expected to participate. Indeed, participation in the celebration and communion reception were understood to be public marks of Christian faith and profession. As would be the case to an even greater extent later in Pietism, so too in this earlier period great emphasis came to be placed upon an often and elaborate form of preparation for participation. Here as elsewhere in the Reformed tradition the *fractio panis* becomes an essential part of the Reformed rite. Among the Reformed it was understood to be an essential Eucharistic action by which the church of the present day imitates the action of her Master in the first Supper.

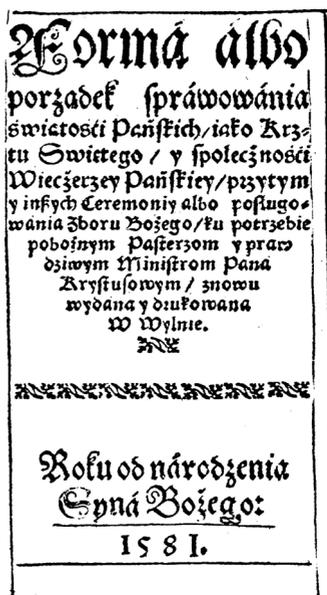
Accordingly, the analysis of the structure will proceed along somewhat different lines than would be the case if it were parallel to the tra-

dition of other churches in the Christian West and East, i.e., the division between the *Missa catechumenorum* and the *Missa fidelium*. We will not be able to isolate the parts of the service immediately surrounding the setting apart and distribution of the elements from the rest of the rite, for it is the action as the whole which is important. It lays before us the full understanding of the sacrament in these Reformed Churches. Indeed it is difficult in examining these orders to detect any clear division between major parts of the service. What is called for is a cautious approach to the examination of these liturgies and, in turn, an analysis of each part of the service, which avoids the temptation to oversimplification.

Forma albo porządek 1581

Forma albo porządek sprawowania świątosci Pańskich / iako Krztu Świętego / y społeczności Wieczerzey Pańskiej / przytym y inszych Ceremoniy albo posługowania Zboru Bożego / ku potrzebie pobożnym Pasterzom / y prawdziwym Ministrom Pana Krystusowym / znowu wydana y drukowana w Wylnie. Roku od náródzenia Syná Bożego: 1581. (Form or Order for the celebration of the Lord's Sacraments, such as Holy Baptism and common Lord's Supper, together with other Ceremonies and Services of the Lord's Congregation, for the use of pious pastors and true ministers of the Lord Christ, newly published and printed at Vilnius in the year of the Son of God 1581.)

71 pages. The book measures approximately 15.5 cm long and approximately 9 cm wide. It has never before appeared in Polish and Lithuanian bibliographies. It was recently found in the Public Library of Schaffhausen in Swit-



zerland (acquisition number KSt 9). It claims to be a reprint of an earlier edition which had been published in the printing house of the Radziwiłł the Brown in Vilnius. It is the oldest extant liturgical source available. Although prepared for use in Lithuania, it is written in the Polish language. Several later reprints appeared. The 1594 edition is held by the Uppsala University Library (acquisition number: Obr.65:232). The 1598 edition is found in Vilnius University library (acquisition number: II 2240), and the edition for the year 1600 is found in the Ossoliński National Institute Library in Wrocław (acquisition number: XVI.O.267). This work represents the third part of a larger work which included also a catechism and hymnal. It is printed in fraktur, to be used by Reformed congregations throughout Lithuania. Included together with the form of the Lord's Supper are orders for Holy Baptism, Holy Matrimony, and Visitation of the Sick. We have no external evidence concerning the authorization of this work for use in the Lithuanian Church, since the protocols from this period are no longer extant. The book is for the use of the ministers and members of the congregations, to guide them in their preparation for worship and their participation in the services. A second 1598 edition provides Polish and Lithuanian on facing pages, giving us the first and only extant early Reformed liturgy in the Lithuanian language from this period.⁵⁵² The translator was Malcher Pietkiewicz (Merkelis Petkevičius), the secretary of Vilnius region.

The service of the Holy Communion shows the strong imprint of Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio*. Building upon the foundation which his work had provided, many innovations may be noted, particularly with reference to the distribution. Some of Lasco's provisions have been shortened, particularly the sections dealing with the services which lead up to the preparation for Holy Communion. Unlike the later Polish rites, musical notation is not provided. The complete celebration of the Holy Communion calls for a series of services to be held.

Order for the Second Week before Communion. Directions for the celebration for the Holy Communion require that two weeks before the day designated for Communion the minister is to publicly announce

⁵⁵² Katekizmas 1598, Ddijj-Ggij

its approach and admonish the people to a careful self-examination, so that the sacrament might not be dishonored. Children will not be admitted, but only those who can give an account of their lives, who have been catechized and publicly profess their faith. Travelers and other visitors are not to be admitted unless they have given evidence to the minister of their profession of faith and obedience to the church's teachings.

Order for the Day before Communion. The elders and other ministers are to assemble themselves in the places of honor before the congregation and examine them particularly with regard to their sins. The purpose of this examination is to assist the unlearned to make a thorough examination and a good confession. The people are also admonished to bodily fasting and fervent prayer until the Communion service.

Order for the Day of Communion.

1. *Sermon.* The minister is to direct attention in his sermons to Holy Communion or make Holy Communion the subject of his sermon, so as to remind the people what Christ wishes to say and signify by this mystery, and in what way they ought to receive it. This directive corresponds exactly to that found in Calvin's Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders.
2. *Prayer for the Right and God-pleasing Worship.* The minister gives glory to God and calls upon him graciously to grant the worshipers true faith that they may give him fitting praise.
3. *Exhortation and Excommunication.* Exhortation to worthy communion and declaration of excommunication of the unworthy, according to the terms set in Calvin's 1542 Geneva order.
4. *Confession of Sins.* The congregation confesses sins and pleads for mercy for the sake of Christ. Amendment of life is promised.
5. *The Word of Comfort.* The minister speaks the word of comfort as extended to those who are eternally sorry for their sins. God's mercy is promised to those who are both sincerely sorry, trust in

God's mercy, and believe that God will honor his promise to be merciful to such.

6. *Admonition to worthy Reception.* The minister reminds the people that whatever good is in them is not their own; it is the work of God and, by the power of the Holy Spirit they are to give themselves to the imitation of Christ, so that their present and future partaking may be worthy.
7. *A Prayer for Communion.* The minister prays for communion with Christ, the confirmation of fellowship in him with one another, and that those who will receive Christ, the spiritual food and drink for the soul may attest that God is their merciful Father.
8. *The Words of Christ's Testament.* The historical narrative from 1 Corinthians 11:23-29 is read. At the Words of Christ 'Take, eat' the minister takes the bread in his hands and breaks it. There are no manual acts associated with the cup.
9. *The Meaning of the Testament and Admonition.* The minister reminds the communicants again of Paul's words concerning unworthy eating and drinking, which they had just heard. He incites them by the Holy Spirit to lift up their eyes and hearts to be united with Christ's body and blood in heaven.
10. *Words of 1 Corinthians 5.* The minister calls upon the people to keep the feast and eat the bread with sincerity and truth, for Christ, their Paschal Lamb, has been offered for them: "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (1 Corinthians 5:7b, 8).
11. *The Breaking of the Bread and the Words over the Cup.* The minister recites the words of Paul concerning the broken bread from 1 Corinthians 10 while he breaks the bread and fills the paten. Then, taking the chalice, he pours wine into it while reciting Paul's words concerning the cup of blessing from 1 Corinthians 10.

12. *The Our Father*. The minister invites the congregation to join him in praying the Our Father.
13. *Invitation to God's Table, Examination of the Neophytes*. The minister initially invites those who are coming for the first time, and asks them (1) if they intend to remain firm in the faith which they have confessed, (2) if they confess that they have been admitted to a holy gathering in which God's word is rightly preached and his sacraments rightly administered. He asks further (3) whether they intend to remain under the church's discipline.
14. *Prayer of Humble Access*. The minister asks that God would make the communicants worthy, making them the very vessel into which the body and blood of Christ is placed and poured. Finally, it is asked that Christ would feed these communicants with heavenly food.
15. *The Distribution of the Bread and Cup*. The bread of the Supper is given into the hands of the communicants with the words: "Take, eat, this is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ which he gave into death for us and for our salvation." At the giving of the cup he says: "Take, drink from this all of you, this cup is the New Testament of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which for the redemption of our sins is shed on the cross."⁵⁵³ While the people commune, men first, a lector reads aloud the sixth chapter of the Gospel according to John.
16. *Words of Consolation and Encouragement*. After all have communed and returned to their places, the minister encourages the people to believe without any doubt that they have participated in this Supper of the Lord in memory of the death of Christ and therefore they may be certain that they have Communion with Jesus Christ though his body and blood, to life everlasting.

⁵⁵³ "Bierzcie / iedźcie / to iest ciało Pána nášzego / Jezusá Krystusá / ktore zá nas iest ná śmierć wydane dla zbáwienia nášzego... Bierzcie / piycie z tego wszyscy / ten Kubek iest Nowy Testáment we krwi Pána nášzego Jezusá Krystusá / ktora dla nas iest wylana ná krzyżu / na odpuszczenie wszytych grzechow nášzych." *Forma albo porządek* 1581, c.

17. *Exhortation to Thanksgiving*. The minister expresses the conviction that none who have communed will have failed to feel the power and fruitfulness of their communion with Christ, the Lord. He also expresses the hope that all will in the future take their places with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of God in celebration of the merit and victory of Christ the Lord.
18. *Prayer of Thanksgiving*. The minister gives thanks that God has given his only-begotten Son, through whose death they have received forgiveness of all their sins, and together with it fellowship in all righteousness, merit, and victory. He also recognizes their continuing weakness and prays that these gifts would establish their thankfulness, and that they would through the Holy Spirit produce good fruits.
19. *Collection of Alms*. Offerings for the poor are then to be taken.
20. *Benediction*. The people are blessed: “May the merciful Lord God who has fed and given us to drink the body and blood of his most beloved Son, graciously keep our hearts and souls for his praise and glory and bless us through all the ages.”
21. *Dismissal*. The service ends with the final hymn: *Blagosław nam nasz Panie*.⁵⁵⁴

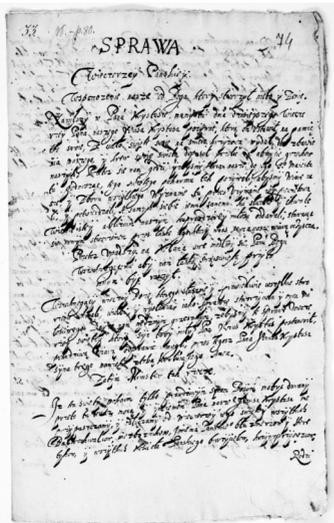
Forma albo porządek 1621

SPRAWA Wieczery Panskiej. (Order for the Lord's Supper.)

This handwritten manuscript was found in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, in a collection of documents, cataloged as *Sprawy duchowne 1612-1843* (acquisition number: F40-460). The manuscript measures approximately 33 cm long and 20.5 wide and comprises 4 pages. It announces itself to be a copy of the form of the Holy Communion from the Lithuanian catechism.⁵⁵⁵ The Lithuanian Church only produced two catechisms in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The first was published without synodical approval by

⁵⁵⁴ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, b-ciiij.

⁵⁵⁵ Ta Forma Wzięta iest s Katechizmu Litewskiego. X. Samuel Lenartowicz. *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 77.



Jan Zygmuntowicz in Lubcza in 1618.⁵⁵⁶ The church rejected this catechism, because of weaknesses in its presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity. The second catechism appeared in Lubcza in 1621.⁵⁵⁷ It was produced by a synodical commission in 1620 and received the official approval of the church. According to the synodical protocols, this catechism included *Forma albo porządek* with the liturgical orders for Holy Communion, Holy Baptism, Holy Matrimony, and Visitation of the Sick. Samuel Lenartowicz, who identifies himself as the copyst of the *Sprawa Wierzy Panskiej*,

was responsible for the preparation of the form of Holy Communion included with the official catechism.⁵⁵⁸ Three copies of Lithuanian catechisms from this period have survived,⁵⁵⁹ but the title pages and dates of publication are lacking. None of them includes the liturgical forms which were a part of the official catechism of 1621, so we must assume that these catechisms are from 1618. Therefore we conclude that the present document is from the catechism of 1621 which is no longer extant, and represents the official liturgy of the church of that time. We refer to it as *Forma albo porządek* 1621, copied by the synodical Notary Samuel Lenartowicz.

The synodical protocols indicate that at the Vilnius synod of 1620 two forms were prepared, one very traditional, and another showing

⁵⁵⁶ *Akta synodów* 1915, 46,49-50.

⁵⁵⁷ The date is approximate. It may have been published in the late months of 1620, however, the protocols of the Vilnius synod of 1621 indicate that the work was officially introduced in 1621. We will refer to this catechism as the 1621 catechism, after the year of its official introduction.

⁵⁵⁸ *Akta synodów* 1915, 55.

⁵⁵⁹ Library of Academy of Sciences in Vilnius (acquisition number: L - 17 / 279); Jagiellonian University Library in Kraków (acquisition numbers: Cim. 754, Cim. 1393).

marks of the influence of newer liturgical developments. Duke Krzysztof Radziwiłł was asked to examine these two liturgies and to decide which would be closer to the heart of the Lithuanian people. An examination of the present form shows that Radziwiłł decided for the more traditional pattern of service. Indeed the 1621 form of the Lord's Supper follows closely the provisions found in earlier books, dating back to the 1581 agenda. Although most of the service in *Forma* follows the earlier book word for word, there are a few minor changes.

The orders for the second week before Communion and the day before Communion are not found in our manuscript copy. This does not necessarily mean that these services had been dropped. It is more likely that Samuel Lenartowicz saw no need to recopy these lengthy services, since he was limiting himself the actual liturgical changes in the new order. The manuscript is limited to the actual liturgical actions.

Order for the Day of Communion.

1. *Call to Worship.* The minister recites Psalm 124:8: "Our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth." This element was not found in earlier Lithuanian liturgies. The 1581 order had begun with the sermon and with directions concerning the purpose of the Supper and beneficial participation.
2. *Exhortation.* The exhortation is taken from the 1581 service *verbatim*. However, 1581 agenda had joined this exhortation with the announcement of excommunication. In this liturgy the following prayer intervenes between the two.
3. *Prayer for the Right and God-pleasing Worship.* The wording in the prayer remains unchanged.
4. *Excommunication.* A shortened form of the excommunication from the 1581 service follows. Backsliding and stubborn members are no longer singled out.
5. *Confession of Sins.* The 1581 text is reproduced.
6. *The Word of Comfort.* The 1581 text is reproduced.
7. *Admonition to worthy Reception.* The admonition is a shortened version of the 1581 text.

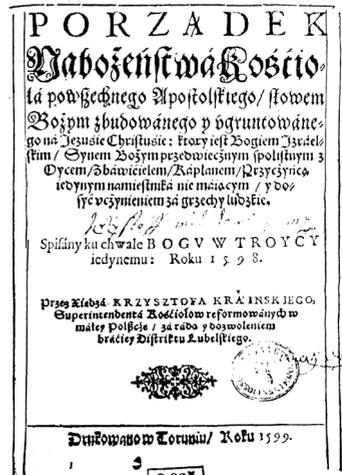
8. *A Prayer for Communion*. The prayer is shortened from the 1581 order. Omitted is the last section, which identifies Christ as the meat and drink of the soul, through whose blood the people are blessed to be the nation and sons of God the Father.
9. *The Words of Christ's Testament*. The 1581 text is reproduced. There are no manual acts associated with the bread and cup. The section about the meaning of the Testament is omitted.
10. *Words of 1 Corinthians 5*. The 1581 text is reproduced.
11. *The Breaking of the Bread and the Words over the Cup*. The 1581 text is reproduced.
12. *The Our Father*. The 1581 text is reproduced.
13. *Invitation to God's Table and Examination of the Neophytes*. An altered wording of the three scrutinies is provided. The first scrutiny concerns the nature of this gathering and the truth of the word proclaimed in it and the sacraments which are administered in the church. The second concerns faithfulness unto death - in 1581 order this had been the first question. The third question concerns willingness to remain under the discipline of the church. It is shortened from 1581.
14. *Prayer of Humble Access*. The 1581 text is reproduced.
15. *The Distribution of the Bread and Cup*. The 1581 text is reproduced, but the reading of John 6 has been replaced by a hymn.
16. *Words of Consolation and Encouragement*. The 1581 text is reproduced.
17. *Exhortation to Thanksgiving*. The 1581 text is reproduced.
18. *Prayer of Thanksgiving*. The 1581 text is reproduced.
19. *Collection of Alms*. The 1581 text is reproduced.
20. *Benediction*. The 1581 text is reproduced.
21. *Dismissal*. The 1581 text is reproduced.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁶⁰ *Forma albo porządek 1621, 74-77.*

Porządek nabożeństwa 1599

PORZĄDEK nabożeństw Kościoła powszechnego Apostolskiego / słowem Bożym zbudowanego y vgruntowanego na Jezusie Chrystusie: który iest Bogiem Izraelskim / Synem Bożym przedwiecznym spolistnym z Oycem / Zbawicielem / Káplanem / Przyczyńcą iedynym namiestniká nie máiącym / y dosyć wczynieniem zá grzechy ludzkie. Spisány ku chwale BOGV W TROYCY iedynemu: Roku 1598. Przez Xiędzá KRZYSZTOFA KRAIŃSKIEGO, Superintendentá Kościołow reformowanych w málej Polsce / zá ráđą y dozwozeniem bráciey Distriktu Lubelskiego. Drukowano w Toruniu / Roku 1599. (Order of worship of the Universal, Apostolic Church, established upon the Word of God and founded upon Jesus Christ, who is the God of Israel, Son of God, united with the Father from before the Ages, Savior, Priest, the only Source without Deputy, who atoned for the Sins of Men. Written to the Praise of God, who is One in Trinity, in the year 1598. By the Minister Krzysztof Kraiński, Superintendent of the Reformed Churches in Minor Poland with the recommendation and permission of the Brethren of the District of Lublin. Printed in Toruń, 1599.)

497 pages. The book measures approximately 19 cm long and 12.5 wide. It is held by the Ossoliński National Institute library in Wrocław (acquisition number: XVI-3070). It is written in Polish, in fraktur. The book was authorized in 1598 at the district synods of Lublin and Kryłów and published for the use of the Reformed congregations in Minor Poland for the ministers in Districts of Lublin, Bełz, and Chełm. The author of this agenda is Superintendent Krzysztof Kraiński, who also produced the hymnal together with the catechism in 1596, a postil in 1608, and numerous other works for the church's use. Included in the agenda are the forms of Holy Baptism, Churching of Women, Lord's Supper,



Communion of the Sick, Holy Matrimony, Ordination of Deacons, Ministers, Seniors, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, Confirmation, Reconciliation of Penitents, Acceptance of Converts from Roman Church, Arians, Anabaptists, Jews, Turks and Tatars, Sabbath Worship, Worship on Work Days, Worship in Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Day of the Holy Trinity, Martyrs, St. Mary, the Apostles, the Angels, and the day of Fasting and Prayer. It continued in use for only three years. A successor volume was published in 1602 for use in a much wider area of Minor Poland.

The examination of *Porządek nabożeństwa* of 1599 indicates that Holy Communion is to be celebrated four times a year, at Christmas, Easter, Day of Pentecost, and the Sunday after St. Michael's day. A special order of preparation for an entire week of services is provided, including detailed instructions for morning and evening prayers, together with the supplement to order for the day of Communion for use in the Autumn and on special occasions. In general, the rite follows the pattern established by Johannes a Lasco's work, although not to the same extent as the Lithuanian books.

Order for One Week before Communion. A special order for an entire week of services is provided for use before the autumn celebration and all special celebrations of Holy Communion. Both morning and evening services are to be held during this week. For the morning services the following order is provided. The service opens with the singing of two hymns *Znamy Oycze nasz niebieski* and *Jezus Krystus nasz miły*. Paul's historical recitation of the Lord's Testament is read and explained, a special prayer for Holy Communion is offered, and the service concludes with the ascription of praise *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*. The evening service begins with the hymns *O błogoslławiony każdy ten* and *Bądź chwala Bogu na wysokości*, a reading and explanation of John 6 follows, then the evening prayer is offered, and the *Bogu Oycu y Synowi* concluded the service. On Friday the time of fasting begins and the prescribed service for times of fasting is used with the addition of the prayer for Holy Communion.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶¹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 494.

Supplement to the Order for the Day of Communion for Use in the Autumn and on Special Occasions. On the day of Communion three services are held. The morning service begins with the ascription of praise *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*, the people sing the hymns *Zchodźmy się á weselmy się* and *Jezus Krystus Pan ten*, then the sermon provides for further instruction about Holy Communion. Afterwards the congregation sings *Ciebe Bogá chwalimy* and the minister prays a communion prayer. The service concludes with the singing of *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*.

The Main Service begins before noon.

1. *Ascription of Praise.* The minister begins with the words *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*.
2. *Exhortation.* He speaks of the reason for this special gathering with special emphasis on the remembrance of the death of Christ, the strengthening of faith, the assurance of forgiveness and eternal life received through the sacrament. Confession of sins and the confession of faith are omitted in this service. After the exhortation people sing the hymns *Pánie náš studnico dobroći* and *Prošmysz dziś ducha świętego*.
3. *Readings.* The minister gives the apostolic blessing (2 Corinthians 13:13) and reads the Sunday Gospel or another passage pertaining to the sacrament. After the reading the hymn *Smihy się Pánie nád námi* is sung.
4. *Sermon.* The sermon is followed by Psalm 84: *O iák są mile twe przybytki Pánie*.

Without prayer, the act of communion immediately follows, according to the form provided in the order for the Lord's Supper.

The evening service begins with two hymns *Czego chcesz po nas Pánie* and *Święty Duchu ráczysz záwitác k nam*. This is followed by the appointed epistle for the day and the hymn *Jezu Kryste Panie miły*. The evening prayer is offered, along with the *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*.

Finally, it is noted that this special form is to be observed in all times excepting Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.⁵⁶²

⁵⁶² *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 495.

Order for the Day of Communion.

1. *Invocation of the Holy Spirit.* The minister exhorts the congregation to join him in calling on the Holy Spirit, without whom there is no possibility of faith, godliness, or worthy Communion celebration and reception. Then is sung either the antiphon: *Święty duchu zówitay k nam (Veni Sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda)*, or the hymn: *Duchu święty zówitay k nam (Veni Sancte Spiritus et emite)*.
2. *Confirmation of God's Grace, Exhortation to Confession.* The minister recounts the goodness of God which he confirms to his people in his word and the church's sacraments, and calls upon the congregation to kneel with him and make confession of sins.
3. *Confession of Sins.* A lengthy confession follows, read by the minister after which he says the "Amen." No congregation responses are provided.
4. *Declaration of Forgiveness.* The minister encourages the congregation to firmly believe that God has forgiven their sins for the sake of the merit of Christ, according to his promise. He then states that as an apostolic minister set in office by the church he declares forgiveness in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit to those who truly turn to God, repent of their sins, and live in charity with their neighbors.
5. *Confession of Faith.* Then either the Apostles' Creed (*Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem*) or the Nicene Creed (*Credimus in unum Deum Patrem*) is sung by the congregation while the minister places bread on the paten and wine in the chalice and reverently covers them.
6. *The Words of Christ's Testament.* Paul's narrative of the Last Supper from 1 Corinthians 11:23-29 is introduced with words locating this event in the upper room.
7. *The Meaning of the Testament and Admonition.* The minister reminds the congregation of the seriousness of Paul's words concerning unworthy eating and drinking, and urges them to

- examine their consciences before participating in the Supper, lest they come into eternal condemnation.
8. *Excommunication.* Now the minister declares who may not participate in the Supper, namely unbelievers, pagans, Anabaptists, Jews, Turks, and others, even as Jesus warned that dogs and swine must be kept from what is holy. The minister declares that he is a steward of the mysteries of God, empowered to excommunicate those who are unworthy to participate.
 9. *Prayer toward the Words of Christ.* The minister prays that Christ would himself bless the Supper and make the communicants worthy to receive his body and blood. Confessing complete unworthiness and need, he asks that Christ himself would come in blessing, so that he who is present at God's right hand might strengthen the souls of his people with spiritual food, and that the visible signs in the sacrament might confirm to the people their spiritual benefit forgiveness of sins, and eternal life. The minister sings in Polish the antiphon *Naydroższą krwią swoią (Sanguine proprio redemisti nos Deus)* to introduce his invitation to the communicants to come to the God's table.
 10. *Invitation to God's Table.* He invites the communicants to approach the sacrament with fear, faith, and Christian love. First the men present himself, then the women forming a row in accordance with ancient Christian tradition.
 11. *The Our Father.* The Lord's Prayer is sang or spoken by all, kneeling.
 12. *Words of 1 Corinthians 5.* The minister uncovers the vessels and takes them in his hands while speaking the Pauline words: "Christ is our sacrifice..., etc.," and explains these words as meaning that Christ has himself offered the full and complete sacrifice for all sins. This unrepeatable sacrifice is remembered in the Lord's Supper as Christ himself commands in his words: "Do this..., etc."
 13. *Agnus Dei.* The *Agnus Dei* is sung to commemorate Christ's sacrifice and plead for his mercy.

14. *The Breaking of the Bread.* The minister takes the bread and breaks it into three parts, and places them on the paten while repeating Paul's words about the broken bread from 1 Corinthians 10:16.
15. *Recitation of Christ's own Words over the Bread.* He then repeats Christ's own Words over the bread: "Our Lord Jesus Christ when he came to his suffering sat together with his disciples at Supper as the holy evangelists say. He took bread (the minister takes bread), gave thanks, and broke it, saying: 'Take, eat, this is my body. This do in the remembrance of me.'" At the words "He took..." the minister takes the bread in his hands.
16. *The Distribution of the Bread.* The bread is immediately distributed to the communicants with the words: "This same I also say unto you in the name of Christ: Take, eat, this is the body of our Lord Christ which is given for you." All receive standing. The bread is received in hand.
17. *The Pauline Words about the Cup of Blessing.* Then when all have communed the minister takes the cup into his hands and repeats the Pauline words from 1 Corinthians 10: "The cup of blessing which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ."
18. *Recitation of Christ's own Words over the Cup.* Then he repeats Christ's own Testamentary Words as found in the Gospel according to Luke. "After Supper [he] took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them saying: 'Drink, all of you, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you for the forgiveness of sins. Do this as often as you drink it in remembrance of me.'" At the words "He took the cup..." he takes the cup in his hands.
19. *The Distribution of the Cup.* The minister then distributes the cup, saying: "This same I also say unto you in the name of Christ: Take, drink, this is the blood of our Lord Christ which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins." During communion, the Lord's Supper hymn from the catechism is sung. Should

more bread and wine be needed, the necessary words are to be repeated. It is not made clear whether the necessary words consist of both the words of Paul from 1 Corinthians 10:16 and the Words of Christ, or whether it is the words of Paul or the Words of Christ which are to be considered primary.

20. *Exhortation to Thanksgiving.* When all have communed, the minister exhorts all to fervent thanksgiving, for now their consciences have been comforted and they have received assurance of their place as guests in Christ's heavenly banquet.
21. *Prayer of Thanksgiving.* The prayer of thanksgiving follows - to each of the three members of the Holy Trinity in turn.
22. *Collection of Alms.* Then he reminds the congregation of the needs in their midst, and the needs of the poor.
23. *Dismissal.* The service ends without a final blessing, but with the hymn: *Bogu Oycu y Synowi.*⁵⁶³

Porządek nabożeństwa 1602

Porządek NABOZENSTWA KOSCIOLA POWSZECHNEGO AP-OSTOLSKIEGO, Słowem Bożym vgruntowanego y zbudowanego ná IEZVSIE KRYSVTVSIE. Spisány ku chwale BOGV W TROYCY IEDYNEMV: ROKV 1602. Przez Stársze Kościołow reformowanych w máley Polszcze, zá rádu y dozwozeniem synodu Prouinciálnego Ożarówskiego y Włodzisláwskiego. (Order of Worship of the Universal, Apostolic Church, established upon the Word of God and founded upon Jesus Christ. Written to the Praise of God, who is One in Trinity, in the year 1602. By the authorization of the Seniors of the Reformed Churches in Minor Poland, with the recommendation and permission of the church-wide synods at Ożarów and Włodzisláw.)

171 pages. The place of publication is unknown. The book measures approximately 19 cm long and 12.5 cm wide. It is held by the Ossoliński National Institute library in Wrocław (acquisition number: XVII-440). It is written in Polish, in fraktur, for the use of the clergy throughout all the districts of the Reformed Church in Minor Poland. It was authorized by

⁵⁶³ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1599*, 139-176.



direction of the church-wide synods of Włodzisław in 1601 and Ożarów in 1602 and was approved for use in the parishes by the seniors of the Reformed Church in Minor Poland in their 1602 convocation at Radzanów. Subsequently the church-wide synod of Łańcut of 1603 also authorized the use of this book. Included are the forms of Holy Baptism, Churching of Women, Lord's Supper, Communion of the Sick, Holy Matrimony, brief provisions for special worship during the week, Sabbath Worship, special days, Advent, Christmas, New Year,

Epiphany, Lent, Easter, and etc., provisions for Fasting and Communion preparation, Reception of Converts and Penitents, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, Duties of Lectors, Ordination of Deacons, Ministers, Seniors or Superintendents, Order for Synods, Installation of the Ministers, and Visitation of the Parishes. This book continued in use until the publication of its successor volume in 1614.

This agenda is built upon the foundation of the great work of Krzysztof Kraiński, which had appeared only three years earlier. Kraiński's work had excited interest beyond the borders of the Districts of Lublin, Belz, and Chełm for which it had been prepared. It was the purpose of the editors of the new book to make good use of Kraiński's material by producing a work which would reflect the mind of the larger church. Individual judgment should now give way to the considered judgment of a larger number of students of the Reformed worship tradition. It will be no surprise then that the two works appear very similar and differ only in details.

Order for the Second Week and the Day before the Communion.

The 1602 work returns to the traditional practice of special admonitions and examinations administered two weeks before the celebration and the day before the celebration of Communion. We do not find them in

the prominent place which they had occupied in Lasco's original *Forma ac Ratio* and the 1581 Lithuanian book, but they appear in the form of a note or rubric directing that these pious practices are to be observed in the churches; the announcement of the coming celebration two weeks in advance, a further announcement concerning fasting in preparation for the Supper, and registration of all who wish to commune. Where circumstances dictate, the gathering of the communicants before the elders and ministers for the purpose of examination may also be reintroduced. Prayers, hymns, and other public exercises in preparation for the celebration are also encouraged.⁵⁶⁴

Order for the Day of Communion.

1. *Invocation of the Holy Spirit.* The service begins with the invocation of the Holy Spirit after the manner of the 1599 book. The first part of Kraiński's introduction is quoted verbatim. The 1602 book, however, omits the second part of Kraiński's introduction, turning instead to an antiphon: *Duchu święty ząwıtay k nam (Veni Sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda).*
2. *Exhortation to make a Confession.* The new book also shortens the admonition which follows this antiphon. Whereas Kraiński had used it as an occasion to speak of God's mercy and the confession, the newer book turns immediately to an exhortation to confess sins.
3. *Confession of Sins.* The form of confession which follows is adapted from the confession of Kraiński.
4. *The Absolution.* The absolution follows closely the wording of Kraiński's 'Assurance of Forgiveness,' again somewhat abbreviated and adapted. The later book specifies that the people respond to the absolution by saying: "Amen."
5. *Confession of Faith.* Both the 1599 and 1602 agendas provide similar plainsong melodies traditionally associated with the Nicene Creed. The 1602 book uses the Gregorian melody which Luther employed for his versification of the Nicene Creed *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott.* Apostles' Creed is provided, but it

⁵⁶⁴ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1602*, 81.

- lacks a melody line. There is no provision for the preparation of the bread during the singing of the creed as in the 1599 book.
6. *Prayer toward the Words of Christ.* The prayer toward the words of Christ, which in 1599 rite follows *Verba Testamenti*, is found in the 1602 book immediately after the creed, before the Christ's Testamentary Words. It is almost identical to the prayer which in 1599 immediately precedes the invitation to God's table. The minister sings the antiphon *Naydroższą krwią swoią (Sanguine proprio redemisti nos Deus)*.
 7. *The Words of Christ's Testament.* The Testamentary Words are quoted from Paul and the minister is directed to take the bread in his hands and break it into parts and to take also the chalice as the Pauline Bread-words and Cup-words are spoken. As in the 1599 book the Words of Christ's Testament are taken from Paul's account in 1 Corinthians 11:23-29 in a narrative form.
 8. *The Meaning of the Testament and Admonition.* A shortened form of Kraiński's admonition to caution and worthy Communion follows the recitation of the *Verba Testamenti*.
 9. *Excommunication.* The minister now speaks the excommunication in abbreviated version. It does not mention groups specifically excluded as in Kraiński's 1599 book.
 10. *Invitation to God's Table.* The invitation to the table of God immediately follows without the intervention of other prayers, as in Kraiński. The invitation is followed by the Lord's Prayer.
 11. *The Our Father.* The Lord's Prayer is sung to the same melody as in 1599 book.
 12. *Words of 1 Corinthians 5.* These are the same as in Kraiński, but with a much shortened version of his explanatory words.
 13. *Agnus Dei.* The hymn *Agnus Dei* or as altered version: *Synu Boży który głódzisz grzechy wszystkiego świata* ("Son of God who takes away sins of the world, we beseech you to hear us") is sung. Kraiński had not provided the alternative.
 14. *The Breaking of the Bread.* Kraiński's form for the breaking of the bread, repeating the words of Paul from 1 Corinthians 10, follows.

15. *The Distribution of the Bread.* The minister distributes the blessed bread with the words: "Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Christ, which is given for you." This is a departure from Kraiński, who before the distribution repeated the Words of Christ over the bread and then proceeded to distribute it: "This same I also say unto you..., etc."
16. *The Pauline Words about the Cup of Blessing.* When all have communed, he speaks Paul's words over the cup from 1 Corinthians 10.
17. *The Distribution of the Cup.* The minister distributes the cup, saying: "Take, drink, this is the blood of the Lord Christ, which is shed for the remission of sins." This again departs from Kraiński, who repeats the Words of Christ from Luke, and then distributes: "This same I also say unto you..., etc." No provision is made for the setting apart of the additional elements. It is directed that during the administration of the sacrament the people should sing the hymns from the catechism.
18. *Exhortation to Thanksgiving.* The exhortation is similar as in 1599 book.
19. *Prayer of Thanksgiving.* The prayer of thanksgiving is much shorter and does not appear to be derived from Kraiński. The prayer is built upon the model of the traditional *Vere dignum* of the *Prefatio*, including the Sanctus, followed by a prayer for all sorts and conditions of men. An optional short hymn may be sung before the benediction if time allows.
20. *Benediction.* The minister blesses the people with the Aaronic Benediction.
21. *Collection of Alms.* Minister reminds the congregation of the needs of the church and of the poor.
22. *Dismissal.* The service concludes with the final hymn: *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁵ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1602, 23-44.*

Porządek nabożeństwa 1614

PORZĄDEK NABOŻENSTWA
KOSCIOLA POWSZECHNEGO AP-
OSTOLSKIEGO, Słowem Bożym vgrun-
towanego y zbudowanego, NÁ IEZUSIE
KRYSTUSIE Spisány, ku chwale BOGU
W TROYCY JEDYNEMU: ROKU

1602. Przez Stársze Kościołow reformowanych w małej Polsce, za rąką y dozwoleńiem synodu Provincialnego Ożarowskiego, Włodzislawskiego, y Łañcutskiego. Powtore Drukowano / Roku 1614. (*Order of Worship of the Universal, Apostolic Church, established upon the Word of God and founded upon Jesus Christ. Written to the Praise of God, who is One in Trinity, in the year 1602. By the authorization of the Seniors of the Reformed Churches in Minor Poland with the recommendation and permission of the church-wide synods at Ożarów, Włodzislaw, and Łañcut. Second printing in the year 1614.*)

236 pages. The place of publication is unknown. The book measures approximately 18.5 cm long and 14.5 cm wide. The agenda identifies itself as the second printing of the 1602 volume, but in fact there are numerous changes. It is held by the Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, Lithuania (acquisition number: XVII/613). Written in Polish, in fraktur, it is primarily for the use of clergy in the districts of the Reformed Church in Minor Poland and was authorized by the church-wide synod in Bełżyce in September 1613 and approved for use, as we see in the preface, by the seniors of the districts in Minor Poland. This volume includes those offices which were in the 1602 book and adds several more. It begins with a detailed calendar which runs to 23 pages and includes commemorations from earlier centuries, including Biblical Saints, Fathers, and Doctors of the Church, and traditional observances from the life and ministry of Jesus. The orders included are divided into two sections. The first consists in the usual ministerial acts and the



second includes forms of ceremonies restricted to seniors and superintendents. Part I: Holy Baptism, Churching of Women, Lord's Supper, Communion of the Sick, Holy Matrimony, brief provisions for special worship during the week, Special Days, Advent, Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Purification of Mary, Lent, Easter, and others. Included also are the commemoration of Biblical Saints, Fathers, and Doctors, days of special Prayer at Fasting, and Provisions for Special Needs (War, Famine, and Plague), Reception of Converts, Penitents, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead. Part II: duties of Lectors, Ordination of Deacons, Ministers, Duties of Conseniors, Ordination of Seniors, Duties of the Superintendent, Order for Synods, Installation of the Ministers, Visitation of Parishes, Dedication of a Church, and readings for church feasts. This book continued in use until the publication of the Great Gdańsk (Danzig) Agenda in 1637. It may be assumed that this new edition made the older book obsolete.

The 1614 agenda perpetuates the structure, and in many cases also the wording, of the 1602 rite. It is advertised as a reprint of the 1602 book, however, it departs from the earlier work in a few important respects. The detailed provision which earlier appeared in Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* and in the Lithuanian 1581 book for Communion preparation now reappeared, and the section on distribution is more precisely formulated.

Order for the Second Week before Communion. The content of the section of preparation is strongly reminiscent of Lasco's 1550 and 1581 rites, although it is shorter than either of them. The first provision calls for a public announcement by the minister of the coming celebration of the Holy Communion and the necessity that each prospective communicant should examine himself concerning his worthiness to receive. Travelers or newcomers who wish to commune are to be examined by the minister according to the criteria set down by St. Augustine about the sign of the sacrament and the reality toward which it points. Those who desire to commune are called upon to prepare for reception by fasting not one, but two days before Communion to increase thereby their worthiness to receive.

Order for the Day before Communion. On the day before the Communion there may be a session at which the communicants gather before the minister and elders for public examination and confession. At this time public sinners and others unworthy of participation are formally excluded from the community and its Communion. In accordance with the general synod of Sandomierz of 1570, those who have not publicly announced to the minister their intention to commune and receive forgiveness are not allowed to do so.

Order for the Day of Communion.

1. *Ascription of Praise.* The minister begins with the Ascription of Praise: “Eternal praise and glory be to God, the Father and the Son Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, one God in Trinity” (*Bogu Oycu y Synowi...*). Congregation responds: “Amen.” A proper hymn or hymns *de tempore* are to be sung.
2. *Sermon.* The sermon begins with another ascription of praise to the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. There are no directions given regarding the text or subject of the message. It can be assumed that here as elsewhere the sermon will relate to the Lord’s Supper and its worthy reception.
3. *Invocation of the Holy Spirit.* The form is identical to that in 1602. As in the earlier service the hymn is: *Duchu święty zăwitay k nam (Veni Sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda).*
4. *Excommunication.* The minister pronounces the excommunication here rather than after the Testamentary Words of Christ, as in 1602. The text follows the earlier book with the addition of three introductory sentences not found in the 1602 rite. By placing them here the natural flow from the Words of Christ to communion is not disrupted.
5. *Exhortation to make Confession.* The admonition to confession of sins is the same as is in 1602 form.
6. *Confession of Sins.* The confession is reproduced *verbatim* from 1602.
7. *The Absolution.* The absolution is the same as in the 1602 rite.

8. *Confession of Faith.* Both the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds are provided. A Gregorian melody is given with the Apostles' Creed, and Luther's melody is given with the Nicene Creed.
9. *Prayer toward the Words of Christ.* The prayer and hymn *Naydroższą krwią swoją (Sanguine proprio redemisti nos Deus)* which follows it reproduce the provisions included in the 1602 rite.
10. *The Words of Christ's Testament.* The Testamentary Words and manual acts are as in 1602.
11. *The Meaning of the Testament and Admonition.* The admonition is somewhat briefer than in 1602 book and no longer serves to introduce the formula of excommunication. The hymn for worthy reception *O Wszchemocny Boże* takes the place formerly occupied by the form of excommunication.
12. *Words of 1 Corinthians 5.* The minister speaks the words of Paul, called the 'offering.' Again, the whole section is as in 1602 rite.
13. *Agnus Dei.* Then follows the hymn *Agnus Dei* or its alternative: *Synu Boży który głądżisz grzechy wszystkiego światá* is sung.
14. *Invitation to God's Table.* During the singing of *Agnus Dei* the minister invites the communicants to come to the table.
15. *The Our Father.* The Lord's Prayer is sung according to the same melody provided in the earlier book.
16. *The Breaking of the Bread.* The minister takes into his hands the bread and speaks the words of Paul concerning the broken bread.
17. *The Distribution of the Bread.* He then distributes the bread to the communicants. He communes first himself, saying: "In faith I eat the body of Christ for the salvation of my soul." Then he distributes the blessed bread to the communicants, who stand to receive it, saying: "Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Christ which is given for you. This do for the remembrance of his death." The recipient responds: "Amen."

18. *The Pauline Words about the Cup of Blessing.* Then he takes the cup into his hands and repeats the words of Paul concerning the cup of blessing.
19. *The Distribution of the Cup.* The minister drinks from the cup, saying: "In faith I receive the blood of Christ for the forgiveness of my sins." He then gives the cup to the communicants, saying: "Take, drink, this is the blood of the Lord Christ which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins. This do in remembrance of his death." The communicant responds: "Amen." During the distribution the communion hymns from the catechism are sung. If more bread or wine are needed, the minister sets it apart with the Christ's Testamentary Words and following that the Pauline words. He then administers with the same formula found above.
20. *Exhortation to Thanksgiving.* The exhortation to thanksgiving follows the wording of 1602.
21. *Prayer of Thanksgiving.* The prayer of thanksgiving as in 1602 with the addition of an eschatological note.
22. *Benediction.* The minister blesses the people with the Aaronic Benediction. No provision is given for a hymn before the blessing.
23. *Collection of Alms.* The minister reminds the congregation of the needs of the church and of the poor.
24. *Dismissal.* The service closes with the final hymn: *Bogu Oycu y Synowi.*

* An additional note is given concerning *reliquiae*. If any thing remains in the paten or in the chalice, the minister is to consume it, "...according to ancient tradition."⁵⁶⁶

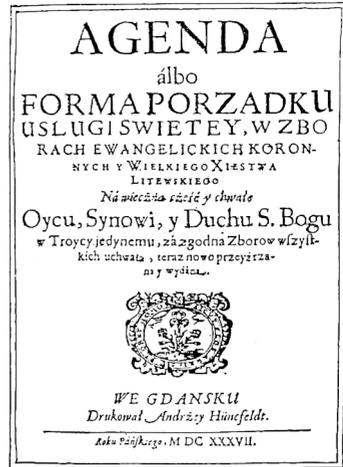
⁵⁶⁶ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 25-55.

Agenda álbo Forma Porzádku 1637

AGENDA álbo FORMA PORZADKU USŁUGI SWIETEY, W ZBORACH EWANGELICKICH KORONNYCH Y WIELKIEGO XIESTWA LITEWSKIEGO Na wieczną cześć y chwałę Oycu, Synowi, y Duchu S. Bogu w Troycy jedynemu, zá zgodną Zborow wszystkich uchwałą, teraz nowo przezyrzana y wydana, WE GDANSKU Drukował Andrżey Hünefeldt. Roku Páńskiego, M DC XXXVII. (*Agenda or Form of Worship of the Divine Service in the Evangelical Congregations of the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. To*

the eternal Praise and Glory of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit, God, who is One in Trinity, by common agreement and approbation of all the Congregations, now newly revised and published in Gdańsk. Published by Andrżey Hünefeldt in the year of the Lord 1637.)

468 (+4) pages, published in Gdańsk (Danzig). The book measures approximately 18 cm long and about 13.5 cm wide. It is held by the Vilnius University Library (acquisition number: XVII/604). It is written in Polish, in fraktur. The book was prepared for use in the parishes throughout Major and Minor Poland, and Lithuania. Approval of the various parts was done successively in the general convocations at Orla in 1633, Włodawa in 1634, and the completed work was accepted at the general convocation of the superintendents at Toruń, 1636, by the superintendents and seniors of all districts in Major and Minor Poland, and Lithuania. This is the first instance we have of a work approved by all three groups in *Rzeczpospolita* (The Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania). The agenda follows the general plan of the 1599, 1602, and 1614 book, with a division made between pastoral acts for ordinary clergy and acts restricted to seniors and superintendents. It begins with a calendar, as in the 1614 book. Part one includes the forms of



Holy Baptism, Churching of Women, Lord's Supper, Communion of the Sick, Holy Matrimony, Reception of Converts (such as Jews, Turks, Tatars, Arians, and etc.), Reception of Penitents, Visitation of the Sick, and Burial of the Dead. The provisions are given for special worship during the week, Special Days, Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, a Day of Prayer and Fasting. Part two consists in the ordination of Acolytes, Lectors, Deacons, Ministers, Conseniors, Seniors or Superintendents, Election of Seniors or Superintendents, Order for General, Church-wide and District Synods, Installation of the Ministers, Visitation of Parishes, Questioning of Patrons, Church Servants, and Clergy during Visitation, Dedication of a New Church, Administration of Church Discipline, the Rite for Withholding Communion (Minor Excommunication), the Rite of Major Excommunication, and form relating to the Dissolution of Marriage. No documents have superseded the Great Gdańsk Agenda in Poland. However, its reception in Lithuania was not enthusiastic, and a successor document appeared in 1644 in Lubcza. At the present time many of the provisions of the Gdańsk Book are still used throughout Lithuania and Poland.

The Great Gdańsk Agenda is both comprehensive and highly detailed in its regulations for the celebration of the Holy Communion. The preparation for Holy Communion here provides a more highly developed form than any other Lithuanian or Polish rite. It is the 1614 agenda which provides that basic pattern for the Lord's Supper, but we find also the strong imprint of Lasco's 1550 *Forma ac Ratio*, as well as some elements from the Lithuanian agendas of 1581 and 1621. Elements from all these rites combine in the creation of a new and more developed liturgy than any which preceded it.

Order for the Second Week before Communion. The traditional practice of announcing of the coming celebration two weeks in advance and admonishing the people to earnest preparation were kept in Poland and Lithuania. Specific form had been provided by Lasco and by the 1581 and 1614 agendas, and the continuation of this practice had been recommended in the rites of 1599 and 1602. The Gdańsk Book provides a very detailed form of preparation to be practiced by all who

intend to commune. The shape of this form is similar to that found in earlier books. Included are the citation of relevant Bible passages and as well as quotations from Irenaeus, Tertullian, Augustine, and others. Also included is a detailed instruction concerning the Supper, again with quotation from the Church Fathers. A week before Communion the people are to register their intention to commune and attend a service of public confession. Mandated is the stipulation of a two day fast before Communion.

Order for the Day before Communion. Here for the first time in the Polish and Lithuanian agendas the preparations for the day before Communion are given definite shape and content.

1. *Triune Invocation.* The meeting begins with the Ascription of Praise to the Triune God.
2. *Admonition to Self-Examination.* The minister exhorts the communicants to think earnestly about their preparation, to make a close examination of themselves and to consider the meaning of the Christian faith for daily life as it is set down in the Gospel and the articles of the Christian faith.
3. *Examination.* Three scrutinies follow in which the communicants are asked (1) to acknowledge their sinful status and their standing before God, (2) to confess their faith in the forgiveness of sins through the blood of Christ, and (3) to state their intention to improve their life according to Christian standards.
4. *Admonition to walk in the Light.* The minister then solemnly reminds the communicants that they must turn from the path of darkness and walk in the way of light by the power of God's mercy, which alone can accomplish what man is unable to do.
5. *Prayer.* He then prays a long prayer in which on behalf of the congregation he asks for forgiveness for every sin which leads to unworthiness and asks that all such sins be overcome for the sake of Christ, so that all who approach the God's table may do so worthily.
6. *Declaration of God's essential Goodness.* The minister assures those who have confessed their sincere hope that God will for-

give them and assure them of his kindness. He invites those who need a more personal word of comfort to come to him either individually, or together with others in a small group. He then enrolls the names of the communicants in the church's journal.

7. *Assurance*. After the enrollment he assures the communicants that their names are assuredly written in heaven in the book of life, inscribed there from all eternity to God's glory and their eternal blessedness.
8. *The Pax Domini and Apostolic Benediction*. The minister dismisses the people addressing to them the *Pax Domini* and the traditional Apostolic blessing from Romans 16:24.

* It should be noted that it is a practice of some parishes that those who intend to commune appear before the session. A precise form is provided for such sessions.⁵⁶⁷

Order for the Day of Communion.

1. *Call to Worship*. The service proper begins with the words: "Our help is in the name of the Lord who created heaven and earth, Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit." It is based upon Psalm 124:8 with the addition of the Triune name. An alternative form of ascription built upon Galatians 3:17, and John 6:35,41 is offered.
2. *Invocation of the Holy Spirit*. The invocation begins with the same words as in 1614 book. The melody and words of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* are given with some modifications from the earlier rites (*Święty Duchu przybądź á sercá tobie szczerze oddanych rządz*).
3. *Excommunication*. The form for excommunication which follows is as in 1614 volume.
4. *Exhortation to make a Confession*. The admonition for confession differs slightly from the 1614 book.
5. *Confession of Sins*. The prayer of confession contains two parts. The first part is not found in earlier orders. The second part draws upon the prayer toward the Words of Christ which in the

⁵⁶⁷ *Agenda* 1637,78-99.

1614 agenda was placed immediately before the Words of the Testament.

6. *Agnus Dei*. The congregation sings the hymn: *Báránku nasz je-dyny*.
7. *The Office of the Absolution* contains two elements. The first, entitled: “Toward the Absolution,” admonishes the people to heartily believe that God has heard their prayer and receives them graciously for the sake of Christ. For their further assurance God has provided the Office of the Keys, which the minister will now exercise. In the absolution itself the minister refers to himself as both a servant and ruler of the mysteries of God who speaks in the place of Christ. As such he proclaims that Christ forgives all who sincerely confess and repent and gives them permission to come to the Lord’s table to receive eternal life. Whereas in 1614 the minister forthrightly said: “As a servant of Christ ... I proclaim ... the forgiveness of your sins,” the 1637 book softens this by saying “...in the stead of Christ ... I proclaim ... that God forgives all your sins.” The minister speaks: “Amen.”
8. *Confession of Faith*. In the Assurance of Forgiveness the congregation is invited to confess their faith, singing the Apostles’ Creed according to a plainsong melody. During the singing the minister prepares the bread and the wine.
9. *The Words of Christ’s Testament*. The minister speaks the Words of the Testament from 1 Corinthians 11:23-25. While doing so, he unveils the bread and cup and speaks the Words of Christ, beginning with the words: “Our Lord Jesus Christ...” As he speaks, he lifts in his hands the bread and breaks it, and then lifts the cup in imitation of the action of Christ.
10. *The Meaning of the Testament and Admonition*. The minister then explains the meaning of the sacrament and gives words of caution in an amplified version of the 1614 words. The congregation then sings the hymn: *Naydroższą krwią swoją (Sanguine*

proprio redemisti nos Deus...) which in 1614 was sung before the Words of the Testament.

11. *The Our Father*. The congregation then sings the Lord's Prayer in the manner as in the 1614 rite, according to the Gregorian melody.
12. *Invitation to God's Table*. The minister invites the people to approach the table.
13. *The Breaking of the Bread*. The minister speaks the Pauline words over the bread. The wording is exactly the same as in 1614 book, but the Pauline question is made a declarative statement.
14. *The Distribution of the Bread*. He then distributes the bread to the communicants, saying: "Take, eat, this is the body of Lord Christ which is given for you. This do for the remembrance of his death."
15. *The Pauline Words about the Cup of Blessing*. He takes the cup into his hands and speaks the words of Paul about the cup. Again, Pauline question is made a declarative statement.
16. *The Distribution of the Cup*. He gives the cup to the communicants, saying: "Take, drink, this is the blood of Lord Christ which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins. This do in remembrance of his death."⁵⁶⁸ During the distribution the people sing appropriate hymns. Provision is made for the setting apart of additional elements by the recitation of the Pauline words over the bread and cup. There is no reference, as in 1614, to the Testamentary Words of Christ.
17. *Communion Blessing*. He gives the communion blessing, saying: "He, the living bread which has come down from heaven and which gives life to the world, our Lord Jesus Christ, who has fed us with his holy body and given us to drink his precious blood, sanctify you completely, so that your spirit, soul, and body remain without stain until Jesus Christ will come. May this be to his holy glory and your eternal salvation."

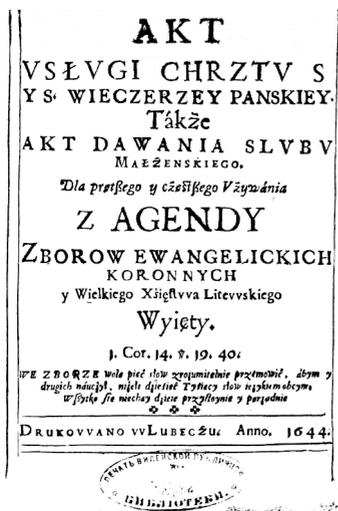
⁵⁶⁸ *Agenda* 1637, 116-117.

18. *Words of Consolation and Encouragement*. For the first time in the Polish liturgy the words of consolation of Lasco, found also in the Lithuanian rites, find their way into the common agenda of all three churches. "Believe and do not doubt all of you, who in this Lord's Supper have participated in the remembrance of the death of Christ with the contemplation of his mystery that you have certain and saving fellowship with he himself in his body and blood to eternal life."
19. *Exhortation to Thanksgiving*. The introductory words in the exhortation to thanksgiving appears to be modeled somewhat loosely on the words of Lasco, but on the whole this appears to be an independent production.
20. *Prayer of Thanksgiving*. The prayer itself is the same as in the 1614 rite. As an alternative, a general prayer of the church from Königsberg agendas of 1580 and 1612 of the Bohemian Brethren is provided.
21. *Admonition to live a true Christian life*. The minister admonishes the people not to receive the grace of God in vain, but henceforth to live upright Christian lives and to provide for the support of the church and those who are in need.
22. *Benediction*. The minister blesses the people with the Aaronic Benediction, to which has been added the *Testimonium Davidicum* and the *Tersanctus*.
23. *Dismissal*. The service concludes with the hymn: *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*.⁵⁶⁹

Akt usługi 1644

AKT VSLVGI CHRZTV S. Y S. WIECZERZEY PANSKIEY. Tákże AKT DAWANIA SLVBV MALŽENSKIEGO Dla prętszego y częstszeo Vżywania Z AGENDY ZBOROW EWANGELICKICH KORONNYCH y Wielkiego Xśięstwa Litevvskiego Wyięty. 1. Cor. 14. w. 19.40. WE ZBORZE wolę pięć słow zrozumitelnie przemowić, ábym y drugich náuczyl, nizeli

⁵⁶⁹ *Agenda* 1637, 100-127.



dziesięć Tysięcy słow ięzykiem obcym. Wszystko się niechay dzieie przystoynie y porządnie. DRUKOVVANO VV LUBECZU. Anno 1644. (Form of the Service of Holy Baptism and the Holy Lord's Supper, together with the Form of Matrimony. For common and frequent use, taken from the Agenda of the Evangelical Congregations of the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. 1 Corinthians 14:19.40 "I would rather speak five words with understanding that I may teach others, than ten thousand words in a tongue. Let all thing done decently and

in good order." Published in Lubcza, anno 1644.)

75 pages. The book measures approximately 19 cm long and 12.5 wide. It is held by the Ossoliński National Institute library in Wrocław (acquisition number: XVI.O.267). The book is written in Polish, in fraktur, and printed in Lubcza, Podlussia, to be used primarily in Lithuanian Congregations, and recommended also for use in the congregations in Minor and Major Poland. The general convocation at Orla authorized the publication of this work at its meeting in 1644 to answer Lithuanian objections concerning some provisions of the Great Gdańsk Book. The book includes forms for Holy Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Holy Matrimony. Although the extent of the use of this work in Minor and Major Poland is unclear, this revised work was well accepted and was chiefly used in Lithuanian Church for the next century. In 1742 it was reprinted, with the addition of several pastoral acts taken directly from the Great Gdańsk Agenda.

The provisions in this document are represented as reprints of the same services in the Gdańsk Book. The careful inspection of the Communion liturgy shows us that the 1644 service departs from the Gdańsk liturgy in several places. These departures are most evident in the opening part of the service and in practices regarding communion distribu-

tion, where the agenda returns to the Vilnius tradition. Omitted is the entire section regarding Communion preparation. No mention is found of the Gdańsk Agenda rubrics either concerning two weeks before and the day before Communion or the regulations concerning the keeping of the fast. The omission of this order should not be taken to mean that it was dropped.

Order for the Lord's Supper.

1. *Call to Worship.* The same alternative formulas are provided as in the 1637 volume.
2. *Invocation of the Holy Spirit.* The invocation is virtually identical with that of the 1637 volume. However, in place to the hymn *Święty Duchu przybądź á sercá tobie szczerze oddánych rządz* (*Veni Sancte Spiritus*), the congregation may sing *Święty duchu zówitay k nam* (*Veni Sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda*), a provision found in 1599, 1602, and 1614 agendas and the Lithuanian rites of 1581, 1594, 1598, and 1600.
3. *Excommunication.* The excommunication follows 1637 *verbatim*.
4. *Exhortation to make a Confession.* It is the same as is found in 1637.
5. *Confession of Sins.* The confession of sins eliminates the part of the 1637 prayer which pertain to the notions of consecration. The Lithuanians restored this part to the prayer which immediately precedes the Testamentary Words of Christ.
6. *The Office of the Absolution.* The preparation for the absolution and the absolution follow the 1637 form.
7. *Confession of Faith.* The Apostles' Creed follows the pattern of 1637 in both words and music.
8. *Prayer toward the Words of Christ.* The 1644 book restores this prayer to its more traditional place after the creed. The admonition to prayer and the prayer toward the Words of Christ as in 1614, however, omitted in this later liturgy is that portion of the prayer which makes reference to spiritual eating and drinking by the soul.

9. *The Words of Christ's Testament.* The Testament follows the form of the manual acts of 1637. However, an alternative form is provided which allows for the reading of Paul's passion narrative from 1 Corinthians 11:23-29 without attendant manual acts.
10. *The Meaning of the Testament and Admonition.* The admonition to the godly use of the sacrament follows the wording of 1637.
11. *The Breaking of the Bread and the Words over the Cup.* The words of Paul concerning the broken bread are returned to their original form as a question.
12. *Agnus Dei.* During the breaking of bread the congregation sings the hymn: *Báránku nasz jedyny*. While the wine is poured into the cup, the congregation sings: *Naydroższą krwią swoią (Sanguine proprio redemisti nos Deus)*.
13. *The Our Father.* The Lord's Prayer is said or sung, but no music is provided.
14. *Prayer of Humble Access.* The minister prays the prayer of humble access which in the 1581 and 1621 Lithuanian rites had followed the invitation to God's table. Here it precedes the invitation, and appended to it is a prayer invoking the Holy Spirit to strengthen the confidence of the communicants that Christ has given himself for them.
15. *Invitation to God's Table.* The minister invites the people to the table of God using the same form as in 1637 volume.
16. *The Distribution of the Bread and Cup.* He then administers the bread, saying: "Christ the Lord, at the distribution of the sacrament of his body to his disciples, spoke these words: 'Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you;' you do the same: Take and eat, this is the body of Christ the Lord, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of his death." Then, distributing the cup to the communicants, he says to them: "Christ the Lord, at the distribution of the sacrament of his blood to his disciples, spoke these words: 'Drink, all of you, this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins;' you do the same: Take and drink, this is the

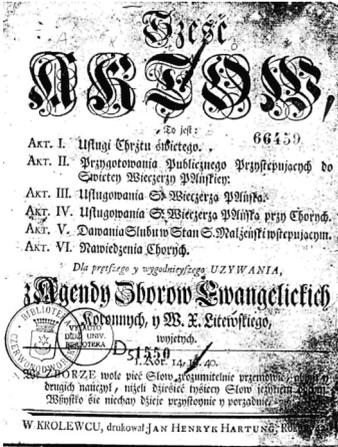
blood of Christ the Lord, which is shed for you, for the remission of your sins; do this in remembrance of his death.” During the reception the congregation sings appropriate hymns as in 1637. The provision for the setting apart of the additional elements by the Pauline words as in 1637 is provided.

17. *Communion Blessing*. After all have communed the minister pronounces the communion blessing, which is as in 1637.
18. *Words of Consolation and Encouragement*. The minister closes the distribution section with the same comfortable words as are found in the 1637 agenda.
19. *Exhortation to Thanksgiving*. The admonition to thanksgiving exhibits only minor verbal differences from the 1637 book.
20. *Prayer of Thanksgiving*. Both prayers from the 1637 book are provided.
21. *Admonition to live a true Christian Life*. The minister speaks the concluding words which are the same as in 1637.
22. *Benediction*. The benediction follows the provision of 1637, joining the Aaronic Benediction and the *Tersanctus*.
23. *Dismissal*. The service closes with the hymn *Bogu Oycu y Synowi*, as in the earlier agenda.⁵⁷⁰

Sześć aktów 1742

Sześć AKTOW, To jest: Akt I. Usługi Chrztu świętego. Akt II. Przygotowania Publicznego Przystępujących do Świętej Wieczerzy Pańskiej. Akt III. Usługowania S. Wieczerzą Pańską. Akt IV. Usługowania S. Wieczerzą Pańską przy Chorych. Akt V. Dawania Słubu w Stan S. Małżeński wstępującym. Akt VI. Nawiedzenia Chorych. Dla prętszego y wygodniejszego UZYWANIA, z Agendy Zborow Ewangelickich Koronnych, y W. X. Litewskiego wyjętych. 1.Kor. 14, 19.40. WE ZBORZE wołę pięć Słow zrozumitelnie przemówić, abym y drugich nauczył, niżeli dziesięć tysięcy Słow ięzykiem obcym. Wszystko się niechay dzieje przystoynie y porządnie. W KROLEWCU, drukował JAN HENRYK HARTUNG, Roku 1742. (*Six Forms, that is 1. Service of*

⁵⁷⁰ *Akt usługi 1644, 19-48.*



Holy Baptism; 2. Public Preparation for Those Coming to the Holy Supper of the Lord; 3. The Service of the Holy Supper of the Lord; 4. The Service of the Holy Supper of the Lord for the Sick; 5. The Blessing of Those Who Come to the Estate of Holy Matrimony; 6. Visitation of the Sick. For common and beneficial use, taken from the Agenda of the Evangelical Congregations of the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. 1 Corinthians 14: 19.40 "I would rather speak five words with understanding

that I may teach others, than ten thousand words in a tongue. Let all thing done decently and in good order." In Königsberg, published by Jan Henryk Hartung in the year 1742.)

87 pages. The book measures approximately 18.5 cm long and 14 wide. It is held by the Vilnius University Library (acquisition number: IV 9706). It is written in Polish, in fraktur, and published in Königsberg in 1742. The book, sometimes referred to as the 'Minor Agenda,'⁵⁷¹ includes forms for Holy Baptism, Public Preparation for the Lord's Supper, Lord's Supper, Communion of the Sick, Holy Matrimony, and Visitation of the Sick. The forms for Holy Communion, Holy Baptism, and Holy Matrimony are those found also in the 1644 book, but no musical notation is provided. In all other services the provisions of the Great Gdańsk Agenda are followed. From the time of the Counter-Reformation the Great Gdańsk Agenda and other Reformed publications became rare. This volume may have for a time served the needs of Lithuanian congregations. It was also convenient for pastors to have a use of a smaller book which contained the essential rites, which no longer had access to the larger volume. We have no indication of its continuing use in more recent times.

⁵⁷¹ *Mūsų žodis* 1922, 8.

The 1742 document stands beyond the scope of our present study. However, it is important to us, because it clarifies some issues concerning the 1644 work and shows that even a century after the Gdańsk Book was still in print, Lithuanians still maintained some features of their liturgical tradition. The Königsberg volume includes both a service of preparation for Holy Communion⁵⁷² and the form for Holy Communion.⁵⁷³ The form for preparation which had been lacking in the 1644 book was taken directly from the Great Gdańsk Agenda. It gives a form of service on the day before Communion and makes no provision for a special service of preparation on the day of Communion itself as in the 1637 book.

Forma odprawowania nabożeństwa czyli mała Agendka.

Form for the celebration of Worship or Minor Agenda. Łaszczów 1602.

This book is mentioned in the bibliography of Jocher and Estreicher⁵⁷⁴ where it is noted that it was printed in Łaszczów in 1602 and consists in 497 pages. However Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, an acknowledged expert in the area of Polish bibliography, questions the existence of this work.⁵⁷⁵ We found no references to it in any synodical protocols. The only work of this date which we can find is the agenda of 1602, the revised work of Krzysztof Kraiński. Since both the 1599 book and *Forma odprawowania nabożeństwa* consist of 497 pages, we may surmise that Jocher and Estreicher are mistakenly referring to a copy of Kraiński's 1599 agenda.

We have translated a few important elements of these forms of the Lord's Supper, not already translated into English, in cases where wording of the text is of particular interest and importance.

⁵⁷² *Sześć aktów* 1742, 12-19.

⁵⁷³ *Sześć aktów* 1742, 20-36.

⁵⁷⁴ *Jocher* 1842, 154; *Estreicher* 1898, 208.

⁵⁷⁵ *Kawecka-Gryczowa* 1974, 231.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE INDIVIDUAL HOLY COMMUNION RITES AND PREPARATORY SERVICES AND THEIR EXECUTION

4.1. Examination of the Holy Communion Rites according to their Components

In the Communion liturgy the church puts into words and actions the faith which it otherwise articulates in its creeds and confessions, because the church's *lex orandi* is meant to flow out of its *lex credendi*.

We will examine how these liturgies articulate positions which all Reformed Churches share in common, especially with reference to the relationship between man and God, body and spirit, time and eternity, earth and heaven. In addition we will explore the role of the Holy Communion in the life on the congregation and of the individual believer as it is expressed in these liturgies. This is best done by examining pertinent sections of the liturgy in all the documents and by comparing the theological emphases of each document with the others, showing which particular emphases continued throughout the whole period, and which either grew in importance or declined as time passed. It will also be necessary for us to inquire about historical emphases and the influence of prominent theologians and their works on these documents. Finally, we must locate these documents and the positions they articulate in the larger context of

continental Reformed liturgies of the period. In this way the particular and unique Polish and Lithuanian elements come to light.

It is in vain that we seek to discern a common shape which reflects the classical pattern of the Western liturgical tradition. We do not find in them the distinction between the Service of the Word, the ancient *Missa catechumenorum*, and the Service of the Sacrament, the *Missa fidelium*, such as are found in the medieval and post-Reformation Catholic liturgies, as well as the vast majority of Lutheran rites and the Anglican tradition. Instead, we see what appears to be a new creation. The Reformed, however, did not see it as something new. They asserted that they were simply returning to the ancient pattern by which the Service of the Word and the Service of the Sacrament were separated from each other. This might also furnish a rationale for the practice of holding the special service of preparation on the day before Communion. It should be noted that the reformed most zealously pursued the ideal of conducting a Communion service which approximated in so far as possible the original Supper in the upper room. Thus we do not find in the Reformed rites the usual order of *Introitus*, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Collecta*, and traditional pericopes, or the *Sursum corda*, *Vere dignum*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus qui venit*, etc. However, we note that some of these elements did come to be included in these liturgies in their original or adapted forms without reference to their place or use in the classical tradition.

A general common structure and certain common features can be discerned in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed services. The same general elements are found in the services of both churches and ordinarily these elements are used in the similar manner, so that a common structure is seen to be imprinted upon the whole tradition. In individual rites we find here and there that some of these elements have been removed or moved elsewhere in the service. We will seek to uncover the significance of these changes. As far as possible our divisions will follow the emphases that are laid down in the rites themselves.

The common liturgical tradition of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Churches is built upon the *Forma ac Ratio* 1550, the acknowledged source from which all the Reformed liturgies in Poland and

Lithuania grew. Although each individual liturgy adapted that tradition according to its own needs and circumstances, each new service was understood to be a lineal descendant of Lasco's accomplishment.

The structure of the Polish and Lithuanian rites is threefold. The first section consists in the service for the second week before Communion. Although in some liturgies there is no specific mention of this preparatory service, it is clear from the context that such services were maintained throughout the entire period and were integral to the observance of the Supper. This service is primarily instructional. It serves to remind the congregation of the proper preparation which must be taken to insure that the people may worthily come to the Lord's table. The second section is the special observance of the day before Communion. The majority of the agendas make specific references to this service, providing recommendations for its proper observance. However, only the Great Gdańsk Agenda of 1637 gives us the full text of this rite. The third section is the Communion service itself. Behind the great variety exhibited by the forms of the Communion formulated in the agendas, we are still able to ascertain a basic common structure which fits all the services. In order to uncover this structure we have had to examine the key elements in all the services and reference them first to Lasco's work, secondly the individual liturgies of the two national churches, and finally the Great Gdańsk Book of 1637 and its amended edition produced for the Lithuanians in 1644. Some elements, such as confessions of sins, absolution or declaration of grace, the confession of faith, Christ Testamentary Words, the Our Father, the Pauline Bread and Cup-words, and the prayer of thanksgiving are universally present, although not always in the same order. Some elements are unique and peculiar to a particular church. Included among these are the wordings of the admonitions, the various prayers and antiphons, and most particularly the words and practices associated with the distribution of the elements. These we have systematized them according to their relative placement in the rites and we have localized all forms of distribution in one section under the general heading of "Preparation of the Elements, their Distribution and Consumption."

On the basis of this examination of the rites and their component elements, we see the following basic common pattern emerge:

Order for the Second Week before Holy Communion.

Order for the Day before Holy Communion.

Triune Invocation.
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.

Order for the Day of Holy Communion

Call to Worship.

The Sermon.
A Prayer for a Right and God-pleasing Worship.
Invocation of the Holy Spirit.
The Excommunication.
Exhortation to Make Confession.
Confession of Sins.
Declaration of Forgiveness.
Confession of Faith.
Prayer toward the Words of Christ.
Christ's Testamentary Words.
Explanation of the Mystery of Lord's Testament.
Invitation to God's Table.
The Our Father.
Words of 1 Corinthians 5.
The Preparation of the Elements, their Distribution and Consumption.
a) The Breaking of the Bread and the Blessing of the Cup.

b) Prayer for Right Reception.

c) The Distribution.

d) Post Distribution.

Exhortation to Thanksgiving.

Prayer of Thanksgiving.

Closing Admonition.

The Dismissal.

a) The Benediction.

b) Collection of Alms.

c) The Ascription of Praise.

4.1.1. Order for the Second Week before Holy Communion

The first feature common to the majority of these rites is the special significance given to corporate preparation for the celebration of the Holy Communion. In no case is the celebration of the sacrament the usual Sunday service of the congregation. Communion is always a special occasion, and is always marked by a period of preparation. This preparation ordinarily involved three special observances which we will examine individually.

Five of the agendas direct that two weeks before Communion the minister is to publicly announce the coming celebration and admonish the congregation to proper preparation and reception through self-examination.

The 1581 order provides that two weeks before the day of Communion the minister is to make the required announcement and admonition and stipulate that only those who can give account of their lives can be admitted to the service. Neither children nor the uncatechized, nor those who have no public profession of their Christian faith may be admitted. Those who are strangers or visitors may be admitted if they appear before the minister and give evidence of their faith and their knowledge of the church's teachings. The 1602 order states simply that the two week announcement is to be given, but no details are provided. Detailed instructions, however, appear again in the 1614 agenda, which contains directions similar to those of the 1581 order, but in an expanded form.

Paul's warning concerning unworthy eating and drinking is given as the reason why self-examination is necessary, as well as the general rule from the Church Fathers that the communicants should examine themselves. No specific mention of children is made in the 1614 book, and with reference to travelers and visitors it is said that they are to be instructed that faith looks beyond the bread and the wine and believes it to be the body and blood of Christ. The Gdańsk Book repeats the rubrics from 1614 with only minor stylistic differences. The 1644 Lithuanian agenda gives no provision for this order. Since the Gdańsk Book also continued in use in Lithuania, the form may have been omitted in this shorter volume only because it was already generally available in the larger book. It should be noted that the reprint of the 1644 book in 1742 contains a provision for this service, taken from the Gdańsk Book.⁵⁷⁶

The 1581 and 1602 agendas do not provide forms for a second announcement one week before Communion. An unusual feature of Kraiński's 1599 book is his directive that the congregation should meet for special services in both the morning and the evening every day in the week before the Holy Communion service. The purpose of these services is twofold. They serve as both a spiritual preparation and a time for close instruction concerning the nature of the sacrament. It is the catechetical element which predominates, for the people need instruction concerning the nature of the sacrament and its proper reception. Therefore they hear and receive instruction concerning 1 Corinthians 11 in the morning service and, in the evening, John 6. The 1614 order calls for an public announcement one week before Communion, again calling the people to self-examination. It directs them to fast two days before coming to Communion for the discipline of their bodies and to give strength to their prayers, and to make them more worthy communicants. It quotes the words of St. Chrysostom concerning the ancient tradition of fasting, both before and after Communion, in Christian humility as is fitting for those who have received the Holy Spirit. The 1637 agenda repeats these words and adds to them a whole new

⁵⁷⁶ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, b-bi; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 494-495; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 81-82; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 25-29; *Agenda* 1637, 78-82.

paragraph. There is to be public registration of communicants and a public confession at which the penitents confess their sins, relating also the circumstances attendant to their commission. Ambrosius is cited to the effect that with tears, sighs, and mourning they should exhibit a Christian remorse which others will recognize and approve. It is stated that in accordance with the decision of general synod of Sandomierz, only those approved by the minister and seniors will be admitted to the sacrament.

A two week preparation seems indeed formidable. One might ask why such a long period should be required. Would it not be sufficient that an announcement of the coming celebration be made only a day before the Communion? There does not seem to be precedent for a two weeks period of preparation in either Roman Catholic or Lutheran circles, nor do we find evidence to support it in Zwingli or Bucer. It is in Lasco that we find a foundation of the two weeks custom. It is an important feature of his *Forma ac Ratio*, prepared for the German and Wallon congregations in London.⁵⁷⁷ He appears to have brought a practice with him when he came to Poland. His provisions spread also to the Lithuanian congregations.

Provision for a special observance one week before Communion is found in Calvin's Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders. In order that people might better prepare themselves for the Lord's Supper and that the minister might have enough time for instructions, Calvin recommends that the minister announce the coming Communion service on the Sunday prior to the celebration of the Lord's Supper.⁵⁷⁸ Closely related to Calvin's provision, and perhaps even a source for Lasco, is found in the rubric included in the English *The Order of the Communion* of 1548, which requires of the priest that he announce the coming celebration of the Lord's Supper a week in advance and admonish the communicants both to refresh their faith and knowledge concerning the passion of the Lord, to which the sacrament points, and to prepare themselves to be worthy communicants by an earnest and heart-

⁵⁷⁷ *Kuyper II* 1866, 122-138.

⁵⁷⁸ *Thompson* 1972, 203-204.

ily repentance which calls upon God for forgiveness and promises him amendment of life.⁵⁷⁹

We have already seen that in many liturgical provisions the Lithuanians and Poles show themselves to be listening to Lasco. We see many examples of this in the orders of 1581, 1614, and 1637. All of them emphasize the glory of the sacrament and the importance of earnest preparation for worthy participation and reception, lest the glory of the Lord should be defiled. Provision is made for the consolation of those with weak consciences and pertinent questions are provided, though far fewer in number than Lasco's almost four dozen scrutinies.⁵⁸⁰ All require a preparation which is both spiritual and physical, for the shriven soul must have as its counterpart a body disciplined through fasting and self-denial.

Throughout the later Middle Ages, great emphasis was placed upon preparation for Holy Communion - so much so that communion was received very infrequently. Jesus was pictured as man's Judge, and his coming to the communicants in his Supper represented to them the coming of him to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid. In the mentality of the people, no amount of personal preparation could be thought adequate. One must have recourse to the sacrament of penance and plead for absolution and enabling grace, so that he might come to the altar without fear of condemnation and destruction. From the time of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 the church designated the period between Easter and Pentecost as a time of holy obligation during which every Christian must receive the sacrament. Thus the whole period of the *Quadragesimae* and Passiontide could be given over to fasting and other acts of self-denial and intensive preparation for the coming Communion season. The practical outcome of this teaching was not increased reception of the sacrament,

⁵⁷⁹ "First, the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, the next Sunday or Holyday, or at the least one day before he shall minister the Communion, shall give warning to his Parishioners, or those which be present, that they prepare themselves thereto, saying to them openly and plainly as hereafter followeth, or such like..." *The Order of the Communion* 1548.

⁵⁸⁰ Lasco's order for the day before the communion provides far fewer questions.

but instead increased self-awareness of one's pitiable state and the need for God's grace, so that one might be prepared to answer the summons 'come unto me' (Matthew 11:28).⁵⁸¹

Luther cut through this matter in his sacramental writings, especially those written between 1523 and 1532. In these he rejected the whole notion of the Mass as a work of man offered to propitiate the wrath of an angry God and a self-centered piety which placed far more emphasis on one's preparation for Holy Communion than on Christ's friendly invitation. This breakthrough is well summarized in Part Six of Luther's *Small Catechism* question Five. "Who, then, receives such Sacrament worthily?" "Fasting and bodily preparation are indeed a fine outward training; but he is truly worthy and well prepared who has faith in these words, "Given and shed for you for the remission of sins."⁵⁸² Here preparation turns one's attention away from himself to meditate on the Words of Christ and the greatness of the gift which in the sacrament Christ so freely offers to sinners. One does not, as in former times, approach the altar with fear for one's life and salvation, but rather with Christ's Words ringing in his ears. One is always prepared if he boldly grasps and holds to the Words of Christ. Without these words no amount of preparation would be adequate. "... he who does not believe these words or doubts is unworthy and unprepared for the words for you require all hearts to believe."⁵⁸³ For the preparation of those who would come to the altar, Luther prepared his *Christian Questions and Answers*.⁵⁸⁴ Here again one notes that the prospective communicant is drawn away from himself to meditate on the mercy of God and the gracious gift of the sacrament, through which that grace is ministered to those who receive the sacrament with the mouths of their bodies. No amount of time is stipulated for preparation, and one is neither com-

⁵⁸¹ *Jungmann I* 1986, 271-276; *NDCW* 1990, 242.

⁵⁸² *Die Bekenntnisschriften* 1956, 521. English translation quoted from: *The Book of Concord* 1959, *The Small Catechism*: VI, 10.

⁵⁸³ *Die Bekenntnisschriften* 1956, 521. English translation quoted from: *The Book of Concord* 1959, *The Small Catechism*: VI, 10.

⁵⁸⁴ Appended in many editions of the *Small Catechism*, it is uncertain whether Luther himself prepared these questions and answers in this form. In any case, it is his theological position which stands behind them.

manded to receive nor, apart from the manifest evidence of unbelief and the scandalous behaviors which proceeds from it, is one restrained from reception on the basis of his lack of knowledge of sacramental theology.

We have already seen that a far different situation obtained in the Reformed Church. Bucer retained weekly celebration of Communion, and Calvin would have done so, but for the restrictions placed upon him by the Geneva city council. In neither case is the celebration of the sacrament the usual and ordinary divine service. It is always a special and occasional service, even when those occasions are frequent. Far more typical of the Reformed is the position taken by Zwingli, who called for a quarterly celebration, and Lasco, who stipulated a bi-monthly celebration. For the Reformed, the celebration of Holy Communion and its reception are always exceptional and call for exceptional preparation on the part of all who would participate. This preparation must be manifest and well ordered. The public announcement and admonition to self-examination and godly preparation is to be given 14 days before the day of Communion.⁵⁸⁵

Lasco would say that the purpose of such preparation is that one might be comforted with the assurance that he is receiving the elements worthily, and that for this purpose one must carefully examine himself and give account of his faith and works. A thorough reading of Lasco's words and those of *Second Helvetic Confession* and *Sandomierz Confession* reveal something of the nature of the faith which is required for the sacrament. The heart of the matter is Christian knowledge about the deeper things of God, most especially the relationship between the human and divine natures of Christ and the earthly and heavenly elements in the sacrament. This knowledge is to Lasco and his Reformed contemporaries an absolute requirement for worthiness. If for a Lutheran it is sufficient to come with a heartily confidence believing the Words of Christ, for the Reformed of even greater importance is a deep understanding of the significance of the Words of Christ as they are understood in Reformed theology. We are dealing here with a definition

⁵⁸⁵ *Kuyper II* 1866, 122.

of faith far different from that of the Lutherans. As we are told in the *Sandomierz Confession*, he who comes to this sacred table of the Lord without faith communicates only in the sacrament and does not receive the substance of the sacrament whence comes life and salvation, and such a man eats from the Lord's table unworthily.⁵⁸⁶ The nature of this faith is far different from the simple and bold confidence which clings to the Words of Christ without providing a rationale for them. Faith becomes knowledge of the essence of the sacrament, according to the *signa / res signata* schema and disciplined obedience within the life of the congregation.

This provides us with an insight into the rationale behind the establishment of the two week period for Communion preparation and the exclusion of those who lack this knowledge. The 45 questions which Lasco provides for those who prepare for Communion are not simple questions, nor do they allow for simple answers. The communicant must know the meaning of the ascension of Christ and his rule at God's right hand, as Reformed Christology understands them. He must be able to differentiate distinctly between the material elements of the sacrament and heavenly blessings toward which they point, the reason it is necessary that the bread be broken, and the various benefits of the Lord's Supper. Again and again it is pointed out that the earthly elements in the sacrament are incapable of conveying any spiritual blessing and cannot be considered means of grace in the usual sense. They are instead means of reassurance that Christ's body and blood were broken and shed on the cross for man's forgiveness and it is there alone that forgiveness can be found.⁵⁸⁷

The departures of the Lithuanians and Poles from Lasco's order are minor and have little significance. In the public service Lasco had reduced his 45 questions to three, but all three require only a single answer.⁵⁸⁸ The Lithuanians may have used these 45 questions, but in the Communion service itself only three questions are to be asked. The emphasis of the Lithuanian questions is on the church's reliability, the confession of faith,

⁵⁸⁶ *Confessio* 1570, lv-lvi.

⁵⁸⁷ *Kuyper II* 1866, 127-135.

⁵⁸⁸ *Kuyper II* 1866, 136.

and faithfulness unto death in a life lived obediently under the church's discipline.⁵⁸⁹ The minister addresses three questions also in the Great Gdańsk book in the order for the day before Communion.⁵⁹⁰

In the service two weeks before Communion, the Lithuanian 1581 and 1621 agendas follow also recommendations given in Calvin's Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders.⁵⁹¹ Following Calvin, the 1581 and 1621 agendas require that newcomers, neophytes, and travelers must be closely examined, so that the minister may be assured that they will communicate with the heavenly body and will not defile the table of the Lord or receive the sacrament to their condemnation. Only those children whose knowledge of the church's doctrine is beyond question and whose participation has been approved by the congregation's minister and elders may be allowed to attend and participate.⁵⁹² One would suppose that such knowledge could be assimilated by children in their early teenage years.

An important social emphasis may be added. Those who dwell together in the congregation are to be reconciled and at peace with one another, because the Supper is a meal of fellowship, and this fellowship is not to be destroyed by human disagreements and the bitterness which

⁵⁸⁹ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, c.

⁵⁹⁰ *Agenda* 1637, 86-92

⁵⁹¹ "It is proper to observe that on the Sunday prior to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the following admonitions are made to the people: first, that each person prepare and dispose himself to receive it worthily and with such reverence that it deserves; second, that children may certainly not be brought forward unless they are well instructed and have made profession of their faith in church; third, that if strangers are there who may still be untaught and ignorant, they proceed to present themselves for private instruction." *Thompson* 1972, 203-204.

⁵⁹² "Naprzod tho wiedzieć potrzebá / isz Zboru Pána Krystusowego ten zwyczaj iest / áby przed dwiémá przynamniy Niedzieloma / Wieczerza Pańska / iáwnie ludziom była zápowiedziana / dla tych przyczyn. Pierwsza: Zeby się káždy godnie ku przyjmowaniu iey spráwił / á oney z taką uczciwością iáko sie godzi używał. Druga: Zeby też dziećí tám nie były przypuszczáne / iedno ci ktorzy dobrze są w tym náuczeni / y wiare swoje w przod w Zborze wyználi. Trzećia: Jeśliby przychodniowie álbo pielgrzymi iácy w mieście byli / ktorzyby ieszcze niedokońcá w relij y dyscyplinie nászey wyćwiczeni byli / zeby ieszcze niedostatecznie około wieczerzey Pańskiej zrozumieli / ci ieśliby wieczerzey Pańskiej pożywać chcieli / zeby do Ministrow naprzod szli / zeby byli od nich náuczeni około wszego postępku / w domiech álbo gdzie oni wespołek z stárszemi zaśiedá w Zborze." *Forma albo porządek* 1581, b.

attends them. The period of preparation is meant to be a time for reconciliation and the healing of such wounds, that the table of the Lord may be a table of peace, and those who commune may not sin against the significance of the Supper. Worthiness, then, is no simple matter of faith in the Words of Christ. Indeed one may not know for certain that he is truly worthy and well prepared. Like his medieval predecessor, he can only do all that it is in him to do, and hope that God will supply his deficiency. Therefore he approaches the table hopefully, and yet with fear that he might not receive the benefit of participation, but instead bring judgment upon himself. It is a foregone conclusion that he will not come often. Before the end of the sixteenth century Churches in Lithuania and Poland had already cast aside Lasco's recommendations for bi-monthly Communion and were offering Lord's Supper at most four times a year.

4.1.2. Order for the Day before Holy Communion.

The liturgies speak of an order of service for the day before Communion as early as 1581. The agendas of 1581, 1599, 1602, and 1614 all provide for services on this day, but only the Gdańsk Book 1637 provides us with liturgical details for the order of worship on this occasion.⁵⁹³

The 1581 order directs that the elders and other ministers should publicly examine the members of the congregation regarding their sins and assist them in making a thorough examination and a good confession. In addition, the people are admonished to fast and occupy themselves with fervent prayer until the time of Communion. Kraiński's 1599 liturgy provides no special form, but recommends that the already existing order of fasting be followed with the addition of a prayer for the Holy Communion. Fasting should begin on Friday. The 1602 and 1614 agendas also recommend this service, but they do not provide the details of its prayers. The communicants appear before the minister

⁵⁹³ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, b-bij; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 494-495; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 81-82; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 29-30; *Agenda* 1637, 83-99; *Sześć aktów* 1742, 12-19.

and elders of the congregation, who reprove, punish, and excommunicate notorious sinners. Others too are to be scrutinized concerning their manner of living so that the Lord's table will not be sullied by the presence of the unworthy. The communicants are invited to come either individually or in small groups to the minister to present before him the concerns of their souls and to write their names in the communion register, according the ancient fathers, the general synod of Sandomierz, and the venerable Doctor John Calvin.

Preparation for the day before Communion we find not only in Reformed, but also in Lutheran and Anglican sources. Paul's words in 1 Corinthians 11:28 "...let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup..." were understood to require of each communicant both an understanding of the Words of Christ over the bread and wine and their meaning and a personal examination of his life. This examination was to be made of the Ten Commandments, followed by confession of sins before the pastor and the acceptance of the forgiveness proclaimed by the pastor in the word of absolution. Indeed, the goal of the exercise of the keys is understood to be confession and absolution.

Similar provisions could be found in the Lutheran Church of neighboring Prussia. As early as 1525 the *Artikel der Ceremonien* makes provision for public confession with a confessional sermon, although it is not stated that this service is to be held on the day before Communion.⁵⁹⁴ The 1544 Prussian *Ordnung vom eusserlichen gotsdienst* provides a more elaborate form for Communion preparation, including confession before one's own pastor or another ordained minister of the church. The pastor is to satisfy any doubts he may have concerning the faith of the communicant, so that no one may receive the sacrament who has not received sufficient instruction and absolution. Again, Saturday is not specifically designated, although it may be inferred from the statement that the people will be receiving the sacrament in the morning.⁵⁹⁵ The 1568 Prussian *Kirchenordnung und ceremonien* provides that at the Office of Vespers on Saturdays and on the eve of feast days

⁵⁹⁴ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 34.

⁵⁹⁵ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 68.

there should be instruction of the chief parts of the Christian doctrine, with emphasis on repentance, absolution, and the power of the keys. Provision is made for private absolution for those who wish to receive it according to the provisions in Matthew 9 and Luke 7. It is noted that confession is offered before and after Vespers for the benefit of those who will commune on the next day⁵⁹⁶. The church orders of neighboring Sweden include like provisions in the Swedish church order of 1571 and the handwritten order from the time of John III, 1575. Swedish orders provide that at a time before the service begins those who wish to participate should privately confess their sins to the pastor, using the church's usual form.⁵⁹⁷ By the turn of the century formulas for private confession were included in the Swedish catechisms. As we have noted, the Anglican *Order of the Communion* 1548 provides also that a special preparation be publicly offered on either the Sunday or the day before Communion. Its purpose is that the minister may warn the people that they must prepare themselves for the godly and heavenly banquet by turning their former evil lives and to be reconciled with their neighbors whom they have offended, and that those who desire a further word of comfort and absolution may receive it from the minister.

We do not find specific provisions in the earliest period for a special service of preparation on the day before the Holy Communion in the Reformed rites. Oecolampadius (1526), Bucer (1539), and Calvin (1542, 1545) incorporate preparation for communion within the Communion service itself and provide lengthy exhortations, prayers of confession, and, in the case of Calvin, a special warning and declaration of excommunication directed to those whose public actions call for severe reprimand.⁵⁹⁸ In contrast to the Lutheran understanding of the exercise of the Keys, the Reformed, especially Calvin, relate the Keys to church discipline.⁵⁹⁹ A life of humble obedience to the church indicated a strong and lively faith which opens the way to the holy table. To those who

⁵⁹⁶ *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* 1911, 74, 76.

⁵⁹⁷ *Den svenska kyrkoordningen* 1571, 71.

⁵⁹⁸ *Thompson* 1972, 211-215, 167-181, 197-208.

⁵⁹⁹ *Rietschel* 1951, 820.

refuse to accept this discipline, the way is closed, and the keys have securely locked them out.

The introduction of the special observance on the day before the celebration of the Holy Communion in the Lithuanian and Polish Churches undoubtedly was taken over from Johannes a Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio*. It is he who is the source of this special practice, and his order provides both the framework and the content of the Polish and Lithuanian Saturday services. He calls for the preaching of a special sermon at two o'clock in the afternoon on the day before Communion which will provide special emphasis on the proper meaning and use of the Lord's Supper and an earnest admonition directed to all who wish to come to the Communion. These must present themselves before the minister and the elders and receive their approving judgment that they are indeed worthy and prepared to come to the holy table.⁶⁰⁰

These directions are followed by most of the liturgies⁶⁰¹ up to the appearance of the Great Gdańsk Agenda of 1637. This book provides a specific liturgical order to serve as a framework for this service. The central emphasis in the 1637 order is to reinforce the communicant's knowledge of his unworthiness and yet assure him that with the proper preparation he may dare to stand before the Lord and not eat and drink to judgment. To accomplish this the minister exhorts the members of the congregation at great length to examine their personal lives, and most particularly their relationship to their neighbor, which in this context means fellow members of the congregation. They must also examine their understanding of the Christian faith and most especially the merit of Christ, which is the fruit of his sufferings on the cross, and the supreme necessity of an earnest intention to better themselves and

⁶⁰⁰ *Kuyper II* 1866, 138.

⁶⁰¹ Of special interest are the provisions of Kraiński's Agenda of 1599. He provides for special morning and evening services on the day of Communion and a special supplement to the Communion service itself to be added at the very beginning of the Communion service, which should commence shortly before the noon hour. At the special morning service and at the beginning of the main service he speaks about the reason for Communion and preaches on its meaning. The evening service is the service of praise for the gift of Christ and the Holy Communion. *Porządek* 1599, 494-495.

walk in the light. To such as are willing to follow these exhortations, the minister can give assurance of God's kindness toward them, on the basis of their obedience, born of faith and understanding, and their godly intentions. What is lacking is a sure and certain word of absolution. The introduction to this order had stated that it was required by the general synod of Sandomierz that no one should come to the Communion unless he had received absolution for his sins. But in place of the absolution we find here an assurance of God's mercy which must be said to apply only to those who have met the threefold requirement stated above. A proper prayer of confession and word of absolution are left for the day of Communion itself.

Triune Invocation. The 1637 order begins with the Triune Invocation on the worshipers: "The name of God, the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit be with you. Amen."⁶⁰² This at the same time states as the purpose for this service that the Triune God may be praised and glorified through the godly repentance of those who wish to worthily approach his holy table.

Admonition to Self-Examination. The minister reminds the communicants of their duty to approach the holy table only after thoughtful self-examination concerning both their outward behavior and also their inner life and the manner in which they have conducted themselves as Christians both publicly and privately on the basis of the requirements set down in the Gospel and the doctrinal content of the Christian faith. The necessity of self-examination is built upon a threefold foundation. First, the example of Aaron and Moses teaches that those who present offerings of sacrifice to God must be cleansed, so that their sacrifices may be worthy to be received by God. Second, the Lord Jesus Christ constantly taught and admonished his disciples and warned them that they must not cast pearls before swine and the dogs. These are nothing other than unworthy sinners who live in filth from which they must be cleansed. Finally, the words of the apostle Paul warn that those, who approach the Lord's table must examine themselves, lest they eat and drink unworthily and to their judgment. These are the reasons given for

⁶⁰² *Agenda* 1637, 83.

the necessity of the earnest preparation for the sacrament, for it is upon these that a worthy and helpful participation depends. Worthy preparation depends (1) upon an examination by which one minutely examines one's personal conduct and life in the world, specifically how one has kept his baptismal vows and acted toward his neighbor, and the acknowledgement of the sins by which one has insulted God, and the thoroughness of one's sorrow for these sins. (2) One must understand the teachings of the Word of God, especially God's promises concerning the forgiveness of sins and Christ's merit and one's desire to continue therein until death. Finally, (3) one must pledge that by the help of God he will turn from every form of wickedness to live a godly life as long as he continues in this world.⁶⁰³

We see here evidence of a covenant theology in which God may be expected to fulfill his promises if man successfully fulfils his obligations. Baptism is here not spoken of as a gift, but rather as a responsibility which obliges the baptized to fulfill his intentions. This stands within the understanding of Baptism as an obligatory symbol of the new covenant, of which the Supper is the covenant meal. All these promises stand within the terms of this covenant and are required of those who seriously intend to continue within it: namely, that they live a pious life, are at peace with their neighbors, bear no hatred in their heart toward others in the community, and promise to be faithful until death in maintaining the faith which they have now come to understand. Thus, preparation will enable those who participate in the Supper to enjoy the assurance of their covenantal relationship with the Christ who by his death on the cross gained merit for his elect. These terms will now be elucidated in greater detail in the three examination questions which reveal what is thought to be most centrally necessary for those preparing to commune.

The Examination. The minister addresses the following three questions to the prospective communicants as a group. Firstly, the minister asks whether the people know that they are sinners and that they have insulted God by their sin and deserve from him present and eternal pun-

⁶⁰³ *Agenda* 1637, 84-86.

ishment. Secondly, he asks whether they doubt God's desire to be merciful to those who hunger for righteousness and believe singularly and as a group that sins are forgiven for the sake of the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ. Finally, the worshipers are asked whether they promise to God and the church elders, before whom they are assembled, that when they receive God's grace they will forthwith turn away from all sins and impiety, be wary of all lusts, and spend the rest of their days in a righteous and pious Christian life.

Here the agenda builds on the heritage of a Lasco, who gives the directive concerning the questions to be addressed to the communicants and supplements his 45 questions with an additional three to be directed to the gathered congregation. His questions concern themselves with one's holding to the heart of the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ in both faith and action, and placing himself under the spiritual care of the congregation, in accordance with the Word of God, and the continued exercise of a Christian life.

The questions found in Lasco and the Polish and Lithuanian liturgies indicate that the central emphasis is not to be found in the sacrament itself or forgiveness of sins in the sacrament, but rather in the acknowledgment of one's position as a sinner and the discipline of the Christian life. This we can understand from the Calvinist doctrine of the nature of the sacrament. One does not receive Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine for pardon and peace, for these are found alone at the cross, but here the sacrament is a sign of the forgiveness already received independently of the sacrament, to strengthen faith and establish obedience.

In the Reformed understanding of Communion man is thought to stand alone before God. It seems strange then, that we find lacking in this section a satisfactory statement of this personal dimension. All the questions are addressed to the congregation as a whole in the plural, and the answers are given in like manner. It is the group rather the individual which is in the spotlight. Where one would expect to say 'I have sinned' and the *Christus pro me*, this dimension is nowhere evident. An additional unusual characteristic of the extended use of Biblical quotations

after every question. These hold out hope for those who have responded satisfactory. This serves to underline the general impression that both sin and forgiveness are here understood juridically, from within a legal framework. One may be comforted if he meets the criteria set for those who wish to be comforted.⁶⁰⁴

Admonition to Walk in the Light. After the examination and the vows which they have taken upon themselves, the worshipers are now reminded that they are henceforth to walk in the light by abstaining from every form of uncleanness, such as drunkenness, adultery, trivial pursuits, dissensions, etc. They are to cloth themselves with Christ and not satisfy the lusts of the body. Since human strength is inadequate to fulfill such obligations, the people must now confess their sins and implore God that by his mercy he would accomplish what man in his weakness is unable to do. The admonition is based upon Romans 13:12-13 and 2 Corinthians 3:5.⁶⁰⁵

Those who choose the path of light continue in the fellowship of the church which in this world serves as the visible image of the true church which is above. Here there is no place for those who continue in sin or whose sorrow for sin is not adequate to impel them into the way of light. One does not glorify God with manifest thanksgiving by continuing in sin. Such would only render the church impure and an unfit representation of the church which is above.

The Prayer. The section which follows is simply titled: 'Prayer.' The minister asks on behalf of the congregation for the forgiveness of every sin which leads to unworthiness, and asks that all such sins be overcome for the sake of Christ. He speaks of how God has already forgiven the sins of the people for the sake of Christ without their deserving. For this they ought to be truly grateful and show forth the fruits of life they have not done so. One could say they have sinned against their forgiveness, and they are for this reason unworthy to come to the Supper which is the sign of forgiveness. So the minister asks that God would once again show his mercy, cleanse the worshipers, and prepare

⁶⁰⁴ *Agenda* 1637, 86-92.

⁶⁰⁵ *Agenda* 1637, 92-93.

them to come worthily to the holy table. He prays that God would generate new faith, and stir up the hearts of love toward the neighbor, and to stand firm in every time of temptation that their Christian life might remain pure and undefiled.

It is worthy of note that the prayer seems to move almost effortlessly between a confession of man's complete inability to accomplish any spiritual good, and the necessity of man's accomplishing such good. We find here a mixture of law and Gospel elements which is typical of Reformed theology and its understanding of the relationship between faith and works and their goals. How can the fallen man, who is incapable of good, perform that which is good? This, according to Calvin, is the work of the Holy Spirit, for no believer can perform any active "...obedience to him, than that which he has given them."⁶⁰⁶ Indeed it is obligatory that by the aid of the Holy Spirit believers should perform such works as are pleasing to God. Accordingly, the minister prays for the coming of the Holy Spirit to make it possible for the worshipers, who are in themselves sinners, to present their bodies and souls to God in the Holy Communion and to accomplish all such things as glorify God and are pleasing in his sight. We find in this prayer a mixture of confession of sinfulness and its liabilities, and faith which believes that the Holy Spirit will accomplish all good in believers.⁶⁰⁷

Declaration of God's essential Goodness. For those who have made this prayer their own, the minister now offers assurance that God will forgive their sins and look upon them with kindness. Those who struggle under heavy burdens or otherwise need a more personal word of consolation may come either individually or in small groups to receive such comfort as they desire.

As we have indicated, the prayer in this rite is not easily classified, and the word which follows it includes neither an absolution nor the explicit declaration of God's forgiveness for those who have confessed their sins. The minister instead counsels the worshipers not to doubt that God has heard them and will assuredly look upon them kindly.

⁶⁰⁶ *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book III, Chapter 8, Paragraph 4.

⁶⁰⁷ *Agenda* 1637, 93-95.

If, however, they are struggling with this great truth or are in doubt concerning it, the minister invites them to come to him, so that he may clarify the matter through further instruction. Special attention must be given to the young for they face danger in the body and soul.⁶⁰⁸

Assurance. Then the minister writes one by one the names of the communicants in the church's journal. He declares to those whose names are thus enrolled that they should rejoice and be glad, for assuredly their names also are written in heaven to the glory of God and as an assurance of their eternal blessedness.

From the classical liturgical perspective, the specific statement of the forgiveness of sins would be called for as a prerequisite to the enrollment. Those who are enrolled in heaven are those who have been cleansed of their sins and clothed in the new robes of Christ's righteousness. Its absence here seems to be a glaring omission. On what basis does the minister assure the enrollees that their names are written in heaven? We may seek the answer in the basic philosophical understanding between the earthly and heavenly which is so important to Reformed theology and not least its ecclesiology. There is no membership in the heavenly church for those who have turned their back upon the earthly church or who refuse her authority and governance. Those whose names are now written in the church's journal are those who have publicly lamented their sins, expressed their profound sorrow for them, confessed the church's doctrinal position, professed the church's faith, prayed for the Holy Spirit's guidance, promised amendment of life, and submitted themselves to church's governance and discipline. As such, they have shown themselves worthy, pious, and upright members of the church on earth. It is of such as these that the heavenly church consists, and the minister assures them that they may count themselves among her eternal members.⁶⁰⁹

The Pax Domini and Apostolic Benediction. The minister now dismisses the worshipers as a group, addressing to them the *Pax Domini* in the plural form and the traditional Apostolic Blessing: "The grace

⁶⁰⁸ *Agenda* 1637, 96.

⁶⁰⁹ *Agenda* 1637, 96.

of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.” (Romans 16:24). Those whose names are written in heaven may now go forth at peace with God and one another.⁶¹⁰

In some places the preparatory service is held on the day of Communion. Those who wish to participate in the service appear before the minister and the leaders of the congregation for admonition, and examination according to the pattern similar to that outlined above. At the close of the session the celebration of Holy Communion immediately follows.⁶¹¹

The examination of the whole preparatory office has shown that its chief purpose is that those who intend to commune should by every means possible seek to improve and deepen their spiritual state, so that they might approach worthily and receive the gifts to their benefit and not to their judgment. A period of two weeks is set aside for the purpose of admonition, self-examination, renewed catechesis concerning the sacrament, and recommitment to disciplined life in the fellowship of the church. Opportunity is also provided for the minister and elders to become acquainted with those who are new in the community and inquire concerning their spiritual state. While all these are meant to benefit the soul of man, so too his body is to be exercised by a period of fasting and determined struggle against bodily sins and faithless behavior.

Our examination of this order rises some questions. In the scrutiny the people are called to state their agreement with the fact that they are sinners who have insulted God and deserved nothing good from him; they are asked also to agree that they are sorry for their sins and believe in Christ’s forgiveness; they further recognize their obligation to do better. We must note the absence any clear word of forgiveness addressed to worshipers. They are told that they should not doubt their forgiveness. They are to base this assurance on the nature of God’s essential goodness and upon of the genuineness of their contrition. These are sufficient for the minister to assure them that their names are writ-

⁶¹⁰ *Agenda* 1637, 97.

⁶¹¹ *Agenda* 1637, 97-99.

ten in heaven and that they may approach the earthly banquet with the certainty that they will also be worthy participants in the heavenly banquet. They may assume that they are cleaned and worthy. This leaves unanswered one question which will arise when we examine the order for the day of Communion itself. How is it possible, after all this, for the minister to solemnly pronounce excommunication upon some whom in this service he assured were worthy to come to the Lord's table? Further, if the worshipers are to have no doubt, why will confession and absolution be included in the Sunday service?

4.1.3. Order for the Day of Holy Communion

The comparative study of the orders of preparation shows a remarkably high degree of structural uniformity. The pattern for the day before Communion is easily discerned as well, although only the 1637 Great Gdańsk Book gives the full written form of this service. Such however is not the case in the orders appointed for the day of Holy Communion. Only with careful study are we able to discern the guiding principles in the Polish and Lithuanian services.

None of these liturgies follows the ancient Western pattern of worship, found in medieval Catholicism and after the Reformation in rites of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and the Anglican prayer books. We may suggest a number of reasons for this. The Reformed doctrine of the sacrament clearly breaks with medieval Catholicism and also with Lutheran sacramental theology, which the Reformed thought to be far too close to that of the Roman Church. Further, the Reformed all seek in their individually diverse orders to exalt the Reformed sacramental principle that earthly creatures of bread and wine cannot be bearers of heavenly content. In these liturgies we see this principle clearly enunciated again and again, although not in a uniform manner. Finally, the Reformed liturgies all seek to create a liturgical action which precisely imitates Christ's act of instituting and giving the Supper in the upper room in the night of his betrayal. The words which accompany these acts are meant to provide the biblical warrant for the Reformed understanding of the Eucharist and its liturgical reenactment. Every

Reformed liturgy seeks to go about this task from its own particular perspective and in its own way. Thus we find in the larger context of the European Reformed liturgies the unique liturgical contributions of Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Calvin, Lasco, and others. This variety is reflected also in the orders which we are examining.

As we have already noted, the strong imprint of Johannes a Lasco is particularly evident. This is especially visible in the preparatory orders and, in so far as we may speak of a common shape of order for the Lord's Supper at all, it is his influence which is reflected. A few elements such as the public pronouncement of the excommunication, the physical act of the *fractio panis*, and the quotation of the Pauline words concerning the broken bread and the cup of blessing are features common to all Reformed liturgies. There are also within the subgroups of Lithuanian and Polish liturgies certain elements which are unique to each group and evidence of national liturgical traditions. This requires of us that we examine these orders differently from the manner by which we would examine the Communion liturgies of churches in which the Western tradition still prevails. We will need to examine the material before us in the order in which it has been placed in the various liturgies, making note of the special significance of each part within its own agenda, according to the structural pattern already given.

Call to Worship. The service begins with invocation of the Divine Name in the orders of 1614, 1621, 1637, and 1644. In the 1614 order there is an ascription of praise: "Eternal praise and glory be to God, the Father and to the Son Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Spirit, one God in Trinity."⁶¹² The congregation responds: "Amen." In 1637 the minister calls upon the Triune God: "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."⁶¹³ An alternative form recalls the words of Paul in Galatians 3:17 and the Words of Christ in John 6:35.41, setting a clearly Christocentric and Eucharistic tone: "Let our help be in your most holy name, Lord Jesus, bread of life, who came down from heaven and gives life to the world."⁶¹⁴ The 1644

⁶¹² *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 31.

⁶¹³ Agenda 1637, 100.

⁶¹⁴ Agenda 1637, 100.

book repeats the provision of the Gdańsk Book. Lithuanian 1621 liturgy gives only the quotation from Psalm 124:8: “Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.”⁶¹⁵ The 1581 and 1599 agendas make no provision for a Triune Invocation. Thus we see two forms for the Ascription of Praise to God’s Name. One from Psalm 124 (in two cases with the Triune names and in the third case without it) and the other a specifically Christocentric, Eucharistic ascription of praise.

The quotation of Psalm 124:8 is common in the Western tradition and is particularly associated with invocations, collects, canticles, and acts of blessing. Here God’s people confess him to be the Creator of all things. It is found specifically in the priest’s preparation for the celebration of the Mass at the confession of sins. In the Reformation Churches it is found at the confession of sins in the liturgy at Nürnberg 1525, Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533, Schleswig Holstein 1542, and others. It comes to be used by the congregations in Sweden 1531, Hamburg 1537, etc. In the Reformed tradition it is found in Calvin’s 1542 and Strassburg 1545 orders.⁶¹⁶ The addition of the Trinitarian name in the 1637 and 1644 liturgies may be seen as a witness against the Anti-Trinitarian influences in both countries. The Creator God is here identified as the Blessed Trinity, and the worshiping congregation as Trinitarian.

The second form is specifically Christocentric and identifies as man’s helper him who is known among his people by his association with the bread of the Supper. Just as in other parts of the Western tradition the introit sets the tone, here it is the Christocentric ascription which once stated clearly predominates throughout the entire service. The association with the words of John 6 make clear a central feature of Reformed theology. The bread which brings salvation is not the bread which lies upon the holy table and is received into the mouths of the communicants, but rather the bread of heaven which comes down from above and enters the hearts of believers. Christ is to be sought not in the earthly bread, but in the bread which comes from heaven. Hearing these words the worshipers are to turn their attention from earthly things that

⁶¹⁵ *Akt usługi* 1644, 19.

⁶¹⁶ *Graff* 1937, 156; *Rietschel* 1951, 365.

their hearts and minds may ascend to receive him whom earthly elements cannot contain.

The Sermon. We have only three services which follow the pattern of Lasco, who directs that a sermon be preached. The 1581 order, following Calvin's Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders,⁶¹⁷ says that ministers should in their sermon direct attention to the Holy Communion. To this end, Holy Communion may be made the subject of the entire address, or a specific mention of the Holy Communion may be appended at the end of the sermon. In speaking of the Lord's Supper, the minister should give special attention to the need to explain to the people what our Lord wishes to say and signify by this mystery, and in what way it behooves us to receive it.⁶¹⁸

Kraiński's 1599 book provides for a sermon about Holy Communion to be given at a special morning service before the main service on the day of Communion. In addition a sermon on the Holy Gospel or another text pertaining to Holy Communion is to be preached at the beginning of the main service.⁶¹⁹ The 1614 order notes that the sermon should begin with the ascription of praise. Nothing is said concerning the theme or content of the minister's message. The other agendas make no provision for preaching at this service.

The first generation of the Reformed theologians included sermons in the service of Holy Communion. Zwingli put it in the beginning of the service. We find sermons in Oecolampadius 1526, Bucer 1537, and Calvin 1542 orders. The most specific directions concerning the sermon are found in the *Forma ac Ratio* of 1550. Lasco is very specific in his instructions concerning the content and purpose of this sermon. The preacher must instruct the people concerning the nature of the bread and wine as signs, the symbolic significance of participation as a sign of membership in Christ's body, and the remembrance of Christ's death, and its relationship to ceremonial reception of bread and wine. Most careful attention is given to the question of the relationship between the outward signs and the inward disposition of the heart and its ascent

⁶¹⁷ Thompson 1972, 203.

⁶¹⁸ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, b.

⁶¹⁹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 495.

to Christ. Finally, careful attention must be given to the mystery of the Supper as a sign which is carried out in remembrance of Christ's passion and death, and worthy preparation for reception. Whereas Bucer and Calvin place the sermon in its usual setting after the reading of the Word of God, Lasco sets it at the beginning of the rite, where it may serve as both an instruction and an admonition to those who will participate.⁶²⁰

Omission of the sermon in the four other liturgies may indicate that it was thought that the extended period of preparation and the admonitions were sufficient to accomplish the purposes which Lasco had enumerated. There would be no need for further instruction, since worshipers had been given ample opportunity to be admonished and tutored in matters relating to the sacrament and its worthy reception.

A Prayer for a Right and God-pleasing Worship. In the Lithuanian liturgies we find this following unique provision. The following prayer is said in 1581 immediately after the minister's sermon, and in 1621 liturgy it is found between the admonition and the excommunication. This prayer is not found in the Polish orders, or in the Lithuanian order of 1644. It reproduces almost *verbatim* the opening prayer in Zwingli's 1525 rite. We give Zwingli's original prayer and the 1581 prayer.

⁶²⁰ *Kuyper II* 1866, 159.

Zwingli 1525

“O Almighty, Eternal God, whom all creatures rightly honor, worship, call upon, and praise as their, Lord, Creator and Father: grant us poor sinners that with real constancy and faith we may perform thy praise and thanksgiving, which thine only begotten Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, hath commanded the faithful to do in memory of his death; through the same Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee in unity with the Holy Spirit, God for ever and ever. Amen.”⁶²²

Forma albo porządek 1581

“O Almighty, Eternal God, whom all creatures properly and rightly honor, worship, and praise as their, Preserver, Creator and gracious Father: grant us poor sinners that in true faith we may perform thy praise and thanksgiving, which your Son, beloved Lord Jesus Christ has commanded us to make; through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, your Son, who reigns with you in eternity. Amen.”⁶²¹

One is immediately struck by the inclusion of a Zwinglian prayer in a liturgical *milieu* which seems to be predominantly Calvinist. Both the Polish and Lithuanian Churches show the influence of the Eucharistic doctrine of Calvin and Bullinger which is evident in the Calvinistic tone found in the *Confession of Sandomierz*. Although the Lithuanians chose to espouse a Eucharistic doctrine which the Lord's Supper is understood, in Calvinistic terms, to be the occasion of a strong spiritual communion between the believer and Christ, it must be noted that in their Eucharistic thought they share some common features with their spiritual father from Zürich. This liturgy seems to draw upon the larger Reformed tradition than the liturgies which follow it.

⁶²¹ “Wszchemogący wieczny Boże / ktoreo słusznie y sprawiedliwie wszelkie stworzenie chwali / wielbi y wystawia / iáko sprawcę / stworzyciela y Oycá miłościwego: Dayże nam niedznym grzesznym / żebyśmy te chwałę y dziekowczynienie / ktore Syn twoy miły Pan Jezus Krystus nam zostawił prawdziwą wiarą sprawowali: przez tegosz Pána Jezusa Krystusa Syna twego / ná wieki z tobą kroluiącego / Amen.”
Forma albo porządek 1581, bij. English translation by writer.

⁶²² Thompson 1972, 151.

Clearly reflected here is the Reformed notion of the heavenward direction of the church's worship, a theological conception not all together foreign to that of the Middle Ages, but quite different from the Lutheran understanding of worship which sees the Divine Service as the occasion of God's work in and for his gathered congregation. The Reformed liturgy is understood as a service directed toward God, and it is the congregation's prayer that it might accomplish it confidently and faithfully. This is an aspiration which is clearly as congruent with the Calvinist theology as it is with that of Zwingli. The congregation's act of worship is to celebrate a memorial meal which is a reminder of the redemption which is theirs through the death of Christ. Thus, the Communion is essentially an act of praise and thanksgiving. This is clearly stated in this Lithuanian recension of Zwingli's prayer. The only significant difference between the two prayers is the omission from the Lithuanian prayer of any specific mention of the Holy Spirit at this point.

Invocation of the Holy Spirit. The liturgies of 1599, 1602, 1614, 1637, and 1644 begin the Holy Communion with the solemn invocation of the Holy Spirit.⁶²³ In some cases the Latin antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda* is specified, and in others the *Veni Sancte Spiritus et emite* is offered as an alternative. These antiphons are understood to be prayers calling upon the Holy Spirit to be present and at work in the celebration and reception of the Lord's Supper. In every case the singing of the antiphon is preceded by an admonition which reminds the congregation that they are unable rightly to come to this Supper in a worthy manner without the aid of the Holy Spirit. Therefore he must be called upon to be present and extend his blessing. Kraiński's 1599 order adds to this a much more detailed elaboration of the congregation's need and inability to stand rightly before the throne of God. Without the Holy Spirit no man is able to confess his faith in the Lord, to call upon him in prayer, to possess what is necessary for faith and salvation, to receive the sacraments, and to live a pious life.

⁶²³ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 150-152; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 25-26; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 32-33; *Agenda* 1637, 101; *Akt usługi* 1644, 20-21; *Sześć aktów* 1742, 21.

The invocation of the Holy Spirit is a common feature in Western tradition. It is found in priest's preparatory prayer in the Middle Ages.⁶²⁴ It generally begins the celebration of the Eucharist in the Lutheran Church orders. Here, however, it takes on a special significance, for according to the Reformed tradition no true confession of Christ or worthy worship is possible excepting through the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit. This is clearly revealed in the controversies which raged through the 1520's between the Lutherans and the Reformed and were unable to be settled even by the colloquium between Luther and Zwingli, and their conferrers at Marburg in 1529. Both Luther and his Reformed counterparts could agree concerning the absolute importance of the Holy Spirit. They, however, disagreed concerning the manner of his coming and the relationship between God and his physical creation. To Luther God's promises and blessings are always tied to earthly things, both in the case of the old covenant with its rite of Circumcision and the New Testament with the Holy Baptism and the Supper of Christ's body and blood.⁶²⁵ One comes to the altar to receive Christ's work of forgiveness and reconciliation by receiving his true body and blood in the bread and wine. These are to be received in that faith which the Holy Spirit has planted in man through the water and word of the Holy Baptism and the proclamation of the Holy Gospel through earthly creatures. For Zwingli the Holy Spirit comes without mediation, apart from any physical means, for it is his conviction that earthly elements cannot be bearers of heavenly content or divine blessing. According to his understanding, Holy Communion is a reminder of the work which Christ has accomplished on the cross, an opportunity to contemplate the goodness of God manifested in the cross of Christ, and a social event by which Christians express their solidarity with one another.

Calvin moves beyond the understanding of Zwingli to a doctrine of spiritual communion effected by God's Holy Spirit. Following his doctrine, the Polish and Lithuanian liturgies include a special prayer of invocation of the Holy Spirit which emphasizes the essential work

⁶²⁴ *Jungmann I* 1986, 274fn.15, 297 fn.29.

⁶²⁵ *Sasse* 1959, 318; *Luther's works* 1960, 293.

of the Holy Spirit in the reception of the benefits of the Lord's Supper. According to Calvin, the Holy Spirit works simultaneously with the receiving of the bread and wine, but apart from them, to assure faithful communicants that just as surely as they receive the earthly bread and wine, so too by his operation they are made partakers of Christ's body and blood in his heavenly realm. Thus, while following the same thought patterns as Zwingli, according to which Christ's body and blood are in heaven and therefore cannot be upon the earth, Calvin adds a spiritual dimension according to which the hearts of true believers ascend to heaven to participate in body and blood of Christ. Calvin's teaching is reproduced in the *Heidelberg Catechism*, the standard vehicle for instruction in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Churches. Mention is made of the earthly elements received 'by the mouths' and the heavenly body and blood. "... by these visible signs and pledges ... we are really partakers of his true body and blood by the operation of the Holy Spirit as we receive by the mouths of our bodies these holy signs in remembrance of him."⁶²⁶ Here terminology is employed which appears somewhat similar to Luther's *Small Catechism*, but the doctrine itself posits no identity or sacramental union between the bread and body or the cup and blood. The same teaching found in the *Heidelberg Catechism* is reflected also in the *Confession of Sandomierz*, where it is stated that in the same moment that the minister give the bread and cup, the Holy Spirit inwardly gives the flesh and blood of the Lord.⁶²⁷

In the Polish liturgies this emphasis on the Holy Spirit finds its first clear expression in the Kraiński's liturgy of 1599. Kraiński had previously articulated his position at the general synod of Toruń in 1595 in words reminiscent of Heidelberg and Sandomierz. Christ's true body and blood are indeed received by communicants, but in a mystical, sacramental, or spiritual manner, rather than through the physical act of eating and drinking of the bread and wine. It is from such mystical participation that the Holy Spirit ministers the forgiveness of sins, righteousness, and eternal life to believers.⁶²⁸ Hence, Kraiński gives the

⁶²⁶ *Heidelberg Catechism*. Question and Answer 79.

⁶²⁷ *Confessia* 1570, lij-liij.

⁶²⁸ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 127.

invocation of the Holy Spirit a prominent place in his liturgy, a place it would retain in the agendas which came to be adopted in later years.

The Excommunication. The solemn pronouncement of excommunication upon all who are unworthy to receive the Supper is a prominent element in all the Lithuanian and Polish rites. It is always found in the order for Communion, although its exact location in the rite varies. In 1581 book it comes near the beginning of the service, after the prayer for the right and God-pleasing worship which follows the sermon. It forms a part of the first formal exhortation to communicants, although it does not seem to fit comfortably into that setting. Accordingly, the Lithuanian liturgy of 1621 makes of it a separate act, placing it after the exhortation and the prayer for God-pleasing worship. Kraiński's 1599 agenda and the 1602 rite locate it much later in the service, after the Words of Christ's Testament and the accompanying address concerning the meaning of the Testament and the admonition to communicants. The agendas of 1614, 1637, and 1644 place it immediately after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, near the beginning of the rite where it would remain.

The solemn rite of excommunication formed an essential part of the Reformed understanding of church discipline in the sixteenth century. In relation with Communion, its purpose is to avoid the profaning of the Lord's Supper by excluding from the fellowship of the church those who by word or example have shown themselves to be ungodly and unbelievers. As such, excommunication is an important concomitant of the exercise of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, by which those whose speech and manner of life are inconsistent with their Christian profession are formally excluded from the fellowship of the church until such time as they promise to amend their lives and show by their actions the sincerity of that promise. Those are to be excommunicated who would unworthily receive Christ's body and blood. By their participation they would bring judgment not only upon themselves but upon the whole congregation, as is stated in question 82 and its answer in the *Heidelberg Catechism*. If unbelievers or ungodly men should be admit-

ted to the Supper, they would thereby profane the covenant of God and kindle God's wrath upon the whole congregation.⁶²⁹

Calvin in his Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders places the excommunication after the narrative of the institution of the Supper.⁶³⁰ We find the same arrangement in Kraiński's 1599 agenda and the 1602 book.⁶³¹ This gives us some insight into the significance of the inclusion of Pauline narrative from 1 Corinthians 11. It is the purpose of this recitation to set the scene by recalling the circumstances of the first celebration of the Lord's Supper, and drawing from it what are thought to be necessary conclusions concerning participation in this present day. For some this did not seem to be the most appropriate place in the liturgy for the pronouncement of excommunication. One has just heard the comforting Words of Christ that he has shed his blood and gives forgiveness of sins and peace, and now this comfort is abruptly withdrawn. That is a matter which needed to be special prior attention. Therefore the Lithuanian rites of the 1581, 1621, 1644, and the Polish rites of the 1614 and 1637 place it near the beginning of the service.⁶³²

In part the Polish and Lithuanian orders build the excommunication upon the foundation provided by Calvin in his Geneva 1542 rite and in part they quote his words.⁶³³ Like him they pronounce the excommunication to all idolaters, blasphemers, and despisers of God, all heretics and those who create private sects in order to break the unity of the

⁶²⁹ "Are they also to be admitted to this Supper, who, by confession and life, declare themselves unbelieving and ungodly? Answer. No; for by this, the covenant of God would be profaned, and his wrath kindled against the whole congregation; therefore it is the duty of the Christian church, according to the appointment of Christ and his apostles, to exclude such persons, by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, till they show amendment of life." *Heidelberg Catechism*. Question and Answer 82.

⁶³⁰ Thompson 1972, 205-206.

⁶³¹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 165-166; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 36-37.

⁶³² *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bij-bijj; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 33-34; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 74-75; *Agenda* 1637, 101-103; *Akt usługi* 1644, 21-22; *Sześć aktów* 1742, 21-22.

⁶³³ In the synod at Pińczów on July 5-6, 1557 Minor Poles decided the Rite of Excommunication should follow Calvin's Geneva 1542 order. "De excommunicatione constitutum est, ut in celebratione Cenaе Dominicае generalis forma excommunicationis servetur iuxta ordinem ecclesiae Genevensis." *Akta synodów* I 1966, 209.

church, all perjurers, all who rebel against father or mother or superior, all who promote sedition or mutiny, brutal and disorderly persons, adulterers, lewd and lustful men, thieves, ravishers, greedy and grasping people, drunkards, gluttons, and all those who lead a scandalous and dissolute life.⁶³⁴ The Lithuanian 1581 and 1621 agendas add the statement that some have by their word and action already excommunicated themselves to their eternal condemnation. Kraiński's 1599 agenda adds the specific mention of Jews, Tatars, Turks, Arians, and Anabaptists; they must be excluded in accordance with the commandment that what is holy must not be cast before swine and dogs, lest it be trampled under the foot. The 1581 and 1621 rites make the excommunication an act of the Christian community. It is the action of the whole community under the leadership of its minister and the leading members, since the whole community would be harmed and rendered unworthy were the ungodly and unbelievers allowed to remain members and receive the Holy Supper. Kraiński in 1599 and the later liturgies give excommunication to the minister. The excommunication performed in the name and by the power of Christ, is said to be an exercise of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. "...in the name and by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose mission I fulfill, I excommunicate..."⁶³⁵ The minister has taken upon himself the responsibility to see to it that the Supper is not profaned or the congregation harmed by the presence and participation of the unworthy.

We must address once again the question why the excommunication should appear here after the two week period of preparation with its special services, devotional exercises, and the assurance given at the registration that those whose names are written in the congregations register are enrolled also in heaven. Perhaps its inclusion is *pro forma*, a liturgical feature which identifies the liturgy as Calvinistic. However, it may be that its inclusion should be regarded as tutorial, a reminder to all the members of the importance of the holy living, not only for the Christian individual but for the entire congregation. A little leaven leav-

⁶³⁴ Thompson 1972, 205-206.

⁶³⁵ "Mocą / y imieniem Páná moiego Jezusá Christusá / ktorego poselstwo sprawuję / wyłączam od tego świętego stołu..." *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 165.

ens the whole lump. All must be wary lest they become that evil leaven which must be cast out for the good of all.

Exhortation to Make a Confession. All of the liturgies which we are examining include a preparatory exhortation to confession, as well as a form of public confession of sins and words of consolation or absolution. Although the exhortation is everywhere present, it does not always take a common form. The motives offered for confession sometimes differ, and the forms themselves vary quite widely in length, form, and theological content.

The exhortation in the 1581 and 1621 Lithuanian agendas is short and straightforward. The minister simply invites those, who do not doubt God's mercy to present themselves before God as guilty sinners and make confession of their guilt.⁶³⁶

In contrast, Kraiński's 1599 agenda differs greatly. His exhortation, called a "Confirmation of God's Grace," is of a great length and exhibits a different theological emphasis. He describes the people as a people who formerly walked in ignorance, with no knowledge of God or of his mercy. They were children of disobedience, destined for wrath. But now through his grace God has made them his children, friends, and his church, through the indwelling of the God's Spirit. Once they were like sheep without a shepherd, but now they have returned to the shepherd and bishop of their souls. For the sake of the merit of Christ's blood they are heirs of the heavenly kingdom, which Jesus has prepared for those who hearken to his voice. This exhortation is interspersed with quotations from the words of 1 Corinthians 3:16, 1 Peter 2:25, John 14:2,3, Matthew 25:34, and other scriptural texts. At the same time it must be said that the parishioners are all sinners, and as such they are still subject to the wrath of God, but through God's grace they are the inheritors of the heavenly kingdom, which is sealed and certified by the sacraments of Jesus Christ, namely Baptism and the Holy Communion. The minister moves back and forth between words which speak of the peoples' total unworthiness to call themselves the children of God, and the great theme of Christ's mercy. Instead of bettering their lives they continue to drink

⁶³⁶ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, biiij; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 74.

the foul waters of sin and close their eyes to the judgment under which they stand. They should be fearful, lest they fall from God's grace and find themselves bereft of his mercy. In order not to lose the grace of God and eternal life they must use the time God has given them to exercise themselves in God-pleasing repentance, which consists in this: that man acknowledges and confesses his sin to the greater honor of God and to his own utter humiliation, and promises that by the grace of God he will henceforth live a God-pleasing life. This manner of repentance is shown in the pages of Holy Scripture by the examples of David, Daniel, Peter, Mary Magdalene, and others. Finally, all may confess that without doubt God is merciful and will forgive them through the blood of Christ.⁶³⁷

The 1602 order is much shorter, but it follows the same general pattern. It states first the oneness of believers with Christ in this unity, calling them sons and daughters of God and heirs of eternal life. There follows an examination of the negative: their own fallen nature and the sins which have proceeded from it, and for the sake of which they now stand before God without excuse and with no possibility of escaping through their own efforts. Now they have come to God's majesty and to their Bishop Jesus Christ with pious prayer, shamefacedly, to humbly confess their sins and ask for his mercy. The same admonition is found in the 1614 rite.⁶³⁸

A somewhat different shape is found in Great Gdańsk Book of 1637. The minister speaks in very simple terms. He states that the purpose for which communicants come to the God's table is their need for salvation and their need to show obedience to Christ's commandment. He invites them to humble themselves by confessing their guilt before God's mighty hand to the honor of his majesty, so that God may himself consecrate his holy table and make the worshipers worthy participants.⁶³⁹

The 1644 rite again moves to simplify. The people are invited to confess that they are sinners who want to be participants of Christ's body and blood, not doubting God's mercy. To this end they must ac-

⁶³⁷ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 153-155.

⁶³⁸ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 26; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 34.

⁶³⁹ *Agenda* 1637, 103-104.

cuse themselves before the face of God, confessing their sins and asking for his forgiveness.⁶⁴⁰

The whole extended period of preparation for Holy Communion now comes to its focus in the final act preparation before communion. The worshipers have prepared themselves through two weeks of examination, prayer, and special services. They have received the admonition in the solemn service held on the day before Communion or earlier on the day of Communion. Some have been told that they will not be admitted to the sacrament because their words and actions do not fit the Christian profession. Those who now stand before the table are those who have successfully gone through the required steps of preparation and have not been excommunicated. Now, assured that they are prepared rightly to stand before the throne of God and will not bring dishonor and God's wrath upon the congregation, they must face one last test before they may come to receive the sacramental tokens. The minister can take them no further. The rest of the way they must go alone. Each for himself makes his way toward the holy table. The communicant must stand alone before God, in confidence that God will count him among the number of those whom he calls his own.

What can the minister say to guide those who now take this last step? In all these liturgies those who approach the Lord's table are to cast aside any doubt that God is merciful toward them. No word is given us to tell why doubt must be cast aside, but we assume that such doubt would be taken to indicate that God's grace is lacking. This is a principle theme in Calvinist theology and one which was refined and raised to new heights by Theodore Beza (1519-1605). Furthermore, in most of the liturgies the worshipers are reminded that they are sinners standing now before God's judgment throne. The minister could see and reprove all manifest and open sins, but only God can look into man's heart. Now he exhorts the people to confess the sins which God alone can see and of which they themselves are perhaps ignorant. What is not confessed is not forgiven. From the positive side, he encourages them to come in faith and to trust in the mercy of God, who sent his Son to

⁶⁴⁰ *Akt uslugi* 1644, 22-23.

shed his blood on Calvary for man's redemption. It is this mercy which has brought man to this time and place before the table of the Lord. The promises of God are for such as have shriven themselves before the throne of God and call upon him to be merciful.

Such confidence is necessary, because if it is lacking dire consequences will follow. The communication with the body and blood of Christ through the Holy Spirit will not take place. Man will bring judgment upon himself and, because of his unworthy reception, he will eat and drink to his judgment. Here we see the strong and clear relationship between confession and the Lord's Supper. At this point Reformed theology moves beyond Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism. The Roman Catholic makes confession in order to receive the sacrament in the state of grace. Worthy Communion is necessary if one is to receive in their fullness the benefits of God's sanctifying grace in the sacrament. The Lutheran goes to Communion fully cognizant that in and of himself he is not worthy of such a gift, but he comes trusting the word which proclaims that this sacrament is given for the forgiveness of sins. This holy table is for sinners who desire forgiveness of sins, oneness of Christ, and newness of life. Luther's Latin and German Masses contain no confession and absolution at all, because in Luther's theology confession and absolution are most intimately connected with Holy Baptism and the call to daily repentance is seen to be an invitation to live in the baptismal gift. Forgiveness depends upon faith in Christ's Words "...given and shed for you for the remission of sins" for faithful reception of Christ body and blood in the bread and wine according to Christ's Words. For the Reformed there is no forgiveness directly connected with the bread and the wine. Eating and drinking are understood to provide an outward assurance of that inward Communion in Christ which is effected by the Holy Spirit. In order to receive this sacrament properly, one must believe that Christ has come to save sinners and to call them to repentance that their lives may be changed. Those who are reluctant to confess their sins or to turn from them will not receive the benefit of the sacrament. We must turn now to consider the form by which the liturgies respond to these admonitions.

Confession of Sins. In the prayers of confession we see two different patterns. We find the first in the Lithuanian agendas of 1581 and 1621. Here first place is given to a confession of the majesty of God, before whom man must bow down in utter humility because of sins which have condemned man and insulted the Divine majesty in heart, body, and sensuality. Such creatures can cry out for undeserved mercy, for God has sent his Son that none may perish but receive mercy and salvation. God is asked to confirm this by sending his Holy Spirit to strengthen the people and enable them to refrain from further insults to the Divine majesty which might incite his wrath. Finally, these things are asked on the grounds of God's everlasting mercy.⁶⁴¹

Beginning with Kraiński's agenda of 1599, the prayer of confession is shaped according to the preceding admonition. God is addressed as him who, through the sufferings and death of his Son, has established a covenant with his people, confirming them in his grace for all eternity. Yet man has not properly responded to this covenant; he has trampled it underfoot as though it were nothing. God's mercy has been forgotten. By his sins man has offended God's goodness, and as the result he dare not even look to heaven, from which salvation comes. The people confess that they are no more worthy to be called God's sons and daughters, for their sins are more than sands of the seashore. All these sins, and more besides, they now confess before God, asking that he look upon them with the eyes of his mercy, that he would remember his desire that man should not be lost to his honor and to the shame of man. Finally, they ask for the gift of the Holy Spirit, that by his operation they may worthily come to the holy table for the sake of God's Holy Son who went to death and rose.⁶⁴²

The 1602 and 1614 liturgies shorten both Kraiński's admonition and prayer, but the structure, and in many instances the wording as well, remains the same. God is reminded that he has sent his Son, whom the people rejected. All sins known and unknown are confessed, and forgiveness is sought on the basis of the sinner's humiliation before the

⁶⁴¹ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, biiij-biiij; *Forma albo porządek* 1621,74.

⁶⁴² *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 155-158.

goodness of God. Finally, they ask that through the Holy Spirit the communicants may be worthy to approach the holy table.⁶⁴³

The 1637 liturgy follows a similar pattern. The first part of the prayer follows the patterns of the preceding admonition, although in this new liturgy both the exhortation and the prayer pass over the earlier remembrance of the sending of the Son to establish a new covenant. The people confess their sins of thought, word, and deed, and call upon God to forgive for the sake of his mercy. We find several other evidences of the influences of Kraiński. Some expressions from earlier liturgies are used, such as “the heavenly city upon which they dare not to gaze,” “sins more than the sands of the sea,” and the statement that forgiveness should be to the honor of God and the shaming of man. The second part draws upon the prayer toward the Words of Christ, which in the 1614 book had been placed immediately before the Words of the Testament.⁶⁴⁴

The 1644 liturgy follows the 1637 rite, although the prayer toward the Words of Christ is put back in its more customary place before the Christ’s Testamentary Words. Further, prayer is made that God should favorably look upon his church, the first time the word ‘church’ is used in place of people.⁶⁴⁵

We observe two distinct patterns. In the Lithuanian pattern, first attention is given to God’s majesty. Sin consists in that God’s majesty has been insulted. This form of prayer is reminiscent of Calvin’s 1542 order, excepting that it speaks of God’s majesty in a far more restrained manner.⁶⁴⁶ Before God’s majesty man confesses that he is sinner. The Lithuanian prayer moves far beyond this to speak of sin chiefly as an insult to Divine majesty. The Divine majesty is mentioned no less than three times. Knowledge of God should lead to a proper regard for his majesty. Failure to acknowledge it is the basis of all disobedience to his will and commandments. This runs in line with Calvinist notions concerning God’s sovereignty and man’s sin against it. God is ruler of all

⁶⁴³ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 27-28; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 35-37.

⁶⁴⁴ *Agenda* 1637, 104-106.

⁶⁴⁵ *Akt usługi* 1644, 23-24.

⁶⁴⁶ *Thompson* 1972, 197.

things, and man's sin consists chiefly in his unwillingness to acknowledge this and bow down before him and live lawfully as his creature. The new life given by the Holy Spirit shows itself in the fruits of willing obedience to this sovereign.

The other pattern is seen in the Minor Polish orders, of which Kraiński's liturgy is a primary example. His pattern appears to be quite unusual. Instead of beginning with a confession of sins, Kraiński goes to great lengths to describe God as the initiator of a new covenant in Christ and Christ's willingness to suffer and die for our forgiveness. Man's sin consists in his rejection of this covenant. In short, man has sinned against the Gospel and left himself bereft of aid. The Gospel becomes the occasion of even greater and more damning sin than man knew under the terms of the old covenant. God has sent his Son and man has turned from him in rejection. All that is left for man is to plead for undeserved mercy on the basis of God's characteristic goodness. It must be noted that it is on the basis of the attribute of God rather than the sufferings and death of Christ that man calls upon him to forgive.

All prayers of confession ask for the gift of the Holy Spirit to teach God's will and provide worthiness to those who approach the holy table. The Holy Spirit is the only one who can join people to Christ. There is no immediate connection with him through his word or the means of grace, for these can only point beyond themselves. It is the Holy Spirit alone who is understood to provide the possibility of communion between Christ in heaven and worshipers on earth. This is clearly articulated in the prayer which contrasts sinful man and the heavenly city to which he dare not look. Therefore the invocation of the Holy Spirit becomes a key element, both in the preparation and the reception.

Declaration of Forgiveness. The Reformed rites do not seem to have been of one mind with regard to what is traditionally called the absolution. In the case of Oecolampadius (1526) confession of sins is followed by an absolution more or less according to the traditional pattern. First, Oecolampadius speaks of faith which believes in the forgiveness of sins, and then he declares absolution to those who believe this on the

basis of the fact that they believe it.⁶⁴⁷ It seems almost reminiscent of Luther – “Be it done for you as you have believed.”⁶⁴⁸ Bucer’s absolution or word of comfort in the Strassburg liturgy (1539) follows the pattern of Oecolampadius. Absolution is offered on the basis of the words of Paul from 1 Timothy 1:15: “...Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.”⁶⁴⁹ Bucer calls upon the congregation to acknowledge this into their hearts and believe in Christ. On this basis he proclaims the absolution. Calvin’s Strassburg order of 1545 announces the absolution to those who ask for God’s mercy in the name of Jesus. Those who repent, humble themselves before God, and acknowledge that God wishes to be gracious to them in Christ are absolved. “I declare that the forgiveness of sins is effected.”⁶⁵⁰

We see the same struggle with the absolution in the Lithuanian and Polish liturgies. Indeed, the Lithuanians make it known that the term absolution is distasteful to them, since it puts them in mind of the Catholicism which they have rejected. They prefer to speak of words of comfort and encouragement to be offered to those who have acknowledged their sins. The 1581 and 1621 orders speak such encouragement to those who trust in God and believe that he is merciful. Such people need no word of absolution, for they are already forgiven on the basis of their faith in God’s mercifulness and his promises of forgiveness.⁶⁵¹

The Minor Poles continue to speak of absolution. Kraiński in 1599 rite refers to the absolution as an instance of the exercise of the keys to heaven given to the apostles.⁶⁵² The minister exercises the keys as a steward of God’s mysteries to the benefit of those who truly and earnestly repent, believe in Christ’s merit, promise whole hearted amendment of life, intend to practice charity toward their neighbors, and forgive

⁶⁴⁷ Thompson 1972, 213.

⁶⁴⁸ *Die Bekenntnisschriften* 1956, 519. English translation quoted from: *The Book of Concord* 1959, The Small Catechism: V, 28.

⁶⁴⁹ Thompson 1972, 170.

⁶⁵⁰ Thompson 1972, 198.

⁶⁵¹ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, biiij; *Forma albo porządek* 1621,74-75.

⁶⁵² Absolution in Kraiński’s 1599 agenda is titled: “Opowiedanie odpuszczenia grzechow” (“Declaration of the Forgiveness of Sins”). Other Polish agendas use term “rozgrzeszenie” (absolution).

them the wrongs they have done. To such as these he declares God's grace, forgiveness of sins, and eternal life in the home of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. Specific mention is made of the promise given to the apostles in John 20 verse 23: "Whose sins you forgive..."⁶⁵³ This pattern, though greatly shortened, is found again in the 1602 and 1614 liturgies. By the power of the keys the minister and steward of God's mysteries announces to those who confess their sins the mercy of God, forgiveness of sins, and life everlasting in the name of Triune God.⁶⁵⁴

The 1637 and 1644 orders divide the office of absolution into two sections: coming to the absolution and the proclamation of the absolution. In the first part those who intend to attend the sacrament are admonished to believe that God forgives them because they have asked for forgiveness, and Christ has promised that what they asked the Father in his name, they will receive. That this faith may be strengthened and trust made more sure, they must listen and hearken to the words which the steward of God's mysteries speaks to exercise the keys. The minister describes himself as standing in the place of Christ, announcing to the faithful and truly penitent that God has forgiven them all their sins for the sake of his dear Son and granting them permission to partake of this holy table and inherit eternal life. All this is effectively proclaimed with the help of the heavenly kingdom in the name of Triune God.⁶⁵⁵

In the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed liturgies we see no traditional Western absolution. Even where traditional terminology such as 'in the place of Christ,' 'the power of the keys' is employed, the word of forgiveness is never spoken of as a word which gives forgiveness. Instead there is a statement that God is merciful under certain circumstances and people are encouraged to believe that these circumstances

⁶⁵³ "Ták yia teraz / będąc słułą Christusowym / á száfárzem táiemnic Bożych / porządnie od kościoła Bożego posłánym ná ten urząd Apostolski / wam wszystkim co się sercem do pána Bogá návraćacie / zá grzechy swoje żáluiecie / grzeszyć woley nie macie / niegodnośswą znaćie / bliźniemu wszystko odpuszczacie / żywotá poprawę obiecuiecie / w zasłudze Christusowey ufácie / opowiedam łáskę Bożą / odpuszczenie grzechow / y żywot wieczny / w imię Oycá / y syná / y ducha świętego." *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 158-159.

⁶⁵⁴ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 29; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 37.

⁶⁵⁵ *Agenda* 1637, 104-107-108; *Akt usługi* 1644, 24-26.

are true for them. As we particularly noted in the liturgies of 1637 and 1644, the purpose of the word is understood to be to encourage and strengthen believers that God's mercy is extended to them and at the same time to encourage them to live lives by which God's forgiveness may be worthily received. Such forgiveness no man can offer, but God alone, because in the Reformed understanding the words of man cannot be the effective instrument of God's grace. They can only be an earthly sign which points toward heavenly reality. In this regard the Poles and Lithuanians do not differ, though the Poles continue to use traditional terms such as 'absolution' (*rozgrzeszenie*).

Confession of Faith. Historically the confession of faith stands as a safeguard, bearing witness to what the church has ever believed, taught, and confessed concerning God on the basis of the words of the prophets and apostles and, most particularly, the words of Christ Jesus himself. The ancient symbols self-consciously confess this faith faithfully and compendiously. In the Western tradition, the Nicene Creed came into the Mass only in the Middle Ages: first in France and finally in Rome, where its inclusion with the Western addition of the *filioque* became the occasion of the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.⁶⁵⁶ In Reformation liturgies it came to be placed by Zwingli (only in *Epicheiresis* of 1523) and Luther in *Deutsche Messe* (1526) after the reading of the Gospel, as a summary of Biblical teaching. The Lutheran Church orders follow the lead of Luther, and in agreement with them are *The Book of Common Prayer* of 1549 and 1552.⁶⁵⁷

The Nicene Creed was not a familiar feature of continental Reformed liturgies. Among the Reformed the Apostles' Creed was ordinarily used. Zwingli in his 1525 order places it after the reading of the Gospel and Oecolampadius (1526) at the very beginning of the service after the initial admonition. In Bucer's 1537 liturgy it comes after the collection of alms, immediately before the prayer of intercession. Calvin in 1542 Geneva and 1545 Strassburg orders places it before the Words of Institution.⁶⁵⁸ We do not find creeds in Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* of 1550.

⁶⁵⁶ Jungmann I 1986, 469.

⁶⁵⁷ Jasper & Cuming 1990, 183; Thompson 1972, 132, 248, 272.

⁶⁵⁸ Thompson 1972, 153, 172, 204, 211.

The Lithuanian 1581 and 1621 agendas follow the pattern established by Lasco and do not provide a confession of faith. It appears in Kraiński's 1599 order after the declaration of forgiveness and all subsequent Polish agendas follow this pattern, linking confession of faith with the confession of sins. It is an innovation, and perhaps not inappropriate, that the congregation having confessed its sins and having heard the word of forgiveness now confesses its faith in the forgiving God. The 1599 agenda provides two options. The first is the traditional Western version of the Apostles' Creed, set to the Gregorian tone. The second option is somewhat startling. It is not a second versified setting of the Apostles' Creed, but Luther's *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott* of 1524, which is based upon the plainsong melody.⁶⁵⁹ The pattern is followed again in the 1602 and 1614 agendas. Subsequent liturgies in 1637 and 1644 no longer offered the option of Luther's hymn setting of the Nicene Creed, leaving only the Apostles' Creed in general use.⁶⁶⁰

Perhaps one reason why the Minor Polish Reformed chose to make use of Luther's versification of the Nicene Creed can be found in the second stanza which deals with the person and work of Christ. The occasion for the composition of the Nicene Creed in the period from 325 A.D. to 461 A.D. was the Arian heresy. The Arians had erred concerning the divinity of the Son. The Polish Reformed needed to address very similar errors in their own church from the very beginning of its existence. Anti-Trinitarians, Socinians, and others had caused controversies, dissensions, and heretical divisions because of their departure from the traditional Western teaching concerning Christ. Luther's simple and singable exposition of classical Christology was found to be very helpful in promoting a suitable understanding of this controverted article.

Furthermore, at this time the Polish Reformed were making overtures to the Lutherans to join with them in the production of a common agenda, and the inclusion of Luther's version of Nicene Creed may

⁶⁵⁹ The wording of Polish translation depart only slightly from Luther's text, calling Christ the Lamb of God and confessing his present Kingship.

⁶⁶⁰ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 159-162; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 29-31; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 37-40; *Agenda* 1637, 108-110; *Akt usługi* 1644, 26-27.

have been related to this invitation. We find the same options offered in the 1602 agenda; it was this agenda which marked the overt invitation of the Polish Reformed at their church-wide convocation in October, 1603, at Belżyce to formally invite the Lutherans and the Bohemian Brethren to join with them in collecting and evaluating the Reformed, Lutheran, and Bohemian Brethren liturgies and hymnals for the purpose of preparing a common worship book.

Prayer toward the Words of Christ. All Polish and Lithuanian orders include the report of Christ's Words over the bread and cup in the night of his betrayal. In every case this recital is preceded by a prayer. At first glance the 1637 order seems to have omitted such a prayer, but upon closer examination we find it conjoined to the confession of sins.

We find prayers before the Words of Christ in the medieval Roman rite and in Reformation liturgies, with the important exception of Luther's rite. The medieval Roman rite surrounded the Words of Christ with a series of short prayers which asked for the blessing of the bread and the wine, as a holy and spotless sacrifice offered for the benefit of the church, for all faithful and devout living and dead, that the sacrifice being offered might be acceptable to God and provide deliverance from eternal damnation. We see here a clear link between the prayers and the Words of Christ over the bread and cup. The celebrating priest prays that this sacrifice, which the church now offers, might be united with the sacrifice that Christ has offered, and that as Christ once offered his body and blood, so the church might now do the same for her own benefit and the benefit of all the faithful. After the Words of Christ, further prayers ask that this sacrifice might benefit the living and the departed.⁶⁶¹

All of the Reformers rejected the notion of an unbloody repetition of the sacrifice of Christ body and blood articulated in these prayers. With the exception of Luther, Reformers on the continent and in the British Islands generally sought to retain the practice of a special prayer before the Christ's Testamentary Words. However, there was no common notion as to the scope or contents of such a prayer. Zwingli in his 1523 order replaced the canon with prayers which remember the sacrifice

⁶⁶¹ *Thompson 1972, 73-77.*

of Christ and his proclamation of himself to be our food and drink. Bucer in his 1539 order replaced the canon with a number of prayers from which the minister has to make a selection or he might create his own. Other Reformers did not feel the need to imitate the medieval shape, but simply to provide some appropriate word of prayer before the Words of Christ. In some cases this prayer bears no close relation to the Words of Christ, but take as its theme worthy reception, worthy Christian living, humble access, and related subjects. This is especially true of those Reformers for whom Christ's Words do not serve as words of consecration.⁶⁶²

One of the patterns for later prayers in Central Europe is found in the liturgy of Johannes a Lasco 1550. It is the prayer which precedes the historical narrative of Christ's Supper. The Lithuanians followed this model in the 1581 and later agendas. The prayer begins by noting that the people have assembled to remember Christ's death of the cross. This remembrance is understood to be the object of Christ's command 'do this,' namely, he wishes that his death be remembered in the church. Further, this celebration confirms the union of this particular congregation with the universal church. This is accomplished by the work of the Holy Spirit as the people are prompted to consider the goodness of God's Son, so thereby their faith is increased and they receive grace for eternal life. What is lacking in the 1621 order is the second section of the old 1581 prayer, which asks that those who eat and drink in this Supper may receive benefit to their souls as they acknowledge God to be their God and Father, so that through the blood of God's Son they are made to be blessed sons of God. It is clear here that it is not the eating of the bread and drinking of the wine that occupies the central place, but rather the mental activity of recalling the death of Christ and meditating upon it to the increase of faith and union with the church. Such can of course take place apart from eating and drinking. The eating and drinking may be regarded as secondary to the spiritual activity of remembering the passion of Christ. More important than the Words of Christ over

⁶⁶² *Jasper & Cuming* 1990, 184, 206-211, 237-238.

the bread and cup are the spiritual fruits of the work of Christ on the cross. Bread and wine cannot effectively communicate such gifts.⁶⁶³

We see in the Polish orders a stronger association between the Supper and the Words of Christ. The Polish agendas ask in this prayer that Christ be present in his words with power to consecrate the bread and the wine, as he did for his disciples, that the participants in the Supper might worthily receive Christ's body and blood. This emphasis, which first appears in Kraiński's 1599 liturgy, is found in all subsequent Minor Polish agendas. Kraiński placed this prayer after the historical recitation of the Last Supper, but before the repetition of Christ's Words over the bread and cup. In 1637 agenda the prayer was connected to the confession.⁶⁶⁴ This seemed out of place liturgically, and the 1644 rite restored this prayer to its original place.⁶⁶⁵ In 1602 and 1614 the prayer precedes the Words of Christ as would appear fitting for a prayer of consecration.

Such a prayer of consecration seems quite unusual in a continental Reformed liturgies, since bread and wine cannot be regarded as bearers of heavenly blessing. Yet these consecratory words to the same effect are found in the Minor Polish orders:

“Even now God's people, coming to the Lord's table, rising hearts to heaven, we ask the most high Bishop and Lord Jesus Christ that he would be present with his godly power at his Holy Action, we ask that he himself would consecrate this bread and wine and that he would make us worthy and acceptable to eat his body and drink his blood. This we do kneeling and praying: O worthy of praise, most high Lord Jesus Christ, pastor and bishop of our souls, we humbly ask you to consecrate with your word this bread and this wine, as you consecrated it for the disciples, when you sat together with them at the table.”⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶³ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bv; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 75.

⁶⁶⁴ *Agenda* 1637, 105-106.

⁶⁶⁵ *Akt usługi* 1644, 28-29.

⁶⁶⁶ “Już teraz ludu Boży przystępując do stołu Bożego / podnaszając serce ku niebu / prośmy najwyższego Biskupa Páná Jezu Christá / áby przy tym Akcie świętym raczył być obecnym mocą bostwá swego świętego: prośmy go áby nam ten chleby

The prayer is further clarified beginning with 1614 liturgy with the addition of these words: "...that when you have consecrated them they might be to us the sacrament of your holy body and blood."⁶⁶⁷ Additionally, in the 1614 agenda it is noted that any remaining consecrated bread and wine are to be consumed.⁶⁶⁸

We must now address the question of the meaning of these formulas in the context of the Reformed theological tradition. In order to correctly understand the petition: "...consecrate this bread and this wine with your word,"⁶⁶⁹ we must determine how these words are to be understood from the Reformed perspective. Are we to understand that the bread and wine are here identified with the body and blood of the Lord? If so, how does this differ from Luther's doctrine that the bread is the body and the wine is the blood, in contradiction to the Reformed dictum: *finitum non capax infiniti*?

Ulrich Zwingli eschewed the notion of the consecration of the bread and wine and regarded it as a Catholic peculiarity which must be repudiated. For him it went hand in hand with the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation. Further, he stated that the consecration of the bread and wine is in no case necessary, since earthly elements cannot bring spiritual and saving benefits. He is philosophically bound to insist upon discontinuity between the earthly elements and the body and blood of Christ, which are locally found only at the right hand of the Father in heaven. This set the pattern of thought which would become a distinctive mark of Reformed theology and its liturgical expression. Those who are regarded as Zwingli's theological descendants have taken great care to speak of the body and blood of Christ in a way which does not

to wino sam poświęcił / y áby nas godne y sposobne uczynił do używania ciała swego / y do picia krwi swoiey. Co uczynmy poklękawszy: Tak się modlmy. O Chwalebny / á nawyższy Pásterzu Biskupie dusz nászych / Pánie Jezu Chryste... **prosimy cię nędznicy / poświęć nam ten chleb y to wino słowem twoim / iákoś poświęcił uczniom swoim / siedząc z nimi zá stołem.**" *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 167-168. English translation by writer.

⁶⁶⁷ "Zeby nam były te dáry zá poświęceniem Sáktámentem ciała ir krwi twoiey światey." *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 42.

⁶⁶⁸ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 55.

⁶⁶⁹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 167-168.

identify them with the bread and wine. Luther in his 1527 essay *That These Words of Christ, "This is my Body," etc.* groups Zwingli together with Karlstadt and Johannes Oecolampadius (1482-1531), saying that all three are agreed that Christ's Words do not mean what they seem to say.⁶⁷⁰ Whether primary attention is focused on 'this' or 'is' or 'my body,' the outcome is the same – the finite element is understood to be incapable of communicating the body of Christ. In his major study *This is my body* Hermann Sasse observes:

“... Zwingli and all Reformed Churches reject the idea that the elements are consecrated by reciting the Words of Christ. In fact, for Zwingli as for Karlstadt, the Lutheran idea of a consecration of bread and wine was a sure proof that Luther's understanding of the sacrament was still Papist, and the Reformed Churches have followed Zwingli in this verdict, whatever their opinion on Zwingli's theology otherwise may be. This is born out by the fact that none of the classical liturgies of the Reformed Churches contains a consecration in the proper sense. The Words of Institution are rather understood as a historical narrative addressed to the people.”⁶⁷¹

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

Luther understands the Words of Institution and their power to consecrate from a different perspective. For Luther, the Words of Christ must be taken as they stand; their meaning is not determined on the basis of philosophical notions concerning the relationship between heaven and earth, God and man, spiritual and material. Christ's power

⁶⁷⁰ *Luther's works* 1961, 41-42.

⁶⁷¹ *Sasse* 1959, 164-165.

to accomplish his presence by the power of his Word is not to be denied because of our inability to explain it, or because our philosophical position forbids it. The Words retain forever the same power as when Christ first spoke them. These Words of Christ now spoken by the priest have the same result as when Christ first spoke them in the presence of the disciples. The sacramental union is accomplished by the Words of Christ spoken over the bread and wine. Before the consecrating Words of Institution the bread is mere bread and the cup is mere wine. However, by virtue of the Words of Christ the bread and wine are consecrated to be the body and the blood of Christ.

“This his command and institution can and does bring it about that we do not distribute and receive ordinary bread and wine but his body and blood, as his words read, ‘This is my body,’ etc., ‘This is my blood,’ etc. Thus it is not our word or speaking but the command and ordinance of Christ that, from the beginning of the first Communion until the end of the world, make the bread the body and the wine the blood that are daily distributed through our ministry and office.”⁶⁷²

The *Formula of Concord*, Article Seven, states that it is simply restating Luther’s position when it says:

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

⁶⁷² *Die Bekenntnisschriften* 1956, 999. English translation quoted from: *The Book of Concord* 1959, Formula of Concord: 2, VII, 77.

still active through the spoken words by the virtue of the first institution, which he wants to be repeated.⁶⁷³

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

Where are Kraiński and the redactors of the subsequent Minor Polish agendas to be placed in this theological and liturgical spectrum? We have seen that in these liturgies the minister calls upon God to consecrate the sacrament by the power of Christ's own Word. This word can only be understood to be the Word which Christ spoke over the bread and wine in the first Supper. This is consistent with the provisions of the 1599 liturgy, which includes not only the traditional historical recitation of the Testament (1 Corinthians 11:23-29) but also provides for the additional recitation of the Words of Christ over the bread and cup before distribution. It is seen clearly in the directive of the 1614 agenda that the Words of Christ should be spoken over new supplies.

A closer examination of this prayer and of the Reformed understanding of the discontinuity between the earthly elements and the heavenly gifts leads us to understand that the consecration of the bread and wine cannot be regarded as making them the bearers of the body and blood of Christ, a notion completely foreign to Reformed thought. Christ's earthly body is in heaven and cannot be locally present in the bread and wine, and bread itself cannot be the bearer of Christ's body, according to the principal *finitum non capax infiniti*. Close study of the words

⁶⁷³ *Die Bekenntnisschriften* 1956, 998. English translation quoted from: *The Book of Concord* 1959, Formula of Concord: 2, VII, 74.

of the prayer reveal the scope and purpose of the consecration. Bread and wine are consecrated to be the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; that is, they are visible signs which point toward the body which was broken on the cross and the blood which was shed for sinners. These alone convey the grace of God. In other words, this prayer asks that this bread and wine might be a special, sacramental bread and wine which point heavenward, toward the body and blood of the Lord. The prayer asks that those who receive the outward signs may be worthy to partake in faith of the heavenly body and blood.

In this context the use of the term consecration may be misleading, since this term traditionally is associated with the setting apart of bread and wine by the Words of Christ to be themselves his body and blood and the instruments of God's gracious blessing. Here the word 'consecration' is put to a different use, as we have seen. This Reformed theology is well articulated in the *Confession of Sandomierz* 1570, the official Lithuanian and Polish Reformed interpretation of the *Sandomierz Consensus* 1570. Following the theology of Bullinger's *Second Helvetic Confession* of 1566, the *Sandomierz Confession* says of the consecration ('*poświęcenie*') of the sacrament that when the Word of God is added to the earthly elements, they are Christ's body and blood.⁶⁷⁴ In common with the Western tradition great emphasis is placed on the power of the Words of Christ to consecrate bread and wine, but the elements thus consecrated are in no case regarded as themselves bearers of those heavenly realities toward which they point.

With the exception of the Church of England, in which conservative Catholic theology continued to struggle with other positions during this period, the use of the term 'consecration' never became a common us-

⁶⁷⁴ "Ale gdy do nich przystąpi słowo Pańskie / przez ktore tę Pan postanowić y poświęcić raczył / iuż tako we rzecz sstawają sie święthem / y od Krystusa Pána wyswiadszonemi upominkami / iż wodą we Krzcie iuż iest omyciem odrodzenia / á chleb y wino ná Wieczerzy Pańskye iuż iest ciało y krew Pańska. Ałowiem słowo Pańskye y ona pirwsza ustawa Świętości zupełną y skuteczną moc w sobye ma / y teraz y káždego wieku ludziom, waży ono pirwsze Pańskye poświęcenie / gdzye sie wedle postanowienia iego przy Świętościach spráwuyą." *Confessia* 1570, kiiij.

age in Reformed Churches.⁶⁷⁵ The Polish Reformed Church was one of the few churches to make use of such terminology which gives consecratory significance to the Words of Institution. We do however find such terminology in liturgies proposed for use in the Church of Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century. These exhibit a high view of the Words of Institution. In the Scottish *Booke of Common Prayer* of 1618, prepared by Bishop William Cowper (1568-1619) of Galloway, the Words of Institution are repeated after the Lord's Prayer for the purpose of 'consecrating the elements.' "The prayer ended, the minister shall repeat the Words of Institution for consecrating the elements, and say: 'The Lord Jesus the same night ...'"⁶⁷⁶ The 1637 Scottish *The Book of Common Prayer* provoked a negative reaction among the Reformed in Scotland by its inclusion of a prayer of consecration in which the Epiclesis asks that "... the gifts and creatures of bread and wine ... may be unto us the body and blood ..." It is followed immediately by the Words of Institution and manual acts.⁶⁷⁷ The Reformed regarded this practice as imitative of Roman Catholic practice – "It hath the popish consecration, that the Lord would sanctify by his Word and by his Holy Spirit, these gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of his Son, and then repeat the Words of Institution to God for that purpose."⁶⁷⁸ The Poles do not appear to have

⁶⁷⁵ Even in England, however, the emphasis on consecration did not long prevail. The First Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549) included a formal consecration; however in the 1552 English *Prayer Book* the consecration of the elements was replaced by a simpler prayer for the setting apart of the bread and wine for a 'holy use.' *Dix* 1949, 670-671.

⁶⁷⁶ *Coena Domini I* 1983, 484.

⁶⁷⁷ "Then the Presbyter, standing up, shall say the prayer of consecration, as followeth. But then, during the time of consecration, he shall stand at such apart of the Holy Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands. {...} Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son; so that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Savior Jesus Christ's Holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of the same his most precious body and blood: (The Words of Institution followed)." *Coena Domini I* 1983, 410-411.

⁶⁷⁸ *Coena Domini I* 1983, 467 fn.10.

reacted negatively to the use of the term ‘consecration,’ and this is a unique element in their liturgies.

Christ’s Testamentary Words. The Testamentary Words of Christ always occupied a predominant place in the Western tradition. Indeed, we find no Western rite in which these Words are not found. They are regarded as the Words which institute the sacrament and their recitation is regarded as consecratory: the bread and wine of the Super are consecrated by the officiating priest’s recitation over them of Christ’s Words: “This is my body...,” “This cup is the New Testament of my blood...”

In the medieval rites these Words are spoken aloud, but in a very low voice, because of their great power. As early as his *Formula Missae* Luther insists that these Words should be clearly and audibly heard to all worshipers who are present. In the *Deutsche Messe* he provides for their recitation according to the chant tone used for the recitation of the Holy Gospel. No bread or wine is to be distributed to communicants over which the Words of Christ have not been spoken or sung, so that none may doubt that they are receiving what Christ intends them to receive - his very body and blood in the consecrated bread and wine.⁶⁷⁹

Not all Reformers agreed concerning the significance of the consecratory power of Christ’s Words, or the significance of their recitation in the Lord’s Supper. Zwingli in his 1523 order includes the Words of Christ within a prayer which concludes each of the four alternative prayers which he provides as substitutes for the Roman Canon. His 1525 order includes the recitation of the traditional *Verba* beginning with the words “...on the night that he was betrayed...” (1 Corinthians 11:23-25) under the heading: “The way Christ instituted his Supper.”⁶⁸⁰ This may be said to form the model for subsequent Reformed liturgies, which regard the recitation of institution as an historical narrative of the circumstances and manner in which Christ instituted his Supper. Zwingli notes that after this recitation those designated as servers are to convey the unleavened bread to the worshipers that each may take a

⁶⁷⁹ Well known is Luther’s judgment against Simon Wolfrinus who was said to have given bread and wine not consecrated in this manner. He adjudged him to be a Zwinglian.

⁶⁸⁰ *Thompson* 1972, 154.

portion of it and, following that, the cup that each may drink of it. Bucer in his 1539 order places the Words of Christ (1Corinthians 11:23-25) after the exhortation to set the scene historically. After the recitation he exhorts the people to believe in Christ and proclaim his death. So saying, he distributes the bread and wine.⁶⁸¹ Calvin in both his Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders chooses to give the larger context of the institution by quoting the words of Paul from the 1 Corinthians 11, beginning at verse 23: “I have received of the Lord...” The recitation continues through verse 29, making it even more clear that this is an historical remembrance, not a consecration. Calvin follows the practice begun by Oecolampadius in his 1526 order.⁶⁸² This would now become standard practice in most continental Reformed liturgies, as we see in Lasco’s *Forma ac Ratio* 1550.⁶⁸³

The full text of 1 Corinthians 11:23-29 is found in the Lithuanian and Polish orders 1581, 1599, 1602, 1621, 1614, and in the 1644 service it appears in the second of two options. Only the Gdańsk Book (1637) and the first option in the 1644 book omit the larger context in favor of the traditional wording: “Our Lord Jesus Christ...” (1 Corinthians 11:23-25).⁶⁸⁴ The 1637 book was produced for use in both Poland and Lithuania, but the Lithuanians found in it not much to their liking. Therefore the 1644 book returned to the earlier pattern and provided the fuller Pauline text as an option. The historical character is noted by the Words of Institution, provided in all the liturgies. The Lithuanians in 1581 and 1621 books make use of the introductory formula built upon Calvin’s Geneva and Strassburg liturgies: “Let us hear how Jesus Christ instituted his Holy Supper for us, as Paul relates it in the eleventh chapter of 1 Corinthians...”⁶⁸⁵ Kraiński’s Polish order of 1599 provides a fuller introduction. He notes that the holy evangelists give us the record of the institution, but most comprehensive is the report given

⁶⁸¹ *Thompson* 1972, 177.

⁶⁸² *Thompson* 1972, 186, 214.

⁶⁸³ *Kuyper II* 1866, 161.

⁶⁸⁴ *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; *Akt usługi* 1644, 29-32.

⁶⁸⁵ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bv.

by the apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 11, to which the worshipers should now listen carefully with pious hearts. Thus the traditional pattern of including Christ's Words is honored, but it takes on a wholly different significance. The words, which of course are merely human sounds, are incapable of consecrating bread and wine to make them bearers of heavenly blessing.

Kraiński was not satisfied that Christ's Words should be spoken as part of the historical recitation of the historical narrative of the Supper in the upper room. In his 1599 order he decided to repeat Christ's Words over the bread and cup later in the section, titled: "Blessing, Breaking, Distributing, and Eating." First the words of Paul: "The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ" (1 Corinthians 10:16b) are recited with a strong voice. Following this, the minister says the Words of Christ found in Luke 22:19: "Our Lord Jesus Christ when he went to his suffering and when he seated himself together with his disciples at Supper, as the holy evangelists say, he took bread (the minister takes bread) and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying: 'This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.'" The minister distributes the bread. After the minister speaks the words of Paul over the cup: "The cup of blessing which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ," (1 Corinthians 10:16a). Then he repeats the Words of Christ found in Luke 22:20 and 1 Corinthians 11:25: "After Supper, as St. Luke says, [he] took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them saying, 'Drink, all of you, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. Do this, as often you drink it, in remembrance of me.'" He then distributes the cup.⁶⁸⁶ This rather strange liturgical practice appears to have no precedent in the Western liturgical tradition, but for Kraiński this was the best way to resolve the tension between traditional notions of consecration and the Reformed understanding of the Words of Christ as a historical recitation. It is hard to escape the impression that Kraiński regarded Christ's Words spoken over the bread and wine as important words. This impression is further strengthened by Kraiński's directive

⁶⁸⁶ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1599*, 173-174.

that the formula he has given should be repeated over any additional bread and wine.

The 1614 agenda also appears to give consecratory significance to recitation of Christ's Testament. A regulation is included which directs that if the minister needs more bread he should take the bread into his hands and recite these words from 1 Corinthians 11: "Our Lord Jesus Christ took the bread; and when he had given thanks broke it, and gave it to the apostles, saying: 'Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.'" The same action should be repeated with the cup: "Our Lord Jesus Christ took the cup; and when he had given thanks gave it to the apostles, saying: 'Drink this, all of you, this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. Do this, as often you drink it, in remembrance of me.'"⁶⁸⁷ The consumption of any consecrated elements which might remain after the distribution is also called for.⁶⁸⁸

The 1599 and 1614 agendas clearly move beyond the normal provisions found in Reformed liturgies, but we must not overestimate these divergences. Here as elsewhere Kraiński wants to associate himself with the universal Western tradition, which gives prominence to the Words of Christ. This does not nullify his Reformed understanding that consecratory power can only be ascribed to the words which Christ spoke in the upper room at the first Supper. The words spoken on that occasion consecrate forever the bread and wine distributed to communicants in every subsequent Communion celebration.⁶⁸⁹ The recitation of those words in each individual celebration is an active commemoration, re-

⁶⁸⁷ "A ieśliby nie stało ná Pátynie Sákrámentu ciáła Páńskiego, przestawszy śpiewać, wzięwszy chleb, będzie głośnie mowił te słowa Ewangelistów świętych: Pan Jezus Krystus wziął chleb / á podziękowawszy łamał / y dawał Apostołm / mowiąc: Bierzcie / iedźcie / Toć jest ciáło moje / ktore się zá was dawa. To czyńcie ná pamiątkę moię... Tákże ieśliby nie stało w Kielichu Sákrámentu krwi Páńskiej, wzięwszy Kielich, będzie mowił te słowa Ewangelistów świętych: Pan Jezus Krystus wzięwszy Kielich / y podziękowawszy dał Apostołom / mowiąc: Piyicie z niego wszyscy. Abowiem to jest krew moia / ktora jest nowego Przymierza / ktora się zá wiele ich wylewa ná odpuszczenie grzechow. To czyńcie ilekroć pić będziecie ná moię pamiątkę." *Porządek nabożeństwa 1614*, 51.

⁶⁸⁸ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1614*, 55.

⁶⁸⁹ *Confessia 1570*, lii.

calling the original event and Christ's powerful Words. This conforms to his Reformed understanding that mere human words spoken by a man have no power to consecrate even though the man is quoting the Words of Christ, for here as elsewhere earthly things cannot be bearers of heavenly grace or power. The consuming of the remaining elements called for by the 1614 agenda is described in that book as a traditional act. The act in itself says nothing about the nature of the food and drink being consumed.

Explanation of Mystery of Lord's Testament. A feature that regularly appears in the liturgies we are examining is an exposition of the mystery of the Supper. Only the liturgy of 1621 lacks such an exposition. Although the 1581, 1637, and 1644 orders devote a separate section to the consideration of the nature of the Supper, most of the liturgies include it in the section which gives the historical recitation of the institution of the Supper.

The explanation of the Testament is innovative in Western liturgies. We find nothing like it among the prayers which constitute the Roman Canon. Luther and the majority of Lutheran Church orders have only the Words of Christ with no introductory formula or exposition. Roman Catholics and Lutherans did not include explanatory words because their understandings of the Words of Christ do not require special comment. In Roman Catholicism the bread is believed to become the body of Christ, and in Lutheran theology the body of Christ is said to be present in and under the earthly form of the bread.

Within the Reformed tradition, with its understanding of discontinuity between the heavenly body and blood and the earthly creatures of bread and wine, an exposition of the mystery seems highly appropriate, for the recitation of Christ's Words must not become the occasion of misunderstanding. The beginnings of this practice are found already in Zwingli's *Action or Use of the Lord's Supper* of 1525. Here the words of explanation precede the Testamentary Words. Zwingli says that Christ commands that the people should eat the bread and drink the cup to commemorate, praise, and give thanks for the death he suffered for

them and for the shedding of his blood by which their sins are washed away.⁶⁹⁰ Bucer in his 1539 agenda speaks of a four fold action of the Supper. Christ communicates his body and blood, so that the people might consider the corruption of their own body and blood. Christ took upon himself flesh and blood that man's flesh and blood might be restored and sanctified, so that the bread might be the communion of his body and the cup the communion of his blood, and that the Lord's memorial might be kept with true devotion and thankful praise. In Bucer's liturgy these words come at the conclusion of the sermon.⁶⁹¹ In Calvin's Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders the Testamentary Words are followed by the solemn excommunication and an exhortation that the worshipers should lift their spirits and hearts on high and not be preoccupied with the earthly and corrupted elements, which they see with their eyes and touch with their hands, for such bread and wine are to serve as signs and witnesses to the nurturing of the soul which the Word of God promises to those who are lifted above earthly things and enter the kingdom of heaven. It is Calvin who most clearly adheres to the sign-nature of the bread and wine. He is concerned lest the people fall into the error of thinking these signs are bearers of God's blessings.⁶⁹² Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* follows the pattern set down by Calvin. However, he adds to it a strong note of warning of the spiritual peril which must be faced by those who would come to the Supper.⁶⁹³ Martin Micron's 1554 Dutch liturgy enlarges upon Lasco's warning.⁶⁹⁴

The words which follow the Testamentary Words in the 1581 Lithuanian liturgy are words of warning. Here the minister speaks of the many and great dangers which must be faced and overcome by those who would rightly keep and use the Lord's Supper. They must be wary lest they be guilty of not discerning the Lord's body and so eat to their damnation. Such discernment is the fruit of sincere self-examination. It enables believers to lift their hearts to heaven by the Holy Spirit to dwell

⁶⁹⁰ Thompson 1972, 153.

⁶⁹¹ Thompson 1972, 171.

⁶⁹² Thompson 1972, 206.

⁶⁹³ *Kuyper II* 1866, 162.

⁶⁹⁴ *Coena Domini I* 1983, 441-445.

there in union with Christ and his members.⁶⁹⁵ Kraiński's 1599 Polish liturgy follows the same pattern, using even stronger language. Christ's Words are a solemn law or commandment which must be taken to be both a consolation and a warning of dire consequences to those who do not heed them. The Holy Spirit warns those who approach, that they may not commune to their judgment and eternal damnation. The final result would be eternal death. Therefore the minister warns that communicants must approach with wholesome dread in accordance with the words of the apostle Paul about unworthy eating and drinking. The minister addresses these words to the conscience of each of those present, that none might fall under this terrible judgment.⁶⁹⁶ The 1602 and 1614 agendas both shortened this exposition and muted it. The Words of Christ are still referred to as law and testament, but we do not see the same unrelenting emphasis on dread and eternal judgment. The bread and wine are signs which awaken and strengthen faith. Christ can be depended upon to give what he has promised, for although heaven and earth shall pass away his promise will remain firm.⁶⁹⁷ The Great Gdańsk Agenda of 1637 and agenda of 1644 speak of the Words of Christ as law and testament, but instead of the extended warnings concerning unworthy eating and drinking found in earlier rites, these agendas speak of the twofold nature of the eating and drinking.

“This is the Testament and command of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which he undoubtedly appointed and commanded that this twofold Supper should be eaten and drunk. The first is holy bread, earthly and visible, which he deigned to take into his holy hands, in order to bless, break, distribute it, and so too with the blessed wine in the cup, which he gave to be consumed by all. The other food and drink are heavenly and unseen, his true body given for us on the cross, and his precious blood, which worthily poured forth

⁶⁹⁵ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bv.

⁶⁹⁶ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 163-165.

⁶⁹⁷ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 35-36; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 45.

from his body for the forgiveness of our sins. This we should believe wholeheartedly.”⁶⁹⁸

Prominent throughout is the understanding that the Words of Christ over the bread and wine are testament and law. They are testament in that they bare witness to the breaking of his body and the shedding of his blood on the cross. It is from the cross that blessings flow. They are the words of law in that they both remind man of his sinful state and of his spiritual jeopardy. The later liturgies mute this aspect in favor of an exposition of the central theological premise of the Reformed theology. In the Words of the Testament Christ designates earthly bread and wine to be signs of the spiritual gifts which are given to believers. Worshipers must know these things, so that they will not place their trust in or give undo attention to the earthly bread and wine, but ascend in heart and mind to communicate with Christ at the right hand of the Father’s throne.

Special attention should be given to the expositions in the 1581 and 1599 liturgies, which speak in dramatic of God’s judgment upon unworthy communicants and seek to instill in the worshipers great dread, lest by their unworthiness they offend God and call down judgment and eternal damnation upon themselves. No words of Gospel comfort are found here. No note of joyful participation or the casting away of earthly cares by those who are made the happy participants in Christ’s banquet is evident. We may picture the scene in the Vilnius Reformed church in 1581 or Kraiński’s Lublin congregation in 1599 marking Communion Sunday as a joyless occasion. All are turned in upon themselves, giving their entire attention to their heroic efforts to be worthy communicants, rather than focusing their attention on the love of God

⁶⁹⁸ “Toć jest Testáment / y ustává Páná nášzego Jezusá Chrystusá / w ktorey niewatpliwie / dwojáki pokarm y napoy miánowác y odkazác nam raczył; jeden źiemski widziálny / miánowicie Chleb święty / ktory Pan w swoje święte ręce wziąć / błogósláwić / łamác / y do pożywánia podác raczył; tákże kielich z winem poświęconym / ktory też wziął Pan / á podziękowawszy / do używánia wszystkim podał. Drugi zaś Pokarm y Napoy niewidziálny á niebieski / jest ciáło jego prawdziwe / zá nas ná śmierć krzyżowa wydane; y krew jego droga / hoynie z ciálá jego wylána / ná odpuszczenie grzechow nászych. Czemu my mocnie wierzyć mamy.” *Agenda* 1637, 112-113. English translation by writer.

communicated through the sufferings and death which Christ so happily took upon himself for man's salvation, and who instituted his Supper for the strengthening of faith and to make glad the hearts of man. Under these circumstances infrequent celebrations of the Holy Communion could only be expected, but undoubtedly when the Supper was celebrated communion attendance was high. For surely all would aspire to be worthy and show themselves to others to be among those whom God had made his own. No pious citizen would turn from the Lord's table, even though aware of his own unworthiness, for fear of judgment and eternal damnation by God, and a loss of esteem in the eyes of others. There can be little doubt that these unrelenting, heavy words provoked a reaction which led the liturgical revisers in 1602 to recast this expository section in somewhat brighter terms.

Invitation to God's Table. At this point the Polish agendas of 1599, 1602, 1614, and 1637 direct that the minister invite the people to the Lord's table according to a pattern of words which are virtually the same in all four cases.⁶⁹⁹ The Lithuanian orders of 1581 and 1621, and the agenda of 1644 place the invitation after the recitation of Paul's words from 1 Corinthians 10 over the bread and cup.⁷⁰⁰ The difference in location is explained by the fact that the Polish orders, beginning with Kraiński's 1599 agenda, are self-consciously following the order of Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* of 1550.⁷⁰¹ Here the invitation precedes the Pauline words, because Lasco in self-conscious imitation of the first Lord's Supper directs that the bread be distributed to all communicants after the Pauline words, before the setting apart of the cup. Lasco puts the invitation first in order to avoid interrupting the flow of the blessing and distribution. If he had placed the invitation after the setting apart of the bread, he would have needed to issue a similar invitation after the setting apart of the cup.

⁶⁹⁹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 169; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 37; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 48; *Agenda* 1637, 115.

⁷⁰⁰ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bv; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 75; *Akt usługi* 1644, 37.

⁷⁰¹ *Kuyper II* 1866, 162.

The Lithuanians did not follow Lasco's directives concerning separate distribution of bread and wine. They chose to follow the traditional pattern according to which bread and wine are blessed and then distributed together. Therefore they placed the invitation immediately before the distribution.

The inclusion of a special invitation to the Lord's table appears to be characteristic of Reformed rites. There are no words of invitation to communion in the medieval Mass, nor can an invitation be found in Luther's orders. In the case of Luther the invitation is found in Christ's Testamentary Words in which Christ's Words to his disciples are understood to apply also to the worshiping congregation.

The Polish invitations exhort those who would come to the Supper to an upright, moral, and virtuous life of piety, faith, and Christian love. Also included are directions which call for the men to come first, followed by married women, and others in turn. The Lithuanian 1581 agenda directs that the newly converted should come first of all and addresses to them three specific questions, concerning their continued firmness in the faith that they have confessed, their certainty that in this gathering God's word is rightly preached and his sacraments rightly administered, and their intention to remain under the discipline of the church. Those who answer in the affirmative are allowed to approach the holy table and share in the gifts.

The Our Father. In most liturgies of the Western tradition the *Pater noster* is included in close connection with the Testamentary Words.⁷⁰² We find no unity of practice in the Polish and Lithuanian orders in this regard. The Polish orders of 1599, 1602, and 1614 place the Lord's Prayer immediately after the invitation to the Lord's table. In 1599 and 1602 it precedes the *Ofiara*, - the statement from 1 Corinthians 5 that "Christ, Our Passover is sacrificed for us..." In 1614 those words have already been spoken and so the minister proceeds immediately to the breaking of the bread. The 1637 agenda places the Our Father before the invitation to the Lord's table. The Lithuanian orders of 1581 and 1621, and order of 1644 places the Our Father after the breaking of

⁷⁰² Jungmann II 1986, 81-90; Graff 1939, 137-138.

the bread and the blessing of the cup. The position of Our Father in the Minor Polish liturgies is explained by the separation of the distribution of the bread and cup.⁷⁰³

The Our Father is a distinctly Christian prayer which those who are conscious of their fellowship and brotherhood in Christ pray together before coming to the common table of fellowship. The emphasis on fellowship and brotherly love is especially strong in the Reformed liturgies. It is the fruit the acknowledgement of Christ's lordship and disciplined obedience within the church.

Words of 1 Corinthians 5. The liturgies of 1581, 1599, 1602, 1614, and 1621 follow the directive set down by Lasco in *Forma ac Ratio*, which calls for the recitation of the words of 1 Corinthians 5:7b, 8: "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast not with the old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."⁷⁰⁴

We are at first perplexed by the inclusion of Paul's words in 1 Corinthians 5 in the Eucharistic setting. It is difficult to understand their appearance at this place. However, there are two key words which make it possible for us to unlock the meaning. The first word is 'Passover.' According to the Reformed understanding, the Lord's Supper is an ordinance of the New Testament given by Christ to replace the ancient ordinance given to Moses by which bread and wine are shared in remembrance of the Passover in Egypt by the Angel of Death. The second significant word is 'offering.' Against the Roman notion that the Mass is an unbloody sacrifice by which Christ is once again offered to the Father, it is understood that Christ's sacrifice is complete and unrepeatable, and therefore the Lord's Supper cannot be a sacrifice in the sense that Roman Catholics understand it to be.

⁷⁰³ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bv; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 169-170; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 37-38; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 48-49; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 75; *Agenda* 1637, 114-115; *Akt usługi* 1644, 35-36.

⁷⁰⁴ *Kuyper II* 1866, 163; *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bv; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 171; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 39; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 46; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 75.

This passage is included in a section of the Reformed rites called 'Ofiara' (offering). Its inclusion here may be understood to be didactic or tutorial, rather than liturgically significant. This estimation may help us understand why the recitation of these words does not appear in the Gdańsk liturgy of 1637, or the subsequent agenda of 1644.

The Preparation of the Elements, their Distribution, and Consumption. Most of the liturgies follow the general pattern set down by Lasco in his *Forma ac Ratio* for the preparation of the bread and wine, its distribution, and its consumption. Lasco prescribed that after the Passover Words from 1 Corinthians 5, the bread to be distributed is to be set apart with the recitation of Paul's words from 1 Corinthians 10: "The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ." The bread is then broken for distribution and each communicant takes a portion. When all have received the bread, Paul's words over the cup are spoken: "The cup of blessing which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ." The minister then distributes the cup. Added in the 1599 rite is the recitation of Christ's Words over the bread and cup, prior to the recital of Paul's words over them. A notable feature in these agendas is the separate distribution of the bread and the cup. This was to become a characteristic feature of all the Minor Polish rites and the liturgy of 1637, with the exception that the breaking of the bread in this rite occurs after the invitation to God's table, since the words from 1 Corinthians 5 are not present.

The Lithuanians, however, did not prefer the practice of a separate communion. They developed a somewhat more detailed pattern of liturgical action in its place. In the liturgies of 1581 and 1621 the Pauline words over the bread are followed immediately by the Paul's words over the cup. Then the minister and congregation pray together the Our Father. It is after the Our Father that the rites place the formal invitation to God's table, concluding with a special Examination of the Neophytes, and a prayer of humble access. Only then comes the distribution of bread and wine together. The protocols of the 1633 Orla convocation show that

when the two distribution traditions met and the delegates considered what course should be followed in the new book, the Lithuanians were most insistent that their traditional pattern of a single distribution of the bread and wine should prevail.⁷⁰⁵ They were astonished when in 1637 they discovered that the Poles and Bohemians had decided to follow the Polish practice of separate communion without their prior knowledge or agreement. It became one of the chief reasons why the Lithuanians rejected the Gdańsk Book. They presented their case at the special Orla convocation in 1644 and insisted that their practice be adopted.⁷⁰⁶ When the 1644 book appeared, the distribution tradition, which the Lithuanians had followed, was restored. The agenda of 1644 begins this section with the Pauline words over the bread, followed by the hymn *Agnus Dei*. Then follows the recitation of the Paul's words over the cup and the singing of the hymn *Nadroższą krwią swoią*. After the minister and congregation pray together the Our Father and the prayer of humble access, and this is followed by the invitation to the Lord's table, as in 1581 and 1621 rites, but without the Examination of the Neophytes. Bread and wine are distributed together. These actions may be described as the heart of the sacrament. We may speak of them as the 'customary usage' of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed tradition.

We use the term 'customary usage' to describe what is integral to the celebration and reception of the Lord's Supper. In Lutheran theology this would be called the Sacramental Action - the consecration (the speaking of Christ's Words over the bread and cup), the distribution, and the eating and drinking of the consecrated elements by the communicants. Lutheran theology would speak of this three-fold action as the essential use or *usum*, outside of which there is no sacrament (*extra usum non sacramentum*).⁷⁰⁷ It is a bit more difficult to describe the *usum* in the Reformed tradition. Here one is confronted by much diversity. Calvin himself includes in his 1542 rite the historical recitation of the Words of Christ's Testament, which may not be described as consecratory. Before communion the worshipers are admonished to lift their

⁷⁰⁵ *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 48.

⁷⁰⁶ *Księga synodów 1636-1678*, 117-118.

⁷⁰⁷ *Schmid* 1961, 530.

hearts and minds on high above all earthly things and attain to heaven where Christ dwells in the Kingdom of God. Then the bread and wine are distributed with the traditional formula. Our description of the ‘customary usage’ in Reformed liturgies is made more difficult by the fact that Calvin’s liturgy does not seem to fall into a pattern in which essential actions can be easily identified. Christ’s Words are spoken to set the scene of the original celebration, but not to set apart or consecrate the bread and wine of the present celebration, nor are Paul’s words over the bread and cup included at all. The ‘customary usage’ is more clearly seen in Lasco’s *Forma ac Ratio*. At the heart of Lasco’s liturgy is the recitation of Paul’s words from 1 Corinthians 10, the distribution of the broken bread and its reception by the people, and the Pauline words over the cup, its distribution and its reception by the people. Indeed these elements appear to be in common use in the greater number of second and third generation Reformed liturgies.

The identification of the elements which comprise the ‘customary usage’ in most of the liturgies are clearly labeled. Kraiński in 1599 and 1602 rite calls this section: “Blessing, Breaking, Distributing, and Eating.”⁷⁰⁸ The term is dropped in 1614 rite and subsequent orders in favor of the title: “Breaking for Distribution and Eating.”⁷⁰⁹ Thus three parts are clearly identified throughout – breaking, distributing, and eating. The bread is broken in imitation of Christ’s action at the first Supper, the bread is distributed that the communicants might have it, and it is consumed in order that thereby commemoration and reception of Christ’s body and blood after a spiritual manner may be effected.

⁷⁰⁸ Central to the Reformed understanding of the celebration of the Lord’s Supper is the notion that the church is to imitate Christ’s actions in the first Supper; that is, in a proper celebration of the Lord’s Supper the church does what Jesus did. Kraiński identifies these basic actions - “Blessing, Breaking, Distributing, and Eating” – as central to the rite, thus anticipating by several hundred years the theses of Dom Gregory Dix, who identifies a classical four fold (or seven fold) shape of the liturgy in his *The Shape of the Liturgy*. In both Kraiński and Dix greater prominence is given to the repetition of Christ’s action than to the repetition of particular prayers or formulas. *Dix* 1949, 48 ff.

⁷⁰⁹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 172; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 40; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 49; *Agenda* 1637, 116; *Akt usługi* 1644, 34.

a) **The Breaking of the Bread and the Blessing of the Cup.** In the early days of the Reformation, the desire was expressed by Luther and later by other Protestant Reformers that the congregations return to the simple form of the Mass, as it was celebrated in the upper room. During the 1520's Luther lost interest in this project because of the lack of clarity in the scriptural texts concerning the outward circumstances and ritual of the meal of the upper room. His interest came quickly to center on Christ's Testamentary Words.⁷¹⁰ Such ceremonial details as the breaking of bread were not for him a matter of importance, because he understood Christ's mandate 'This do' to refer not to liturgical details, but to the eating and the drinking in remembrance of Christ and for the forgiveness of sins.

The breaking of the bread assumed a much greater significance among the Reformed theologians. It was understood to be a significant component of Christ's commandment. Together with eating and drinking, breaking is an object of Christ's commandment, a way in which his passion is remembered, for his body was rent on the cross for man's salvation. This ceremonial detail came to be an important feature of the Reformed celebration of the sacrament, one which was under no circumstances to be omitted, although no verbal formula accompanied it in the earlier Reformed rites. Without a doctrine of real presence importance shifts from the elements to the ceremonial handling of the elements, acts undertaken in obedience to the Words of the Lord. Such acts are symbolic of the fact that the Christian life, life in the church, is a life of unquestioning obedience. Thus what was originally done for utility becomes a matter of highest importance liturgically, so that the church's celebration of the Supper may be conducted in a manner obedient to the Lord's instruction.

Johannes a Lasco carried this process one step further. His desire was that the celebration of Holy Communion should follow as closely

⁷¹⁰ Luther deals with this question at length in *That These Words of Christ, "This Is My Body," ... Still Stand Firm Against the Fanatics* 1527. *Luther's works* 1961, pp. 3 ff. See also *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper* 1528. *Luther's works* 1961, pp. 153 ff. *Admonition Concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Lord* 1530. *Luther's works* 1971, pp. 91 ff.

as possible the form and manner of the first celebration. The congregation should do what Jesus did. A table was set in the midst of the congregation and the communicants seated themselves around it, just as the apostles in the upper room seated themselves at the table with the Lord. The narrative of the original institution was read to set the scene, not to consecrate or set apart the bread and the wine. Other words must be found to designate the special purpose for the distributing and eating of this bread and the drinking of this cup. Lasco found this in the Pauline words concerning the broken bread and the cup of blessing in 1 Corinthians 10, though in a different context.⁷¹¹ It may be said that these words served Lasco as kind of ‘consecratory formula,’ and in this the Lithuanian and Polish liturgies all follow.⁷¹² Paul’s question from 1 Corinthians 10:16b: “The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ” and the words which precede it in 16a: “The cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion of the blood of Christ,” become the occasion of the physical breaking of the bread for distribution and reception and the blessing of the cup and its reception.

b) **Prayer for Right Reception.** Beginning in 1581 agenda, the Lithuanians included, immediately after the Pauline words and the questioning of the neophytes, a prayer for the right reception of the spiritual gifts of Christ’s body and blood.

“O God be merciful unto us your poor, unworthy creatures. O God, by your mercy make us worthy vessels to receive your precious and the most holy body and blood of your Son who was sacrificed for our sake. O Son of God, refresher of our souls, heavenly food, feed us your hungry and exhausted pilgrims with your body and give us to drink of your blood for eternal life.”⁷¹³

⁷¹¹ *Kuyper II* 1866, 163.

⁷¹² *Forma albo porządek* 1581, bv; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 172-173; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 40-41; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 50-51; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 75; *Agenda* 1637, 116-117; *Akt usługi* 1644, 34-35.

⁷¹³ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, c; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 76. English translation by writer.

This prayer did not find its way into the Polish liturgies, and its absence from the Great Gdańsk Agenda 1637 was one reason for the Lithuanian rejection of the Holy Communion service in that book. The subsequent 1644 liturgy includes this prayer.

This short prayer encapsulates the Reformed understanding of the separation between the material and celestial elements in the sacrament most emphatically, and the Lithuanians would not allow any wavering or timidity on this point. It nails down the Reformed understanding of the spiritual nature of communion with Christ.

c) **The Distribution.** The distribution of the elements of bread and wine is accomplished with appropriate distribution formulas. The formulas differ from rite to rite and are distinctive features of each agenda, since they speak about the nature of the gift and its purpose.

The evidence might lead us to posit that the formulas which accompany the distribution of the elements were not thought to be of great import. In the earliest days of the Reformation indeed little attention was given to what words might to be spoken as the elements were given. Luther's Latin and German Masses make no provision for distribution formulae. No distribution formula is found in the Communion service of Lukas of Prague of 1527, even though his order otherwise has provided lengthy and very exact rubrics concerning the distribution.⁷¹⁴ Zwingli's Latin order *Epicheiresis* uses the traditional medieval Latin words "*Corpus domini nostri Iesu Christi prosit tibi ad vitam eternam. Sanguis domini nostri Iesu Christi prosit tibi in vitam eternam.*"⁷¹⁵ His German order gives no words at all. Bugenhagen speaks against the use of any formula, since the Words of Christ just heard are imprinted upon the minds of the hearers. "When one gives the sacrament let him say nothing to the communicants, for the words and the commandments of Christ already have been said in the ears of all, and he cannot improve upon them" (Schleswig Holstein [1546]).⁷¹⁶

It was as the differences between the Lutheran and Reformed doctrines of the Lord's Supper and its significance came to be more clearly

⁷¹⁴ *Zprawy 1527*, cxxxvi; *Coena Domini I* 1983, 557.

⁷¹⁵ *Coena Domini I* 1983, 188.

⁷¹⁶ English translation quoted from: *Reed* 1959, 375.

articulated, that distribution formulas begun to assume greater significance. It is at this point that Reformed liturgies begin to employ more elaborate formulas of distribution, expressive of what they understood to be theologically acceptable and unacceptable regarding the Supper.⁷¹⁷ Zwingli might have used ‘The body of Christ,’ but now more must be said about the nature of this body, the manner it is given, and how it is to be received. Thus while giving the bread and the wine, Bucer in his 1539 rite moves to turn the attention of those who receive them beyond these earthly forms, saying: “Believe in the Lord, and give eternal praise and thanks to him”⁷¹⁸ and after the cup: “Remember, believe and proclaim that Christ the Lord died for you, and gives himself to you for food and drink to eternal life.”⁷¹⁹ Bucer would not have communicants think that the benefit or blessing of the Supper is in the bread and wine. Johannes a Lasco in his *Forma ac Ratio* gives the bread, but makes no direct reference to it: “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.” The cup is then distributed with a formula which is virtually the same: “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.”⁷²⁰ Here too he points beyond the bread and wine to a higher communion which is spiritual and unseen. Cranmer moves from his more traditional formula of 1549: “The body of our Lorde Jesus Christe which was geuen for thee, preserue thy bodye and soule unto euerlasting lyfe,” to a clearer articulation of the separation between bread and body in the 1552 rite: “Take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ dyed for thee, and feede on him in thy hearte by faythe, with thankesgeuing.” The words over the cup are similar: “Drinke this in remembraunce that

⁷¹⁷ *Petkūnas* 2004, 58-88.

⁷¹⁸ *Jasper & Cuming* 1990, 211.

⁷¹⁹ *Jasper & Cuming* 1990, 211.

⁷²⁰ “Accipite, edite et meminertis, corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis in mortem traditum esse in crucis patibulo ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum.” “Accipite, bibite et meminertis sanguinem Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis fustum esse in crucis patibulo ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum.” *Kuyper II* 1866, 163-164.

Christ's bloude was shed for thee, and be thankfull."⁷²¹ It is an unsolved puzzle whether, or to what extent, these formulas represent Cranmer's movement away from a traditional understanding of real presence' to a new understanding which may be called 'true presence.'⁷²² Thus even in the more traditional formulas the Reformed liturgies take care, lest the communicants mistakenly identify earthly bread and wine with the spiritual realities of which they are only the signs. Although not clearly didactic, these formulas do have a certain tutorial value, most especially because of what they do not say. In some cases the formulas concentrate in a single sentence the essence of the Reformed understanding of the Supper. In other cases it is not so clear, but there is almost always present some word or phrase which calls close connection between the earthly and heavenly into question.

The formulas in both the Lithuanian and Polish liturgies show a great breath in theology and wording. In some cases the wording seems to stand close to the Western tradition, although the Calvinist flavor of the rite becomes evident from subsequent words which articulate Reformed doctrine more clearly. A case in point is the Lithuanian orders of 1581 and 1621. Here we see a clear difference between the bread and cup formulas: "Take, eat, this is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ which he gave into death for us and for our salvation," "Take, drink from this all of you, this cup is the New Testament of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which for the redemption of our sins is shed on the cross." What is given is identified - "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ," "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." Added is the purpose for which it is given - "for us and for our salvation," "for the redemption of our sins." The cup formula, however, differs in the sense that the benefit is not spoken as being given here and now. It has been given in the past, namely, on the tree of the cross. There is no identity established between the material gift and the heavenly gift.⁷²³

Kraiński's 1599 liturgy offers a very comprehensive and, one may say, elaborate formula of distribution. Because the bread and the wine

⁷²¹ *Kuyper II* 1866, 163-164; *Coena Domini I* 1983, 407.

⁷²² The shape of the argument is set down in *Brooks* 1965, 72-109.

⁷²³ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, c; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 76.

are distributed immediately after each has been blessed, the impression is given that the minister's formula of distribution for each follows naturally from the consecratory words. At the distribution of the bread the minister breaks it, saying the words of Paul from 1 Corinthians 10. He immediately repeats Christ's own words over the bread from Luke 22:19 and distributes the bread, saying: "This same I also say unto you in the name of Christ: Take, eat, this is the body of our Lord Christ which is given for you."⁷²⁴ After all have communed, he does similarly with the cup. After the Pauline words over the cup, he then repeats the following account from Luke 22:20 and 1 Corinthians 11:25 and distributes the cup, saying: "This same I also say unto you in the name of Christ: Take, drink, this is the blood of our Lord Christ which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins."⁷²⁵

The formula of distribution is traditional. The Bread-words identify the gift as the body of Christ, given for the disciples. The Cup-words state that what is given is the blood, given to the disciples for the forgiveness of sins. What is unusual is that the Words of Christ, found in Luke 22:19-20 and 1 Corinthians 11:25, he included at the distribution, along with the phrase: "This same I also say unto you in the name of Christ." Their inclusion here is puzzling. The key to unlocking this puzzle is easily found when we remember that in their celebration of the Lord's Supper the Reformed always sought to do what the Lord did. Kraiński recited and repeated the events of the Last Supper. As Christ had taken bread and wine, so the minister took the bread and wine. As Christ had spoken over it his words, so too the minister speaks over it Christ's Words. And as Christ had distributed it to his apostles, saying: 'This is my body..., etc.,' so the minister said and did the same. The words and action here must be understood as imitative of the first Supper. Kraiński found an excellent opportunity to satisfy all by simply

⁷²⁴ „To rzekszy, podawiając Sakrament stojącym rzecze: Tákże y ia tobie mowię imieniem Christusowym : Bierz / iedz / To iest ciało Páná Christusowe / ktore iest zá cię wydáne.” *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 172-174.

⁷²⁵ “To rzekszy, podawiając stojącym Kielich rzecze: Tákże i ia tobie mowie imieniem Christusowym: Bierz / piy / To iest krew Páná Christusowá / ktora iest zá cię wylana ná odpuszczenie grzechow.” *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 174.

saying what Christ has said. If one asks what the minister has given, Kraiński's answer would be that this is what Christ gives. What Christ said and gave, "This same I also say [and give] after him." Kraiński may not have directly answered the question what to the communicants receive, but it is not his purpose to do so.⁷²⁶

Perhaps Kraiński's purpose was to write a liturgy in the spirit of the *Sandomierz Consensus* which would be acceptable not only among the Reformed but also among the Bohemian, and most especially among the Lutherans. Elsewhere we noted the inclusion in Kraiński's liturgy of some specifically Lutheran elements, most particularly Luther's setting *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*, and the singing of the *Agnus Dei*. These were all new elements in the Reformed liturgical tradition. Further, he was the first to speak of the consecration or blessing of the elements, and for this purpose he gave the traditional *Verba* a prominence not earlier found in Lithuanian Reformed liturgies. At the same time Kraiński seems close to Luther in his directive that the elements be distributed immediately after their consecration. Finally, the words of distribution are stated in terms be satisfactory to all parties, thus enhancing the value of this liturgy as a possible union agenda.

The 1602 agenda keeps the title: "Blessing, Breaking, Distributing, Eating" but the formal blessing, the recitation here of the Words of Christ over the bread and wine, has been dropped. Instead we find only the words of Paul from 1 Corinthians 10 in their interrogative form. The separate communion of bread and wine is retained, and the words of distribution are: "Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Christ, which is given for you," as in 1599.⁷²⁷ This is the most traditional formula of the words of distribution that we find in the Polish and Lithuanian agendas.

⁷²⁶ By using this formula Kraiński was able to adhere to the Reformed understanding of the nature of the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper as that understanding had been articulated in their Confession of Sandomierz, in the Article XIX: 'Of the Sacraments of the Church of Christ' (O Świętosciach kosciała Krystusowego). "Ale tak mówimy iako sam Pan Krystus ná Testhámencie swoim wyswiádszyć raczył: Bierzcie iedzcie toć iest ciało moye. A tak gdy bierzemy y przyjmuyemy Sákráment Páński / bierzemy prawdziwe ciało iego zá nas wydáne / y krew wylaná dla grzechow nászych." *Confessia* 1570, lvi.

⁷²⁷ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 41.

The gifts are named ‘body’ and ‘blood,’ and at least in the case of the cup its purpose is described: “For the forgiveness of sins.” It should be noted that this formula is unusual for the church of this period, when Reformed liturgies tended to be far more specific in their terminology regarding the gifts of Communion and their purpose.

In the 1614 agenda the term ‘blessing’ is no longer found.⁷²⁸ However, should more supplies be needed, this liturgy calls the repetition of Christ’s Testamentary Words over them. The title of the distribution section becomes: “Breaking for Distribution and Eating,” a term both utilitarian and descriptive. After the minister repeats the Pauline words from 1 Corinthians 10, but before distributing the bread to the communicants, he says in a loud voice: “In faith I eat the body of Christ for the salvation of my soul.” Then he gives the bread to the communicants, saying: “Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Christ which is given for you. This do in remembrance of his death.” The recipient responds: “Amen.” After speaking the Pauline words over the cup the minister communes, saying aloud: “In faith I receive the blood of Christ for the forgiveness of my sins.” Then he gives it to the people with the formula: “Take, drink, this is the blood of the Lord Christ which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins. This do in remembrance of his death.” The recipient responds: “Amen.”⁷²⁹ Here again we find more precise terminology articulating the Reformed viewpoint; bread is received by the body, but the body of Christ is received by faith, as is clear from the words: “In faith I eat the body...” and “In faith I receive the blood...” The words ‘in faith’ are understood to govern the communion of the all the participants of the Supper, even though they are not specifically

⁷²⁸ However, should more supplies be needed, this liturgy calls for the recitation of Christ’s Testamentary Words over them. *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 51-52.

⁷²⁹ “A biorąc Sakrament ciała Krystusowego, mowi te słowá: Wiarą porzywam ciała Krystusowego / ná zbáwienie duszę moiey. A podawáiąc stoiącym mowi: Bierz, iedz, to iest ciało Pána Krystusowe / ktore iest zá cię wydáne. To czyn / ná Pamiątkę śmierci iego. R. Amen. {...}
A biorąc Sakrament krwi Krystusowey, mowi: Wiarą pię krew Krystusowę / na odpuszczenie grzechow moich.
A podawáiąc stoiącym, mowi: Bierz / piy: to iest krew páná Krystusowá / ktora iest zá cię wylana ná odpuszczenie grzechow. To czyn ná pamiątkę śmierci iego. R. Amen.” *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 50-51.

repeated. The reception of Christ's body and blood are dependant upon faith. Faith is the instrument by which the heavenly gifts are received. We see in the formula the new phrases introduced concerning the purpose of communion: "This do in remembrance of his death" and "This do for the remembrance of him." This follows Bucer, Lasco, and other theologians of the Reformed tradition, for whom the act of Communion is primarily an act of obedient remembrance of the sufferings of Christ on the cross. Faithful eating receives the blessing and properly remembers the death of Christ. Such remembrance is more than a mere acknowledgement. It claims the effectiveness of Christ's death for those who eat and drink in faith. Faith believes that this earthly eating and drinking is the occasion of spiritual partaking for those who fix their attention upon the cross and desire its fruits.

The Gdańsk Book of 1637 continues the provisions of the 1614 order. As in 1614 there is no mention of the blessing of the elements. The whole section is entitled: "Breaking for Distribution and Eating." There are, however, some significant changes. The minister's words at his communion: 'in faith' are no longer used. Instead we have only the general distribution formula for the bread and wine from that earlier order. "Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Christ which is given for you. This do in remembrance of his death," "Take, drink, this is the blood of the Lord Christ which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins. This do in remembrance of his death."⁷³⁰ The special words at the communion of the minister had been dropped because they are not necessary. All who have been examined at the time of preparation know that only those who receive in faith receive the heavenly benefit.

A major change is found in the agenda of 1644. The revisers who prepared this agenda chose to use a formula strongly reminiscent of Kraiński's 1599 order. In 1599 Kraiński had chosen to repeat over the bread and cup those portions of the historical narrative which referred directly to their consecration. The 1644 order recasts this in a form which will obviate any notion that these words are a blessing. "Christ the Lord, at the distribution of the sacrament of his body to his disciples, spoke these words: 'Take, eat, this is my body which is given for

⁷³⁰ *Agenda* 1637, 116-117.

you;’ you do the same: Take and eat, this is the body of Christ the Lord, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of his death.” Concerning the cup he says: “Our Lord Jesus Christ, at the distribution of the sacrament of his blood to his disciples, spoke these words: ‘Take, drink all of you, this is my body of the New Testament which is given for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins;’ you do the same: take and drink, this is the blood of Christ the Lord, which is shed for the forgiveness of your sins; do this in remembrance of his death.”⁷³¹ The revised formula reflects the Lithuanian emphasis on the keeping of the Lord’s Supper as an imitation of Christ’s acts in the upper room.

d) Post Distribution. An unusual feature of Lasco’s *Forma ac Ratio* is the special formula which is spoken by the minister when all have received the Supper.⁷³² It is reproduced *verbatim* in the 1581, 1621, 1637, and 1644 liturgies. When all have communed, the minister says the words of consolation and encouragement:

“Believe and do not doubt, all of you who for the remembrance of the sufferings of the Lord have become partakers in this Holy Communion, that you have a true and salutary fellowship in the body and blood of our Lord unto eternal life.”⁷³³

A post-distribution formula of dismissal became a common feature in Reformed rites to signal the end of the distribution, so that others

⁷³¹ “A podawáiąc Kommunikántom, Rzecze: Pan Chrystus rozdawáiąc Sakráment Ciála swego / Uczniom swoim / mowił te słowá: Bierźcie, iedźcie, To iest Ciało moie: ktore za was będzie wydáne: A ták y ty / Bierz, á jedz, To iest Ciáło Pána Chrystusowe, ktore zá cię iest wydáne: to czyn ná pámiątkę Smierci jego.

A podawáiąc Kielich Kommunikántom, Rzecze: Pan nasz IEZUS CHRYSTUS rozdawáiąc Sákrament / Krwie swoiey / Uczniom swoim / mowił te słowá: Pijćie z tego wszyscy, To iest Krew moiá Nowego Testámentu, ktora zá was y zá wielu innych będzie wylana, ná odpuszczenie grzechow: A ták y ty / Bierz, á pij, To iest Krew Pána Chrystusowá, ktora iest za cię wylana, ná odpuszczenie grzechow twoich: To czyn ná pámiątkę Smierci jego.” *Akt usługi* 1644, 38-39.

⁷³² “Credite et ne dubitate omnes, qui Coenae huic Dominicae in memoriam mortis Christi participastis cum mysterii sui reputatione, habere vos certam et salutarem cum ipso communionem in corpore et sanguine suo ad vitam aeternam. Amen.” *Kuyper II* 1866, 165.

⁷³³ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, cij; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 76. English translation by writer.

might now approach the holy table. The Roman Mass had provided a dismissal formula for the communicants: “The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your souls for life everlasting.”⁷³⁴ It is a prayer that the communicant might receive and retain the blessing of the sacrament. This blessing came to be used also in many Lutheran church orders, following Luther’s suggestion in the *Formula Missae*. Usually it took an optative form: “May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ guard your soul to life eternal, etc.”⁷³⁵ A similar prayer was spoken after the communion of the cup. Luther stated: “If one desires to use this and other prayers from the Roman Missal, which were spoken at the reception of the body and blood, he would not pray wrongly.”⁷³⁶ A prayer of this sort was of course not suitable in the Reformed Communion rites. Neither Zwingli, nor Calvin, or other classical Reformed theologians would approve of the use of a prayer from the Roman Mass at communion, especially one which referred to the elements given as the body and blood of Christ. They simply replaced it with an admonition to give thanks. Lasco, however, wished to provide a word of comfort to those who had communed which would tie together their reception of the earthly elements with the heavenly body and the blood. Additionally, he made use of this opportunity to speak of the purpose of participation in this Holy Communion as an act of remembrance of the sufferings of the Lord by which believers have true and salutary fellowship in the body and blood of our Lord. The Lithuanians found this a very suitable conclusion to the distribution.

The 1637 Great Gdańsk Agenda and agenda of 1644 imported the words of consolation and encouragement from the Lithuanian rites of 1581 and 1621, but preceded it with a specific communion blessing which included words concerning the fruit of faithful communion, calling down the blessing of God upon those who had faithfully communed.

⁷³⁴ Thompson 1972, 85.

⁷³⁵ Thompson 1972, 133.

⁷³⁶ Thompson 1972, 113.

“He, the living bread which has come down from heaven and which gives life to the world, our Lord Jesus Christ, who has fed us with his holy body and given us to drink his precious blood sanctify you completely that your spirit, soul and body remain without stain until Jesus Christ will come. May this be to his holy glory and your eternal salvation.”⁷³⁷

This blessing is unique among Reformed liturgies, which ordinarily do not include such a word of blessing. We may find here some faint echoes of Luther’s creative use of the dismissal formula from the Roman rite, but now recast in words more suitable to Reformed theology. There is a statement that Christ has fed the communicants with his holy body and given them to drink of his holy precious blood, but the words are no longer directly connected with the individual distribution to the communicants. They are spoken instead only after all have communed, thereby distancing them from the oral reception of the bread and wine. The blessing is no longer directly connected to the reception of the bread and wine.

Exhortation to Thanksgiving. All of the Lithuanian and Polish orders include a lengthy exhortation to thanksgiving addressed to all who have participated in the Lord’s Supper.

It is right and proper that those who have received the Supper should give thanks, but neither the Roman Catholic Mass, nor the liturgical writings of Luther and their descendants include a special exhortation to those who have participated, outlining in detail how they are to regard the Supper which they have shared, or how they are now to conduct themselves. Zwingli in 1525 has no such exhortation, but directs that according to the example of Christ thanks should be given by the minister, the men, and the women by saying antiphonally Psalm 113:1-9. Then the minister should offer a short prayer reminiscent of the thanks given after ordinary meals in the Middle Ages.⁷³⁸ Bucer has no exhortation, but includes three prayers of thanksgiving. An early example of a such of exhortation is an *exhortatio finale*.⁷³⁹ The exhortation

⁷³⁷ *Agenda* 1637, 117-118; *Akt uslugi* 1644, 39. English translation by writer.

⁷³⁸ *Thompson* 1972, 155.

⁷³⁹ *Coena Domini I* 1983, 345-346.

calls upon the people to thank the Lord for his very great blessings and to intercede to the Father on behalf of all who are in authority, and that he would fill with the Holy Spirit those who have communed, that they may be truly united in one body by a living and genuine faith and bear witness and live as disciples of Christ and no more be partakers with the unfaithful, or conformed to wicked world, and that those who are in poverty may be filled and the people may live in accordance with God and his word to the upbuilding of all and the advancement of the Holy Gospel. Particularly important is the exhortation of Lasco in *Forma ac Ratio*, which 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 should 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.⁷⁴⁰ This is followed by a lengthy prayer of thanksgiving.

The Lithuanian 1581 and 1621 agendas shorten Lasco's exhortation, concentrating on communion in the body and blood of Christ for the comfort 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."⁷⁴¹ 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.

Kraiński in his 1599 rite speaks in much the same terms, adding at the beginning a strong exhortation that the people should firmly and without doubt believe that they receive these blessings in this way. To his exhortation he adds Christ's word's from the Gospel according to Luke 22:29 that the Father has given him the kingdom and that according to his promise those who eat and drink at this table will also be seat-

⁷⁴⁰ *Kuyper II* 1866, 165-166.

⁷⁴¹ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, cij-ciiij; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 76.

ed at his table in his kingdom. What stands out here is the understanding of the Supper as a seal of fellowship between Christ and his believers, by which forgiveness comes to man from Christ. All this becomes the basis for the believers thanksgiving and praise of God.

The 1602 and 1614 liturgies 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 preserve them stainless in body, soul, and spirit in the day of his judgment.⁷⁴² 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 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.⁷⁴³ The liturgy is meant to reflect this purpose and to be a concrete expression of that praise.

The 1637 agenda begins the exhortation to thanksgiving by recalling that man was made to praise God, as King David states in Psalm 103:1-2 with the words: "Bless the Lord, O My Soul, and all that is within me, bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, O My Soul, and forget not all His benefits." In addition, the church has the strong example of the Lord Jesus, who after he had supped with his disciples did not leave the table before he had led his disciples in a song of thanksgiving to his

⁷⁴² *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 42; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 52-53.

⁷⁴³ *Confessio* 1570, d-diiij.

Father in heaven (Matthew 26:30). Following this example the people are to make their thanksgiving, and present their prayers for the suffering church and her many needs. Further, to the word and example of the Lord must be added the command of the apostle in 1 Timothy 2:1-4, that prayer should be made for kings and all who are in authority, that the Christian people might live quite and peaceful lives in godliness and honesty.⁷⁴⁴ Here we see a shift from a prayer of thanksgiving in a narrow sense to a general prayer of the church. The same exhortation is found in the 1644 agenda.⁷⁴⁵

Thus, we see the development of broader themes for this prayer from a specific thanksgiving for the gift of Communion to a more comprehensive prayer for the needs of the church in the world. The earlier agendas used this exhortation as a final reminder of the blessings associated with the church's communion and sought to move man's vision beyond this parochial event to the church's fellowship with their Lord in heaven. In 1602 and 1614 books church's separation from this corrupted world predominated. In the later rites the exhortation has been superseded by a prayer for the general needs of the church in the world. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the church has now found her place as a suffering minority in the world and sees the world as the arena of God's activity. While the counter-Reformation gains strength, God's church continues in this world as the suffering church and prays that God would sustain her. For this purpose the church intercedes on behalf of those who are in authority for her own well-being.

Prayer of Thanksgiving. The prayers which follow the exhortations are, in fact, more comprehensive than the exhortations themselves might lead us to believe. Even the earlier liturgies show a tendency toward making this a more comprehensive prayer of the church. The individual prayers differ in their construction. While the prayers in the Lithuanian 1581 and 1621 agendas followed Lasco, Kraiński composed a new prayer in Trinitarian form invoking, in turn, each of the members of the Holy Trinity.⁷⁴⁶ The 1602 and 1614 liturgies recast the traditional

⁷⁴⁴ *Agenda* 1637, 118-120.

⁷⁴⁵ *Akt usługi* 1644, 40-42.

⁷⁴⁶ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, b-ciiij; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 76-77.

Prefatio into a thanksgiving for all God's saving work. The high point of the prayer is a recitation of *Tersanctus*, as it is found in the Communion liturgies of the Roman and Lutheran Churches. This prayer is also found in the 1637 and 1644 liturgies along with a lengthy alternative prayer for all the needs of the church.

The Polish and Lithuanian agendas do not follow the general pattern of post-communion thanksgivings found in the tradition of Western liturgies. There, these prayers follow the classical collect pattern; they are very short and concise. Luther complained of the post-communion prayer in the Roman rite that it spoke predominantly of sacrifice. He therefore substituted a simple collect formerly spoken privately by the priest and communicants. "Thy body, O Lord, which we have received, etc."⁷⁴⁷ Reformed theologians beginning with Zwingli provided post-communion of a different kind. Zwingli in his 1523 rite offered an antiphonal reading of the first nine verses of Psalm 113. Bucer gave three prayers, the first one offering thanks and praise for the gift of Christ, the second offering a thanksgiving for the offering and presentation of the bread of heaven and the food of eternal life, and the third praying that communion with Christ would be effective and strong, and lead to a new and godly life. Calvin's prayer, in both Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) orders, gives thanks for the benefit which God has shown to poor sinners by drawing them into communion with Christ and by giving them the meat and drink of eternal life. He prays that God would imprint these things upon the heart, and that the people might daily grow and increase in faith to the praise of God and the upbuilding of their neighbors.

Of special interest is Lasco's prayer, used by the Lithuanian liturgies of 1581 and 1621. He gives thanks 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

⁷⁴⁷ Thompson 1972, 113.

in the hearts of all to increase of religion throughout the world and to the glory of the Holy Trinity. The Lithuanians found this prayer most congenial to their religious spirit and adopted it with only minor variations in wording.

The Polish liturgies adopted an entirely different pattern. They provided here a lengthy prayer for the church and her needs. In 1599, Kraiński built this prayer upon the model of the *Tersanctus*. The opening word of his prayer, directed to the Father, are somewhat reminiscent of Lasco's prayer, but he moves beyond it to include an intercession for the well-being of the church under the Polish king, that the people of *Rzeczpospolita* may live in peace, and be protected from the sword of the enemy, famine, and bad weather. The Son of God is thanked for the revelation of the Gospel, which confirms the Father's grace, the forgiveness of sins, and eternal life. He has washed away sins and justified his people, protected them from Satan and united them with the Father. He has fed his people with his body and is now asked to preserve them from being lured away from his grace. The Holy Spirit, who came upon Mary that she might give birth to Christ, is thanked and asked to be forever the comforter of Christians, especially since they must bear the cross and suffer hardship for the sake of the Gospel. He is asked to be the doctor who teaches them the faith and the leader who guides them into the way of a pious life and toward the heavenly goal. To this end, the minister prays that the Holy Spirit might strengthen the communicants, that hardship and persecution might never lead them to renounce their faith and the heavenly truth.⁷⁴⁸

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 1599, 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

⁷⁴⁸ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1599*, 174-176.

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.⁷⁴⁹ It is worthy of note that the Western *Prefatio* never found a place in the Reformed liturgies. The Poles, however, incorporate elements of it in a prayer which followed communion. Perhaps they found its use in this place attractive because it sounds so clearly the note of thanksgiving, as is evident already in the opening words of the traditional prayer. "It is meet, right, and salutary that we should give thanks..., etc."

The 1637 and 1644 liturgies give the prayer from 1602, but allow also an alternative another prayer not found in the earlier agendas.⁷⁵⁰ This alternative prayer is adapted from the Königsberg 1580 and 1612 agendas of the Bohemian Brethren.⁷⁵¹ This new prayer begins immediately with a thanksgiving to God who has provided food for the hungry and thirsty souls. This food is the living bread from heaven which gives life to the world and the living water which quenches thirst forever. The prayer is still loosely modeled on the Preface, and the predominant theme is the pervasive glory of God in creation and in his elected congregation. The congregation may not presume upon God's grace, but freed from sin and error, it should walk in uprightness and virtuous life until it attains to that eternal feast in heaven which has no end. Intercessions are included for those who err, the sick and dying, those persecuted for truth's sake, and the king and nation, that they might live in peace and govern wisely. So all the people will continue in a godly and honest life. Again the theme of persecution arises and forgiveness is asked for persecutors and those who ignorantly oppose God's will. The prayer concludes with an ascription of praise to God with the threefold *Sanctus*.⁷⁵²

Closing Admonition. Following a pattern found in Lasco's 1550 rite, the liturgies of 1637 and 1644 add a concluding admonition to those who have participated in the Lord's Supper. The content however is very different from Lasco's. Lasco's in *Argumentum admonitionis post Coenae Dominicae administrationem* admonished the congregation to think rightly concerning the elements of the Supper, that they might not fall

⁷⁴⁹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 42-44; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 53-54.

⁷⁵⁰ *Agenda* 1637, 120-122; *Akt usługi* 1644, 42-44.

⁷⁵¹ *Agenda* 1580, 20-25.

⁷⁵² *Agenda* 1637, 122-126; *Akt usługi* 1644, 44-47.

victim to Roman Catholic notions concerning Transubstantiation or otherwise believe or regard the bread and wine to be the body and blood of Christ. Under five points he explained the symbolism of the use of bread, gathered from many grains into one, and he repudiated the notions of those who would make of it more than a symbol.⁷⁵³ The 1637 and 1644 agendas call this section ‘*Conclusia*’ and make it the occasion for admonishing the people not to receive the grace of God in vain and to provide for the support of the church and those who are in need. There follows a series of quotations from 1 Corinthians 6:1-4, Matthew 5:16, Hebrew 13:16, 1 Corinthians 9:7, Galatians 6:10, Proverbs 3:9, all of which admonish the congregation to pious and upright lives of faithfulness and self-offering to God, as is fitting for those who have been guests in his holy table. Nothing is said concerning the nature of the elements, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or other erroneous teachings concerning the Supper. Thus the Poles and Lithuanians make use of this admonition to speak in positive and directive terms of the requirements of the Christian life, the new law under which the church lives.⁷⁵⁴

The Dismissal.

a) **The Benediction.** All the liturgies we are examining, excepting Kraiński’s 1599 order, have a formal prayer of blessing, spoken by the minister over the congregation. In most cases some form of the Aaronic Benediction from Numbers 6:24-27 is used. An exception is the benediction found in the 1581 and in 1621 Lithuanian liturgies, which serves as a blessing for the congregation in general and the communicants in particular.

In the Middle Ages the Western liturgy generally concluded with a direct word of dismissal: *Ita missa est* – “Go, it is the dismissal,” to which the congregation responded: *Deo gratias*. In the course of time the traditional word of blessing which the bishop would speak over the people as he left the church: “May the almighty God bless and preserve you, the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit” was taken up into the Mass as a prayer spoken by the priest before the Last Gospel (John 1:1-14). It

⁷⁵³ *Kuyper II* 1866, 167-169.

⁷⁵⁴ *Agenda* 1637, 126-127; *Akt ustugi* 1644, 47-48.

was understood as a final prayer of blessing over the people.⁷⁵⁵ Luther in the *Formula Missae* directed that after the congregation's *Deo gratias* the customary benediction should be given, that is the one from the Roman Mass, or the Aaronic Benediction from the Numbers 6:24-27: "The Lord bless us and keep us, the Lord make his face shine upon us and be gracious to us, the Lord lift his countenance upon us and give us peace," or Psalm 67:6-7: "God, even our own God shall bless us. God shall bless us; and all the ends of the earth shall fear him." "I believe Christ used something like this when, ascending into heaven, he blessed his disciples," Luther wrote.⁷⁵⁶ Zwingli in 1525 rite follows the example of the Roman Mass and closes with thee simple words: "Depart in peace."⁷⁵⁷ Bucer closed the Communion service with the Aaronic Benediction from Numbers 6, as in Luther, adding after it the words: "Depart, the Spirit of the Lord go with you unto eternal life."⁷⁵⁸ Calvin in his Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) rites closes with the Aaronic Benediction as in the usual Sunday service. Lasco in *Forma ac Ratio* 1550 notes that the service should close with the benediction but he does not specify what benediction is to be used.⁷⁵⁹

We find the first use of the Aaronic Benediction among the Poles in the revised agenda of 1602. Here the words of Numbers 6:24-26 are given in the form of a prayer: "May the Lord bless you and keep you. May the Lord make his face shine on you and be gracious to you. May the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace." We find the same wording in the agenda of 1614.⁷⁶⁰ The editors of the 1637 and 1644 rites added after the Aaronic Benediction the *Testimonium Davidum* from Psalm 121:8 and the *Tersanctus*, again in the form of prayer: "May the Lord bless you and keep you. May the Lord make his face shine on you and be gracious to you. May the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace. To this end may [the Lord]

⁷⁵⁵ *Jungmann II* 1986, 433-437.

⁷⁵⁶ *Luther's works* 1965, 30.

⁷⁵⁷ *Thompson* 1972, 155.

⁷⁵⁸ *Thompson* 1972, 179.

⁷⁵⁹ *Kuyper II* 1866, 169.

⁷⁶⁰ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 44; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 54-55.

bless your going out and your coming in both from this time forth and even forever; Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, our only God, to whom be praise and glory for ever and ever.”⁷⁶¹ We should note that Psalm 121:8 is not usually associated with the blessings of worshipers at the close of the service. Following medieval precedent Luther used it in the baptismal service to indicate the entrance of the candidate into the fellowship of the church. The candidate has gone out of the world through water and the Spirit and entered into the fellowship of the body of Christ.⁷⁶² In the context of these Reformed agendas and Reformed theology, the coming in and going out came to be associated with participation in the worship service and departure from the church to life into world to live obediently to the praise and glory of God under the new law of Christ. This understanding was strengthened by the concluding words of the *Tersanctus* “...to whom must be praise and glory for ever and ever.”

The Lithuanian agendas of 1581 and 1621 do not follow the usual pattern. Here we find a wholly different prayer of benediction which relates the sending forth of the people to the blessing of communion: “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 his praise and glory and bless us now and forever.”⁷⁶³ Now, consoled and strengthened by communion, they are to go forth into the life of obedient service to which they have been called and in which they are to do all things to the praise and glory of God.

b) **Collection of Alms.** The Lithuanian agendas of 1581 and 1621 and the Polish agendas of 1599, 1602, and 1614 direct that before the end of the service the congregation is to be made aware of the special needs of the poor and of the church.⁷⁶⁴ The 1581 and 1621 agendas place this offering before the final blessing; in the Polish rites it comes at the end of the blessing. At this point a collection is taken on behalf of both the

⁷⁶¹ *Agenda 1637*, 127; *Akt usługi 1644*, 48.

⁷⁶² *Luther's works 1965*, 128.

⁷⁶³ *Forma albo porządek 1581*, ciiij; *Forma albo porządek 1621*, 77.

⁷⁶⁴ *Forma albo porządek 1581*, ciiij; *Porządek nabożeństwa 1599*, 176; *Porządek nabożeństwa 1602*, 44; *Porządek nabożeństwa 1614*, 55; *Forma albo porządek 1621*, 77.

poor and the church. The 1637 and 1644 rites in the section ‘*Conclusia*’ admonished the congregation not to be grudging when considering the plight of those in need.⁷⁶⁵

We note by the unusual place of the collection of alms in these agendas. Earlier the Reformed, most particularly Bucer (1539), had provided for the collection of alms after the sermon, but here the collection takes place at the very end of the rite, either before, or following the final benediction.⁷⁶⁶ In this they follow the example of Johannes a Lasco, who directed that at the end of the service the deacons should position themselves at the doors of the church to collect alms for the poor and to distribute any remaining bread and wine for the needy and the sick.⁷⁶⁷ The Lithuanian and Polish liturgies make no mention of deacons standing at the door, but direct that the collection is to be made at the end of the service. Here the collection is made the object of a special admonition as a response called forth by obedience to the law of Christ, which requires not only personal piety, but also concern for and relieve of the need of the poor.

c) **The Final Hymn.** The public worship of the congregation concludes with an appropriate hymn. The Polish liturgies of 1599, 1602, 1614, 1637, and 1644 call for the singing of the ascription of praise *Bogu Oycu y Synowi* (“Eternal praise and glory be to God, the Father and to the Son Jesus Christ”). 1637 and 1644 allow also for the singing of an additional hymn after which the people leave the church.⁷⁶⁸ The 1581 and 1621 Lithuanian orders direct the congregation to sing Psalm 67 *Blagosław nam nasz Pánie* (“Bless us, our Lord”).⁷⁶⁹

The place of this hymn or psalm at the end of the rite is unusual. Bucer (1539) and Calvin (1542) had a hymn or psalm before the prayer of thanksgiving. Lasco’s Latin rite allows the singing of the hymn directly before the benediction, but not after. We do not find precedence for a

⁷⁶⁵ *Agenda* 1637,126-127; *Akt usługi* 1644, 47-48.

⁷⁶⁶ *Thompson* 1972, 167.

⁷⁶⁷ *Kuyper II* 1866, 169.

⁷⁶⁸ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 176; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 44; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 55; *Agenda* 1637,127; *Akt usługi* 1644, 48.

⁷⁶⁹ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, ciiij; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 77.

hymn at this place in the classical Reformed liturgies. It is a practice which would be increasingly favored in the seventeenth and eighteenth century services of the Reformation Churches - as a hymn or verse of praise or thanksgiving, as a response to the blessings of the service.⁷⁷⁰

4.2. Liturgy and Praxis

4.2.1. The Music of the Liturgy

The Polish liturgies display a rich musical tradition which stands in contrast to the scant musical settings of the Lithuanian liturgies, which provide no musical notations.⁷⁷¹ The Polish rites exhibit an abundance of sequences, hymns, and liturgical sections set to music, some of it based upon medieval, Reformed, and Lutheran sources. In this regard the Polish Reformed do not follow the usual pattern of Reformed Churches.

The liturgists and theologians of the Reformed tradition were not of one mind concerning the role of music in the worship. Zwingli forbade singing and instrumental music in worship as inappropriate and distracting. Music, as part of the created world, must not be allowed to divert one's attention away from the spiritual.⁷⁷² Martin Bucer in Strassburg was not of the same opinion. His congregation was musically rich, and John Calvin found in Strassburg a congregation well versed in singing metrical versions of Biblical texts. When he prepared a French service for his Strassburg congregation, Calvin provided metrical psalms to be sung by the people. He developed the same practice at Geneva, and with the help of French composer Louis Bourgeois (ca.1510-1561) stately tones were provided for the psalms.⁷⁷³ Their use was to become a central feature of French-speaking and other Western European Reformed traditions, particularly in England and Scotland. Lasco also pro-

⁷⁷⁰ *Graff* 1937, 205.

⁷⁷¹ The Lithuanian hymnals of 1581, 1594, 1600, et al. have hymns with accompanying musical notations, but the liturgies we have examined provide no hymns, sequences, or other liturgical sections with musical notations.

⁷⁷² *Gäbler* 1986, 107-108.

⁷⁷³ *Reed* 1959, 174.

vided for the singing of psalms, but included no musical notations in his work. We noticed in all cases that the most essential elements of the service were always spoken by the minister and the people. The use of music was restricted to the singing of psalms.

We find quite a different development in Minor Poland. Here in addition to the regular use of medieval and Reformation era hymns, we find important elements in the service chanted by the minister and the congregation. Included are traditional antiphons, the creed, the Our Father, and the *Agnus Dei*, etc.

The Invocation of the Holy Spirit. Three hymns of the invocation of the Holy Spirit are found in the Polish Reformed liturgies.

a) In the Liturgies of Agenda 1599

1599, 1602, 1614, and 1644 we find the traditional antiphon: *Święty duchu ząwıtay k nam* (*Veni sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda*) in Polish.⁷⁷⁴ It is a general invocation of the Holy Spirit, found in the *Liber Usualis* as an introduction to the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* and the traditional collect for Pentecost Sunday.⁷⁷⁵ The melody is that found in common use for this antiphon, with minor modifications. This tune in the

“Veni sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda”

Świę - ty du - chu zá - wi - tay k nam
 á rácz ná - pel - nić ser - cá swo - ich wier - nych á z swo - iey
 bo - iáż - ni z mi - łoś - ćią racz
 za - pa - lić o - gień w nich tyś dziw -
 nym cu - dem swo - im ię - zy - ki róż - ne - mi po -
 gá - nyś przy - wieść ra - czył w spo - lec - ność
 wiá - ry świę - tey A -
 lle - lu - ia A - lle - lu - ia.

⁷⁷⁴ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 150-152; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 25-26; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 32-33; *Agenda* 1637, 101; *Akt usługi* 1644, 20-21.

⁷⁷⁵ *Liber Usualis* 1997, 1837.

liturgies of 1602 and 1614 used with the hymn words *Duchu święty ząwıtay k nam*.

b) As an alternative, Kraiński's 1599 liturgy suggests *Duchu święty ząwıtay k nam (Veni, Sancte Spiritus, et emitte coelitus)*.⁷⁷⁶ This is the traditional sequence hymn for Pentecost Sunday in the medieval Mass. Kraiński gives a Polish translation but employs the traditional Gregorian Melody.⁷⁷⁷

Agenda 1599

"*Veni, Sancte Spiritus, et emitte coelitus,*" ascribed to *Stephan Langton (c.1150-1228)*



Du - chu świę - ty zą - wi - tay k nam á z nie - bios rácz spuś -
Przydźk nam oy - cze u - bo - gích przydźk nam daw - co dá - row
cie nam świat - łoś - ci twej pro - mie - nie.
swych przydź k nam świe - co serc ná - szych.
Cie - szy - cie - lu wy - bor - ny goś - ćiu wdzięcz - ny serc
W pra - cích od - po - czy - nie - nie w go - rá - cu och - ło -
ná - szych wdzięcz - na o - chło -
dze - nie á w plá - czu po -
do ná - szá. O do - stoy - na świat - łoś - ci
cie - sze - nie. Bo - wiem krom two - iey po - mo -
z ser - cá wy - padź ciem - noś - ci slú - zeb - ni - kow swych
cy nie ma - my w so - bie mo - cy nie mász w nas nic
wier - nych Omy co jest spros -
prá - we - go. Ná - kloń co jest
ne - go po - krop co
twár - de - go zá - grzey
jest zesch - le - go u - zdrow co jest rán -
co jest žim - ne - go Sprá - wuy co jest błąd -

⁷⁷⁶ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1599*, 151-152.

⁷⁷⁷ *Liber Usualis 1997*, 880.

ne - go. Day to o co za - da - my kto -
 ne - go. Cnot - li - we za - cho - wá - nie

rzy w to - bie vsfa - my dá - ry lás - ki twey
 krześ - ćiań - skie sko - ná - nie po - tym wiecz - ne

świę - tcy
 zbá - wie - nie A - - - men.

c) 1637 and Agenda 1637
 1644 liturgies offer an antiphon: *“Veni sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda”*

Święty Duchu przybądź based upon the *Veni sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda*, but with some modifications to make of it a more complete prayer of the invocation of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁷⁸ The melody is based upon the traditional melody.

Świę - ty Du - chu przy - bądź á ser - cá to - bie szcze -
 rze od - dá - nych rządź mno - żąc w nich swo - je dá -
 ry zwiąs - kie jed - ney wiá - ry roz - má - ji - te na - ro -
 dy wiedz do świę - - - tcy
 w koś - cie - le two - jim zgo - dy zá cóć
 slusz - nie dá - dzą dzie - ki wiecz - ne wie - ki.

The invocation of the Holy Spirit is prominent in the Western tradition. He is the Third Person of the Holy Trinity; he is the Lord and Giver of life. It is he who has spoken through the prophets and the apostles; he is invoked as the Spirit of communion or unity, binding together with the Father and the Son. In the regular Sunday Mass in

⁷⁷⁸ *Agenda 1637*, 101; *Akt usługi 1644*, 20-21.

the medieval Church the invocation of the Holy Spirit was incorporated into the priest's prayer of preparation. Additionally, the antiphons, hymns, and prayers of the Holy Spirit are found in connection with the celebration of the Pentecost Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, the theme of which is the coming of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁷⁹ As in the medieval Mass, Luther invokes the Holy Spirit liturgically through the celebration of the Pentecost Sunday, the continued use of Latin hymnody, and through his translation of the *Veni Creator Spiritus* into German.⁷⁸⁰ He sees no special need to give particular prominence to the Holy Spirit, for word and Spirit always go together. It is the Holy Spirit who through the means of grace brings Christ, awakens faith, bestows spiritual gifts, and guides the church.

The Reformed give more particular attention to the Holy Spirit. Along with the whole Western tradition, the Reformed confess that there is no true confession of Christ or worthy worship apart of the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit, but they put special emphasis on the immediacy of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit cannot be tied down or in any way bound to earthly things, and therefore earthly words and the elements of bread, wine, and water cannot be bearers of heavenly content. The Holy Spirit is received apart from them, and it is for this coming that Calvinist liturgies fervently pray. From the very beginning of the service the presence of the Holy Spirit is invoked since it is through him that the Christians are spiritually united with his Lord and able to commune with him on a heavenly plane.

The Creed. Unusual from the Reformed perspective is the inclusion of the creed as a sung element in the service. Two versions are found. One is a straightforward chant version of the Apostles' Creed, and the second is a Polish translation of Luther's *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*.

⁷⁷⁹ *Jungmann I* 1986, 274, fn.15, 297, fn.29.

⁷⁸⁰ *Precht* 1992, 175-176.

a) Apostles' Creed. The Apostles' Creed *Wierze w iednego Bogá* is found in all the Polish liturgies; only the 1602 agenda lacks a melody line.⁷⁸¹ The liturgies of 1599, 1637, and 1644 include a melody based upon *Credo in unum Deum* in the *Liber Usualis*,⁷⁸² a well known medieval plainsong melody. The agenda of 1614 employs a different plain-song melody, less familiar to us, and not found in the *Liber*.

Agenda 1614

"Credo in unum Deum," based on medieval plain song melody

Wie - rze w ied - ne - go Bo - - - gá
 Oy - cá wszech - mo - ga - cc - go
 Stwo - rzy - cie - lá nie - bá y źie - mie Wie -
 rze w Je - zu Kryś - tá Sy - - - ná ie -
 go ie - dy - ne - go Pá - ná ná - sze - go
 kto - ry się po - czął z Du - chá świę - te - go. Ná -
 ro - dził się z Pán - - - ny
 Má - ry - ey u - mę - czon pod Pónts - kim Pi -
 no - orze - bian zsta - nil do niek - - - low

⁷⁸¹ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1599, 159-160; Porządek nabożeństwa 1602, 31; Porządek nabożeństwa 1614, 39-40; Agenda 1637, 109-110; Akt usługi 1644, 26-27.*

⁷⁸² *Liber Usualis 1997, 66.*

po - grze - bion zsta - pil do piek - - - low
 trze - cie - go dnia z mart - wych wstal.
 Wsta - pil na nie - bio - sa sie - dzi
 na pra - wi - cy Bo - ga Oy - ca wszech - mo - ga - ce - go
 ztam - tad przyi - dzie sa - dzic zy - we y zmár - le.
 Wie - rzę w Du - cha świę - te - go Świę - ty
 Koś - ciol Krześ - cián - ski Świę - tych ob - co - wa -
 nie grze - chow od - pusz - cze - nie
 cia - la zmart - wych - wsta - - - nie
 Y zy - wot wiecz - ny. A - men.
 A - - - - - men.
 A - - - - - men.

Agenda 1644

“Credo in unum Deum,” based on medieval plain song melody

Wie - rzę w jed - ne - go Bo - gá Oy - ca
 wszech - mo - gą - ce - go Stwo - rzy - cie - la
 nie - bá y źie - mie Wie - rzę y w Je -
 zu Chrys - ta Sy - ná ie - go ie - dy - ne - go
 Pá - ná ná - sze - go kto - ry się po - czął z Du -
 chá świę - te - go: ná - ro - dził się z Má - ry -
 ey Pán - ny: U - mę - czon pod Pónts - kim Pi - la -
 tem: u - krzy - żo - wan u - márl y po - grze - bion
 zstą - pił do piek - low: trze - cie - go dnia zmar - twych -
 wstał: wstał - pił ná nie - bio - są: się - dzi
 ná prá - wi - cy Bo - gá Oy - cá Wszech - mo - gą - ce -
 go. Z tá - m - tą - d przy - dzie są - dzić ży - we y zmar -
 le. Wie - rzę w Du - chá świę - te - go świę - ty
 Koś - ciół Chrze - ściańs - ki. Świę - tych

ob - co - wá - nie: grze - chow od - pu -
 szcze - nie ćią - la zmart - wych - wstá - nie
 y ży - wot wicz - ny A - men.

b) Nicene Creed. The Nicene Creed is included in the Polish liturgies of 1599, 1602, and 1614.⁷⁸³ The presence of *My wierzymy w iednego Boga*, Agenda 1602

a Polish translation of Luther's versification of the Nicene Creed *Wir glauben all an einen Gott*,⁷⁸³ based on a thirteenth century plain song melody

Wir glauben all an einen Gott, is worthy of note. The appearance of this creed in any form in a continental Reformed liturgy is unusual; everywhere among the Reformed the Apostles' Creed was normally needed.

A one stanza versification of the Nicene Creed

My wie - rzy - my wied - - -
 ne - go Bo - - - ga
 stwo - rzy - ćie - la wsze - go swiá - ta iż
 on na - szym Oy - cem zo - stal nas so - bie za
 dzie - ci o - brał. Ten nas ná
 wszel - ki czas wi - dzi ćią - lo du - sze
 on sam ży - wi: zlych wszyt - kich przy - god
 nas bro - ni od czár - tá y od po - kus

⁷⁸³ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1599, 161-162; Porządek nabożeństwa 1602, 29-30; Porządek nabożeństwa 1614, 37-38.*

is already known from the time of Luther. It is assumed that it was brought to Luther's attention by Stephen Roth of Zwickau.

chro - ni nie spi stá - ra się o nas
 strze - że sam y pil - no czu - ie bo ten
 swo - ie wier - ne mi - lu - je.

The melody is a familiar Gregorian melody from the thirteenth – fifteenth centuries of German origin. It was Luther who reconstructed the hymn, putting it into three stanzas for the three members of the Holy Trinity.⁷⁸⁴ It is his three stanzas translated into Polish that we find in these agendas.

**The Sequence “Nad-
 roższą krwią
 swoią.”** Agenda 1602
“Sanguine proprio redemisti nos Deus”

All of the Polish liturgies include the hymn *Nadroższą krwią swoią*.⁷⁸⁵ This sequence is a translation from the Latin *Sanguine proprio redemisti nos Deus*. The place of this hymn varies.

Na - droż - szą krwią swo - ią od - ku - pi - leś nas Pá - nie
 A gdy przy - dżiesz są - dżić świat cza - su os - tat - nie - go
 Y zaś tám przy - wo - dżisz skąd wy - padł A - dam la - miąc twe
 Nie rącz nas od - da - lać z two - ie - mi świę - te - mi od - po -
 świę - te przy - ka - zá - nie.
 czy - wa - nia wiecz - ne - go:
 Gdzie to - bie śpie - wać bę - dżie - my A - lle - lu - ia.

In the 1599 liturgy it is sung after the prayer toward the Words of Christ, immediately before the invitation to God's table. The 1602 and 1614 liturgies keep it after the prayer toward the Words of Christ, but in

⁷⁸⁴ Precht 1992, 227.

⁷⁸⁵ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1599*, 168-169; *Porządek nabożeństwa 1602*, 33; *Porządek nabożeństwa 1614*, 42-43; *Agenda 1637*, 113-114; *Akt usługi 1644*, 35.

these liturgies both the prayer and the sequence are found earlier, after the confession of faith, and before the *Verba Testamenti*. In 1637 this hymn loses its connection with the prayer toward the Words of Christ and is placed after the Words of Christ's Testament and the meaning of Testament and the admonition, immediately before the Our Father. In 1644 the connection with the Our Father is maintained, but both elements come later after the breaking of the bread and Pauline words over the cup. In 1644 the sequence serves as a hymn of the cup, and follows the *Agnus Dei*, the hymn of the bread. Thus a direct connection is established between this sequence and the blessing of the cup. The hymn recalls the blood of the Redeemer as the means by which sinners are cleansed and made acceptable to God, and heirs with all the saints of heaven with all its treasures.

The Our Father. The *Oycze nasz* is given with two familiar medieval plainsong melody of the *Pater noster*, adjusted to fit the words of the Polish text.⁷⁸⁶

The researches of liturgical scholars have shown the close connection between the Our Father and communion, as the most fitting prayer to be said by one who intends to receive the Holy Sacrament. All Polish and Lithuanian rites maintain the ancient practice according to which the Our Father is prayed after the Words of Christ's Testament, but before communion is received. The exact position of the Our Father differs in the various agendas. We are nowhere given a reason in the agendas why the Poles chose to sing the Our Father, rather than simply to recite it as other Reformed Churches did. We are told only that it is an ancient Christian tradition that the people should pray the Our Father, and that they should do so kneeling. We may ask whether the sung Our Father was not introduced in imitation of the almost universal practice of Lutherans of that period to sing the Our Father, either together or antiphonally with the pastor.

⁷⁸⁶ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 169-170; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 38; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 48-49; *Agenda* 1637, 114-115; *Akt usługi* 1644, 36.

Agenda 1599

“Pater noster,” based on medieval plain song melody



Oy - cze nasz kto - ryś jest w nie - bie Święc
i - mię two - ie Przydź kro - les - two two - ie
Bądź wo - lá twa iá - ko w nie - bie ták y
ná źie - mi Chle - bá ná - sze - go
pow - szed - nie - go day nam dźi - śia Y od -
puść nam ná - sze wi - ny iá - ko y my
od - pusz - cza - my ná - szym wi - no - wáy - com
Y nie wodź nas ná po - ku - sze - nie A -
le nas zbaw o - de zle - go A - bo - wiem
two - ie jest kro - lest - wo y moc y
chwa - lá ná wie - ki wie - kow A - men.

Agenda 1637

“Pater noster,” based on medieval plain song melody

Oy - cze nasz kto - ryś jest w nie - bie - siech świę -
 cie I - mię two - je przydź kro - les - two two - je
 Bądź wo - la twa já - ko w nie - bie tak y ná - zie -
 mi. Chle - bá ná - sze - o pow - szed - nie - go - day
 nam dźi - śia Y od - puść nam ná - sze wi - ny
 já - ko y my od - pus - cza - my ná - szym wi - no -
 wáy - co Y nie w wodź nas ná - po - ku - sze -
 nie A - le nas zbaw o - de zle - go: A -
 bo - wie two - je jest kro - les - two y moc y chwa -
 lá ná - wie - ki wie - kow A - - - - - men.

Agnus Dei. A hymn seldom encountered in Reformed Communion services. This hymn, originally introduced in the 7-8 centuries, became a standard feature in Polish liturgies. The hymn *O Băránku nášz iedyny* is found in the rites of 1599, 1602, 1614, 1637, and 1644.⁷⁸⁷ The agendas of 1602 and 1614 provide as alternatives another setting of the same

⁷⁸⁷ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1599*, 172; *Porządek nabożeństwa 1602*, 40; *Porządek nabożeństwa 1614*, 47; *Agenda 1637*, 106; *Akt usługi 1644*, 34.

hymn, *Synu* Agenda 1602
Boży, using another melody and different wording.⁷⁸⁸ There is little agreement in the rites concerning the place of this hymn. The liturgies of 1599 and 1602 place it after the Our Father and the words of Paul from 1 Corinthians 5, before the breaking of the bread. The point of connection is Paul's words of 1 Corinthians 5, which speak of Christ as the Passover, who

Agenda 1602
"Agnus Dei" ("Son of God")

Sy - nu Bo - ży kto - ry glá - dżisz grze - chy
wszyt - kie - go świa - tá Pro - śim
cię wy - slu - chay nas.

Agenda 1644
"Agnus Dei"

O Bá - rán - ku náš ie - dy - - - ny
kto - ry glá - dżisz ná - sze wi - - ny
Pro - śim cię nędz - ni grzesz - ni
zmi - łuy - ze się nád ná - mi.

has been sacrificed for us. The connotation is that Christ is the sacrificial Lamb of God, thus making for a natural connection with this section. This impression is strengthened by the 1614 rite, where the words of 1 Corinthians 5 are followed immediately by the *Agnus Dei* and come even earlier before the invitation to God's table. This connection is broken in the agenda of 1637, which does not include the words of 1 Corinthians 5. Here the *Agnus Dei* comes earlier in the service, immediately following the confession of sins. The 1644 rite places it after the breaking of the bread, its original place in the Western Mass, where

⁷⁸⁸ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1602*, 40; *Porządek nabożeństwa 1614*, 47.

it had served as the fraction hymn, to be sung again and again until sufficient bread had been broken for all communicants.⁷⁸⁹

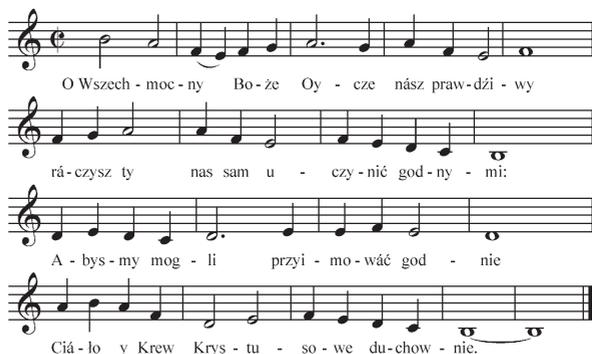
The *Agnus Dei* came to the Western liturgy from the East. In the East the sacrificial gifts were called the Lamb, an expression which was occasioned by the Apocalypse by St. John. Early texts from Western Syria and elsewhere refer to the sacrament, and especially the broken bread, as the Lamb of God. The reference is not to Christ himself, but rather to Christ as present in the Eucharist. The same usage comes into the West, and this connection is strengthened by the fact that this image is recalled as the consecrated bread is being broken into small pieces to be consumed by the communicants. The inclusion of the *Agnus Dei* in Luther's liturgical services fits easily to the confession of the real presence of Christ under bread and wine. Present for the communicants is the very body which was given unto death for their sins, the flesh of the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world. The Lutheran use of this hymn could give rise to charges that those who sung it were worshipping the bread on the altar, a charge which the Reformed often laid against the Lutherans. Thus it is unexpected that we find in the 1599, 1602, 1614, 1637, and 1644 liturgies such frequent and prominent use of this hymn. The almost constant changing of its location would lead us to assume that the Polish Reformed were somewhat uneasy about its use.⁷⁹⁰ They were alert to the danger associated with it – that it might give rise to the charge that this was a hymn addressed to pieces of bread. The 1637 agenda sought to obviate this problem by removing it from any connection with communion, placing it much earlier in the service, after the confession of sins. The 1644 agenda, obviously unsatisfied with the 1637 arrangement, placed it back into the context of the breaking of the bread.

⁷⁸⁹ *Jungmann II* 1986, 332.

⁷⁹⁰ The same uneasiness concerning the use of the *Agnus Dei* and its place can be found in the decision to omit it in the 1552 English Prayer Book. Dom Gregory Dix notes: "The singing or saying of the *Agnus Dei* between consecration and communion might easily have ministered to the 'high' Lutheran doctrine that our Lord is truly and substantially present at least in the 'use' of the sacrament." *Dix* 1949, 668.

The Hymn Agenda 1614

O Wszchemocny Boże. In the 1614 liturgy we find the hymn *O Wszchemocny Boże*, which is neither medieval nor Lutheran in origin.⁷⁹¹ This hymn is an original Calvinist



O Wszchemocny Boże Oy - cze nasz praw-dzi - wy
rã - czysz ty nas sam u - czy - nić god - ny - mi:
A - bys - my mog - li przy - mo - wãc god - nie
Cía - lo y Krew Krys - tu - so - we du - chow - nie.

composition in which thanksgiving is offered to God for having determined that the communicants are worthy to receive spiritually the body and blood of Christ. The communicants ask that they may be as a branch grafted into the holy body and bear fruit and be filled with the Holy Spirit whom God promised to his faithful ones. They pray that they might be truly thankful and worthily praise him for his goodness in his eternal kingdom. This hymn follows the recitation of Words of Christ's Testament and the explanation of the meaning of the Testament and admonition. It is placed immediately before the Passover Words from the 1 Corinthians 5, mentioned above. Thus, it fits in with the general theme of spiritual eating which is so central of the Reformed understanding of the sacrament. At the same time it is a mixed metaphor, which speaks of grafting into the body instead of being grafting into the holy vine, as we would expect from Paul's words in Romans 11:17, or we would expect that they would be asked to be fruitful branches in the living vine in John 15. Coming as it does after the explanation of the Words of Christ and admonition, this hymn serves to strengthen the notion of spiritual participation as the real significance of a communion.

Other hymns. Several other hymns are mentioned as appropriate for liturgical use at the end of public worship. The Lithuanian liturgies of 1581 and 1621 conclude with the singing of Psalm 67 *Błogosław nam*

⁷⁹¹ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1614*, 45-46.

nasz Panie (“May God be merciful unto us and bless us and cause his face to shine upon us”).⁷⁹² The Psalm 67 is given without a melody line but we may assume that this lack of music would create no problems, because the people could easily turn to the Psalm in the hymnal which was bound together with the liturgy. A hymn stanza without melody is included in the Polish rites, the *Bogu Oycu y Synowi* (“Eternal praise and glory be to God, the Father and to the Son Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Spirit, one God in Trinity”).⁷⁹³ In the Polish agendas this ascription of praise ordinarily was sung at the end of the service, but in the case of the 1614 order it marked the beginning of the order of the Lord’s Supper.⁷⁹⁴

The liturgies we have examined contain a mixture of medieval chant tones, the creed, the Our Father, the *Agnus Dei*, and other sequence hymns. All give the impression that we have before us evidence of a conservative Western liturgical tradition with which the rites stand in continuity. The church is not willing to be labeled a sect, as charged by the Jesuits, but a church which understands itself to be Catholic and Universal in time and place, as has otherwise been emphasized in the titles of the Minor Polish agendas, in the marginal notes, and in other public writings.

4.2.2. Practical Matters Relating to the Celebration of the Holy Communion

Deserving of special attention are the practical concerns attendant to the administration of the Holy Communion, including frequency of celebration, the uncovering the bread and wine in the communion and their distribution, the posture of the communicants, and other matters.

The celebration of the Holy Communion was an exceptional occurrence, not the usual Sunday service. It entailed particular preparation, and it required the observance of extraordinary procedures. It was cel-

⁷⁹² *Forma albo porządek* 1581, cijj; *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 77.

⁷⁹³ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 176; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 44; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 55; *Agenda* 1637, 127; *Akt usługi* 1644, 48.

⁷⁹⁴ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 31.

ebred as a special service at a time announced well in advance, both to give due notice to the worshipers, and to insure that all communicants would have an opportunity to prepare. We have already outlined the features of these periods of special preparation with reference to the individual agendas.

It is in Minor Poland that we find the first detailed instructions for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. These were given in the Stancaro, Bohemian Brethren, and Lasco orders. Most important was Lasco's order, from which all future orders would be derived. In his *Forma ac Ratio* he called for bi-monthly celebrations of the Holy Supper. He directed that in the German congregation in London Lord's Supper should be observed on a first Sunday of January, March, May, etc. In the congregation of the Walloons the celebration was to take place on the first Sunday of February, April, June, etc. Thus in one or the other congregation there would be a Communion service on the first Sunday of the month. He directed also that the Communion might be celebrated at other times by the decision of the church elders. He also noted that the use of lighted candles, altars, ringing bells, and other items associated with adoration, including liturgical vestments, should be done away with. Communion was to be celebrated at a plain table, set up in view of the congregation, and on which had been put a clean linen table cloth. Seated around the table were the elders and those who would participate as guests in the Supper. On the day before Communion, confession was to be held at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon and on the day of Communion the service began at 8:00 o'clock in the morning. Upon the table were four glasses and three tin plates. In the largest of these plates white bread, such as ordinarily used at home, was placed. A linen cloth covered everything. The largest plate was put in the middle of the table, and the smaller one on each side. It was into these smaller plates that the bread was put after it has been broken. The four glasses were filled with wine and were placed along side each of the two plates into which the broken bread would be put. These directions indicate Lasco's attempt

to recreate the scene in the upper room and celebrate Communion as it was first celebrated in the night when Jesus was betrayed.⁷⁹⁵

It is evident that both Lithuanian and Polish Churches followed many of practices from Lasco's service. Some practices remained only for a time, as in the case of sitting for communion, but other continued in use. The protocols of the Minor Polish Church indicate that Communion was ordinarily celebrated four times a year – on Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and on the Sunday after St. Michael's Day (September 29).⁷⁹⁶ Only the Kraiński's 1599 agenda specifies that additional celebrations are allowed, in times of plague, famine, war, and other times of great need, as determined by the minister.⁷⁹⁷ Later agendas do not speak in specific terms about appropriate dates for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

The utilitarian practice of uncovering the bread and wine and the manner of their distribution differs in the liturgies we have examined. In the liturgy of 1599 the elements are uncovered after the Our Father, before the Passover Words from 1 Corinthians 5, after the recitation of Christ's Words over the bread and wine.⁷⁹⁸ This indicates that Kraiński wished to obviate any notion that the bread and wine were in some sense set apart by the historical narrative of the institution. The inclusion of these words was simply meant to set the scene of the institution of the first Supper. Kraiński made provision for the repetition of the Words of Christ over the bread and wine immediately before the distribution. The 1614 agenda called for the uncovering of the bread and wine immediately before the recitation of Christ's Words.⁷⁹⁹ This rite included the use of manual acts at the mention of the bread and wine in the historical narrative of Christ's Testament. The 1637 and 1644 rites repeated this same provision.⁸⁰⁰ It appears that the purpose of unveiling the elements at that early point was to accommodate the manual acts, which illustrate Christ's acts by taking of the bread and cup by imitation. Nothing is said

⁷⁹⁵ *Kuyper II* 1866, 114-116; *Naunin* 1910, 229-233.

⁷⁹⁶ *Akta synodów II* 1972, 203, 320.

⁷⁹⁷ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 494.

⁷⁹⁸ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 171.

⁷⁹⁹ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 43.

⁸⁰⁰ *Agenda* 1637, 110; *Akt usługi* 1644, 29.

in the 1581, 1621, or 1602 agendas about the uncovering of the elements, but here the inclusion of the manual acts of taking the bread and wine while Christ's Words are being recited indicates that the elements must have been unveiled at this point.

The manual acts which accompany the Testamentary Words of Christ indicate the Reformed understanding that Christ's command 'This do' includes the imitation of his physical actions. If Christ took bread and broke it, the minister also should take bread into his hands and break it in two parts, as the majority of the Polish agendas direct. If Christ took the cup in his hands, then the minister should do the same.

The agenda of 1599 follows one ceremonial pattern found in Luther's *Formula Missae* in that he suggested that during the creed the bread and wine should be prepared in the customary manner for the consecration.⁸⁰¹ Kraiński directed that wine should be poured into the chalice and bread should in like manner be put into the paten during the singing of the creed.⁸⁰² The agendas of 1602 and 1614 are silent about this matter, but we find a directive similar to Kraiński's revived in 1637 order.⁸⁰³ The same directive is followed in 1644 order, excepting that wine is poured after the Pauline words over the cup, during the singing of the hymn *Nadroższą krwią swoią*.⁸⁰⁴ The Lithuanian agendas do not include directives concerning the unveiling or the preparation of the elements. Perhaps the preservation of earlier patterns made specific directives unnecessary.

The order of the reception of the communion elements varies in the agendas. Kraiński in his 1599 liturgy directs that minister should commune last of all.⁸⁰⁵ This order was changed in the 1614 rite. There the minister was to commune first and a special formulas for the self-communion of the minister were provided.⁸⁰⁶ The 1637 and 1644 agendas extend this provision by directing that the minister should first com-

⁸⁰¹ Thompson 1972, 111.

⁸⁰² *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 159.

⁸⁰³ *Agenda* 1637, 108.

⁸⁰⁴ *Akt usługi* 1644, 26, 35.

⁸⁰⁵ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 174.

⁸⁰⁶ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 50.

mune himself, then deacons and lectors, and finally the men, and ‘the hoary heads.’⁸⁰⁷ Other orders do not have directives about the minister’s communion, but all the Lithuanian and Polish agendas state that men commune first, and after them the women.

The placing of the bread into the hand of the communicant is specifically mentioned in the Lithuanian liturgies of 1581 and 1621.⁸⁰⁸ In every case it was understood to be necessary, since Christ’s command specifically note that the bread should to be taken. This is clearly different from the practice of Roman Catholics and Lutherans of this period, who normally delivered the sacrament into the mouth of the communicant.⁸⁰⁹

An extraordinarily sensitive issue was the question of the proper posture for reception of communion. As we have noted before, Lasco had directed that in imitation of the first Supper communicants should be seated at the table to receive the sacrament. This practice had to be abandoned because of its association with heretical and schismatic elements within the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed community. Acrimony developed because this practice came more and more to be identified with the Anti-Trinitarians, who claimed for themselves that they, following Lasco, were the true Reformed Church. Although in general the Poles in this period were quite broad minded in accepting of diverse Christian groups, their toleration did not extend to Anti-Trinitarians and others who denied the Biblical doctrine of God. Accordingly, the protocols of the general synods of 1570, 1573, 1578, 1583 specifically direct that the communion is not to be received seated, and they recommend standing or kneeling.⁸¹⁰ Kneeling, however, is never mentioned in the agendas as an acceptable practice. It had come to be associated with the veneration of the sacrament, a practice which the Reformed regarded as idolatrous bread worship. A typical Reformed sentiment was that

⁸⁰⁷ *Agenda 1637*, 116; *Akt usługi 1644*, 37.

⁸⁰⁸ *Forma albo porządek 1581*, c; *Forma albo porządek 1621*, 76.

⁸⁰⁹ Lutherans particularly spoke to this issue during their discussions with the Reformed at the general synod in Sandomierz in 1570. *Akta synodów II 1972*, 273.

⁸¹⁰ In every case when the general synods determined to maintain liberty in the rites and ceremonies of the churches of Sandomierz Consensus, they permitted the same liberty regarding the posture of those receiving Communion. *Akta synodów II 1972*, 272-273, 297; *Akta synodów III 1983*, 12, 40, 82.

while standing with their bodies they were kneeling with their hearts.⁸¹¹ Therefore the Polish agendas of 1599, 1602, and 1614 direct that people must stand for the reception of the elements.⁸¹² The protocols of the 1633 Orla convocation indicate that communion is to be received standing. The Gdańsk Book of 1637, however, makes no mention of it.

All Polish liturgies provide for the continuation of the old custom of singing hymns during communion. However, the Lithuanian liturgy of 1581 does not offer this provision. It directs instead that during communion the sixth chapter of the Gospel of John is to be read.⁸¹³ This provision was taken from Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* 1550 and served to articulate the Reformed notion of spiritual communion.⁸¹⁴ However, the liturgy of 1621 provides instead for the singing of appropriate hymns.⁸¹⁵

4.3. A Critical Evaluation of the Rites and their Interrelationships

We have critically examined each section of the liturgical rites found in the Polish and Lithuanian agendas in order to understand their theological significance within the Reformed community. We have also considered the relationship of the parts of these liturgies to the greater European Reformed tradition, and the traditional liturgical patterns of the medieval Western Church. It remains for us now to examine more closely the course of the liturgical development which finally issued in the publication of the 1637 and 1644 agendas. We must inquire concerning the nature of this development and the course which it followed, noting what portions of the liturgy must face fresh consideration with the passing of time, what had proved unhelpful, and what served to express the heart and soul of the final liturgical expression.

⁸¹¹ *Akta synodów III* 1983, 272-273.

⁸¹² *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 173-174; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1602, 41; *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 50-51.

⁸¹³ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, c.

⁸¹⁴ *Kuyper II* 1866, 164.

⁸¹⁵ *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 76.

We have seen that within the Reformed Church in Poland and Lithuania there stood two strong independent liturgical traditions, separately representing the worship practices of the Polish and Lithuanian peoples. During the period covered by this study, these traditions came into a closer mutual contact, and finally a common rite was issued for use in both churches. The first attempt to express this unity in a common worship form of 1637 was not entirely successful. It was necessary to publish an amended and corrected edition of 1644 to satisfy the needs of the Lithuanians.

The earliest rites we studied were Lithuanian. Their construction and direction were straightforward, but their real significance comes to light only with the appearance of the Great Gdańsk Book of 1637 which was meant to supersede them. The Lithuanian rites showed themselves to be quite stable. The church was not interested in novelties or in the production of rites which in any way recalled the worship practices of other churches. The successive agendas of 1581, 1594, 1598, 1600, and the Lithuanian edition of the rite in the Pietkiewicz 1598 catechism are exact copies of the earliest Lithuanian rite. The only information we have about this earlier rite is found in its 1581 reprint which, according to the earlier source had been printed in the printing house of Radziwiłł the Brown in Vilnius. Of all the Lithuanian sources only liturgy of 1621 departs from the early text, and then only in minor details.

The Lithuanian rite of 1581 shows the strong influence of Lasco. Many parts of Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* are found in the later rite, but in a more elaborate form. The verbal formulas are more concentrated. The formula for excommunication is new, and is made a part of the exhortation to the communicants. This is an unusual feature which departs from other Calvinist liturgies and seems to inappropriately bind together two elements of the liturgy which would better be kept separate. The invitation to God's table which Lasco had put after the recitation of Passover Words from 1 Corinthians 5, is now put after the breaking of the bread. The examination of the neophytes is put after the invitation instead of at an early place in the Communion day rite or on preparatory services. Its presence at this point seems to diminish the significance of the general

invitation just announced. Perhaps its use here is meant to accent the covenant meal nature of the Supper, requiring of the Neophytes a special commitment of faithful obedience. Lasco's distribution formula, which stressed the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, is replaced by the different bread formula, which speaks about the nature of the gifts and their intended fruit, the forgiveness of sins. The formula for the distribution of the cup, however, runs in line with Lasco, stressing the blood shed on the cross. The bread is received into the hands, in order that the commandments of Christ might be fulfilled (1) 'take', (2) 'eat.' Apart from these minor adaptations and the rejection of sitting communion, Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio* is followed closely.⁸¹⁶

The liturgy of 1621 was derived from the 1581-1600 rites. The most significant innovation of this agenda is its reworking of the opening part of the service. It was traditional in Lithuania to begin worship with the prayer *Wszęchmogący wieczny Boże*, a prayer for right and God-pleasing worship. This was followed by the admonition to the communicants, and the declaration of excommunication comes immediately thereafter, somewhat abruptly. 1621 book wished to smooth this transition. The service began with a Psalm 124:8: "Our help is in the Lord who created heaven and earth." It separated the excommunication from the admonition by inserting the prayer for right and God-pleasing worship between them, thus achieving a greater sense of balance and effecting a smoother transition from the admonition to the solemn warning to those who refuse to heed it. The excommunication was shortened by dropping the reference to those who have no desire to repent and had thereby excommunicated themselves. Finally, Lasco's prayer *Omnipotens aeterna Deus* is shortened by altering the closing doxology. The integrity of the rite was maintained and only minor 'housekeeping' changes were incorporated. What is lacking in this rite is any detailed instructions concerning the form for the traditional services of preparation to be held two weeks, one week, and one day before the celebration of the Supper. In this, the 1621 rite stands out from other Lithuanian forms of the Lord's Supper. Surely this does not indicate that the preparatory or-

⁸¹⁶ *Forma albo porządek* 1581, b-cijj.

ders have lost their significance. Apart from this omission the service is not notable and gives us no clue as to the course of development which led to its composition.⁸¹⁷

The Polish liturgies, however, present us with many opportunities for further exploration. They reveal something of the struggles through which the church passed in order to achieve the creation of the agenda to be used both in Poland and in Lithuania.

With the 1599 rite we find a special emphasis upon the invocation of the Holy Spirit and the confession of his essential role in Holy Communion as it is understood from the Reformed perspective. Beginning with 1599 we find a declaration of grace as well, and not just a word of comfort. In the context of the meaning of the Testament and the admonition, Kraiński included a formal statement of excommunication which ‘fences the table’ and warns the ungodly and disobedient of the seriousness of their need for repentance. The inclusion of excommunication at this point, after the Words of Christ, is somewhat startling and creates unnecessary tension, since the assembled congregation had already been through two weeks of special services and intensive spiritual preparation, had already confessed their sins, and had heard the declaration of grace and the Words of Institution.

Kraiński kept Lasco’s directive that all should receive the bread together after Paul’s and Christ’s own Words over the bread, and before the Pauline words over the cup. In order to follow this directive, he found it necessary to repeat the Words of Christ from Luke 22:19-20 and 1 Corinthians 11:25 which had already been spoken once, since they are included in the historical narrative from 1 Corinthians 11. This gives what may be seen from the Reformed perspective to give undue attention to Christ’s Testamentary Words, which according to Reformed tradition are not consecratory. Of course it was not necessary for Kraiński to repeat Christ’s Words at all. He could instead have connected the communion of the bread with Paul’s words from 1 Corinthians 10, since the reference is to broken bread and now the bread has been broken. But the second reference speaks of a cup of blessing, and this cup has not

⁸¹⁷ *Forma albo porządek* 1621, 74-77.

yet been blessed, so Kraiński undertakes to bless it with the Words of Christ. Pauline words concerning the cup of blessing direct our attention to Christ's Words over the cup. This leaves Kraiński open for possible criticism, since he appears to capitulate to a view of actual consecration not appropriate to the Reformed tradition. Another point of interest in Kraiński's liturgy is the formula of distribution which he has fashioned, beginning with the Words of Christ and then taking those words into his own mouth. Christ has said: "Take, eat, this is my body..." and "This same I also say unto you in the name of Christ: Take, eat, this is the body of our Lord Christ which is given for you."⁸¹⁸ A parallel formula is used for the distribution of the cup. Thus Kraiński presents a formula which easily connects with the traditional words: "Take, eat, this the body of Christ..." and yet gives them a form which will not violate the canons of Reformed theology or the sensibilities of his listeners. All receive the sacrament standing. Here the liturgists appear to have been far more concerned about the possibilities of idolatrous worship of the bread than the general synods and their theologians who presented the possibility of kneeling at communion. Surprisingly, the concluding portion of the service does not include either a blessing or the prayer of blessing over the people.

The appearance of a new agenda after only three years indicates that Kraiński's work had excited interest beyond the borders of the districts for which he had prepared. The new book was to be used of the clergy throughout all the districts in Minor Poland. Actually, the changes incorporated into the 1602 service were quite minor. The shape of Kraiński's work was thrown into question and certain specific features of his rite had to be altered to make them acceptable to the larger group. We note that Kraiński's declaration of grace has been replaced by a form which was identified as an 'absolution,' a term not common among the Reformed and which could easily provoke heated discussions. Secondly, the prayer toward the Words of Christ has been moved to a place before, instead of after, Christ's Testamentary Words. Most significant in the rite are the changes found in the section: "Blessing,

⁸¹⁸ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1599, 139-176, 494-495.

Breaking, Distributing and Eating.” The word ‘blessing’ had been kept from 1599, but there is in fact no act of blessing which includes Christ’s Testamentary Words. Now blessing is identified with Paul’s words from 1 Corinthians 10. Christ’s Words had been spoken already in the historical narrative, and communion would follow upon the words of Paul from 1 Corinthians 10. The editors decided to replace the distribution formula of Kraiński’s agenda with the more traditional formula: “Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Christ ...” The service concludes as it did before, excepting that now the Aaronic Benediction is included, a feature not found in 1599 rite.⁸¹⁹

The twelve year interval between the liturgies of 1602 and 1614 indicates that, although liturgical matters have not yet been satisfactorily settled, the issue was not as pressing as in earlier times. The Reformed Churches had taken time to evaluate and consider what changes ought to be made. The title of the 1614 agenda does not indicate that any changes have been made at all. It announces itself to be simply a reprint of the 1602 book, however, an examination of the two services reveals that there have been in fact a number of changes, although one would probably be hard put to call any of them radical or dramatic. Of significance, however, is the fact that the directives concerning the two weeks of preparation before the Communion are far more detailed than in earlier rites. As in the case of the Lithuanian orders, prescriptions for these services are very detailed and specific. The service on the day of Communion begins with the ascription of praise. The excommunication is now spoken immediately after the invocation of the Holy Spirit. This relieved the tension found in Kraiński’s 1599 liturgy to a certain extent, since the excommunication has been removed from its former place after the Testamentary Words of Christ to a place much nearer the beginning of the rite. Here it would remain in subsequent rites, although we may question whether it ought to have been retained at all, given the rigorous period of self-examination and repentance which the worshippers have already experienced. Concerning communion we notice that the reference to the blessing in the distribution section has been

⁸¹⁹ *Porządek nabożeństwa 1602*, 23-44, 81-82.

removed from the title. However, additional supplies should be set apart using the Christ's Testamentary Words, following the words of Paul from 1 Corinthians 10. This provision together with the directive that the *reliquiae* are to be immediately consumed is somewhat perplexing. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the framers of this liturgy are still struggling with notions concerning consecration which they have not yet been able satisfactorily to resolve. This rite also introduces a new distribution formula to replace the traditional: "Take, eat, this is the body of Christ..." The following formula for the minister's self-communion demonstrates the change: The minister says as he communes himself: "In faith I receive the body ..." and then as he gives the bread into the hands of the people he says the traditional formula: "Take, eat..." The same procedure follows concerning the cup. The minister's self-communion formula indicates that the instrument of reception is not the mouth, but faith. This is giving a new twist to the traditional 1602 formula.⁸²⁰

The Gdańsk Book of 1637 was not simply another in a growing of agendas published by the Polish Church. It was rather proved to be the final step, the culmination of decades of efforts to formulate an acceptable and theologically sound Reformed liturgy to be used in the Churches of Poland and Lithuania. Although the Lutherans had long since indicated that they would not participate in any further union efforts with the Reformed, it must be noted that there was at least nominal involvement by the Bohemian Brethren in the publication of this book. We find in this book the fusion of two worship traditions, the first and older of which goes back to Johannes a Lasco. It was this tradition which shaped worship among the Lithuanian Reformed. The second tradition came to printed expression in the work of Kraiński in 1599. This agenda and its subsequent revisions gave shape to a liturgical tradition which predominated in Minor Poland but came to exercise some important influence among the Lithuanians as well. Now these two traditions met in the work of 1637, in what was meant to be the final product of both Polish and Lithuanian liturgical work.

⁸²⁰ *Porządek nabożeństwa* 1614, 25-55.

An examination of the work reveals that the Minor Polish liturgies had clearly predominated. Almost in every place where Lithuanian traditions differed from the Polish practices, the Lithuanian traditions had to give way to the Polish. Even in cases when the Lithuanians had been told that their practices would be followed, as at the convocation at Orla in 1633, the Poles presumptuously broke their word for their own purposes. Most significant are the parts of the service that have to do directly with the Holy Communion and the use of terminology. The Poles used language and liturgical elements reminiscent of Catholicism which the Lithuanians had long since discarded. The Lithuanians service had not begun with the invocation of the Holy Spirit. It had no office of absolution, no confession of faith, no *Agnus Dei*. Some of these innovations, such as the invocation of the Holy Spirit and the creed were not offensive. Others appear to have caused some concern, especially, those parts which represented significant changes from the forms with which the Lithuanians had become familiar throughout more than a half a century. The greatest change for the Lithuanians was in the distribution of the Holy Supper. Among the Lithuanians the bread and wine had always been distributed together after the Pauline words over the bread and cup had been recited. Although Lasco had directed separate distribution of the bread and wine, the Lithuanians had adopted a different practice. Now the Great Gdańsk Agenda directed them to distribute communion in a manner which was foreign to their usual practice. Also missing from the new rite was the familiar prayer for humble access, which the Lithuanians had always used before the distribution.⁸²¹

Lithuanian contributions to the new liturgy were very nominal and limited to elements which for the Poles were novelties. These included the introduction of the words of the consolation and encouragement after communion, which had been taken from Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio*.

Omitted from earlier Lithuanian and Polish liturgies was the citation of Passover Words from 1 Corinthians 5. New to both traditions were the detailed schema of the preparatory services and, most particularly, the elaborate order for the day before Communion. These had

⁸²¹ *Agenda* 1637, 78-127.

been found in a rudimentary form in earlier agendas, but only now were they worked out in detail. Most striking is the decision to combine the prayer toward the Words of Christ with the prayer for the confession of sins. It is hard to understand on what theological grounds this alteration was based. It seems that there may have been a desire to take attention away from any notions of consecration. Finally, there was added a new element not previously found in the earlier Lithuanian and Polish agendas: the admonition to live a true Christian life which precedes the benediction at the close of the service and a prayer, taken from the 1612 Bohemian Brethren agenda.

In the course of the ensuing discussion between the leaders of the Polish and Lithuanian Churches, it was decided to authorize the publication of a new book which included the revision of a few directives and forms which appeared to have caused offence.

The revised work was published in 1644 and included some revisions of the service of the Holy Communion which would make it more readily acceptable among the Lithuanians. Two options were presented with reference to the Words of Christ's Testament (1 Corinthians 11:23-25 and 1 Corinthians 11:23-29). The manual acts might be used, but ministers and congregations were free to omit them. This allowed the Lithuanians to recite the Words of the Testament without accompanying actions. Most significant were the acts surrounding the distribution of Holy Communion. Once again the Lithuanians were able to receive the bread and wine together instead of separately. After the bread had been broken and the Cup-words had been spoken, the congregation would join in the Our Father, the minister would say the prayer of humble access, restored from Lithuanian tradition, and the people would be invited to come to the Lord's table. A controverted point, on which the Poles now acquiesced to the older tradition, was the restoration of the prayer toward the Words of Christ to its former place, a decision which the Lithuanians found congenial. We note also that the distribution formula of 1637, which was similar to that with which both Lithuanian and Polish liturgies were familiar, was replaced with a form, which closely followed the wording of Kraiński's 1599 rite: "... this same I also say

to you...” This allowed the minister to give the sacrament without making a definite statement about what was being given.⁸²² It should be noted that the Great Gdańsk Agenda was not entirely rejected in Lithuania. Many of its forms were used and therefore they were not included in the 1644 printing.

⁸²² *Akt usługi* 1644, 19-48.

FINAL OBSERVATIONS

The scope of this study has been to examine the liturgies of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Churches during the first century of their existence up to the year 1644, with special attention given to the services of Holy Communion and their theology. The special concern of the study has been to bring to clearer light the doctrine of Holy Communion and the liturgical expression of that doctrine in the services of worship used in the Reformed congregations of that period.

On the basis of our study of the rites we have seen that the Calvinist Reformation in Poland, primarily in Minor Poland, was not at first theological in nature. The lack of theological acumen we see in the Protestants' inability to formulate a single and adequate liturgical service for use in the Reformed congregations. What stood at the center of their Reformation was their negative reaction against Catholicism in all its forms. This explains why the Lutheran rites suggested by Francesco Stancaro in Pińczów in 1550 were thought to be too 'Catholic.' The Poles were looking for something dramatically different and more congenial to their Protestant spirit. A variety of forms from other Reformed Churches were used, but none seemed wholly satisfactory. The lack of a uniform theological direction led them to take the decisive step of borrowing the liturgical rites of the Bohemian Brethren. A measure of Polish theological self-awareness and self-confidence came only with the arrival of Johannes a Lasco in 1557. He brought with him a bold and clearly defined form of Reformation doctrine and rites, imbued with

the spirit of Calvin's Geneva Reformation upon which the Poles could build an expression of their faith which was not merely reactive.

It would be many years before this emerging theological consciousness would express itself in a genuine Polish liturgy. The influence of Johannes a Lasco alone was not enough to establish such a liturgy. A variety of forms remained in use until the end of the sixteenth century. Although synod after synod expressed the desire for a unification of rites on the basis Lasco's liturgy, the desire remained unfulfilled. When at last a liturgy was approved and published in 1599, the Eucharistic rites and ceremonies provided by the great spiritual father of the Polish Reformed Church in his *Forma ac Ratio* were in strong evidence, but they have been newly shaped and moulded by the hand of Kraiński.

The appearance of Kraiński's 1599 liturgy marked the inauguration of a rich and creative period in the life of the Minor Polish Church. Within a period of less than two decades two major liturgical works, the agendas of 1602 and 1614, were published for use in the congregations of the Reformed Church. These books established a liturgical tradition unique to Minor Poland and gave birth to the desire for a common liturgy to be used in all Reformed and Bohemian Brethren congregations in both countries.

From its very beginning Reformed Protestantism in Lithuania presents a somewhat different picture. Although we see the same strong reaction against Catholicism, we here find it combined from the very beginning with a better understanding of the liturgical and sacramental issues which lay at the heart of the Reformation. With the Minor Polish experience already behind them, the Reformed Church in Lithuania was built on a somewhat more solid theological foundation, as we see from the first public debates in Vilnius in 1557-58.

The Lithuanians were able to agree on a common liturgy in the earliest period. The document available to us was published in 1581. It is a reprint of an earlier liturgy which was itself built upon the pattern set by Lasco's *Forma ac Ratio*. The later 1594, 1598, and 1600 Lithuanian books follow this earliest work exactly. This indicates that Lithuanian

worship during this period was very stable and agreement upon it was wide spread.

The Lithuanian agenda provided rituals for only the four most basic pastoral and congregational forms, bound together with a hymnal and catechism in a single sparse volume. While recognizing their need for a fuller agenda, the Lithuanians were not willing to adopt the Polish books. Although the goal of this period was to strive for a richer and more adequate liturgy, the following 1621 rite did not meet this need; it simply followed in the path of the books which preceded it.

By the third decade of the seventeenth century, Lithuanian, Polish Reformed, and Bohemian Brethren had agreed to begin negotiations with the goal of unifying the rites in both countries. For the Lithuanians it was a bittersweet moment. The unwillingness of the Podlasiian District to remain faithful to the old Lithuanian books, as well as pressure from Duke Radziwiłł, and other reasons made it necessary for the Lithuanians to seek unification. So it was that in the 1633, 1634, and 1636 convocations they subscribed to the production of a common book which came to be known as the Great Gdańsk Agenda of 1637.

The disregard for Lithuanian traditions and the continued presence of certain 'Catholic' elements in the new book caused the rejection of the Great Gdańsk Agenda by the Lithuanians. However, they were unwilling to cut their ties with the Polish Church, and in 1638 they proposed that a new general convocation should prepare an amended work. The Poles indicated their willingness to make concessions for the sake of harmony. In 1644 the newly agreed form of the Holy Communion was published. The concessions made were minor, but Lithuanians found them sufficient to satisfy their needs.

It was planned that the whole agenda as amended be published. Discussions on this matter at a number of synods were inconclusive. In later decades fierce persecution by the Roman Catholic majority occupied the churches' full attention. The question of survival was of greater importance, and the need for a unified agenda faded. The 1742 Lithuanian agenda was simply a republication of the 1644 volume, with the addition of several acts taken directly from the Gdańsk Agenda.

The spirit of the Minor Polish liturgical rites may be described as dynamic and ever-changing. Reflective of the church's growing awareness of the need for internal identity, they worked through many decades to achieve the measure of theological and ecclesiological self-confidence needed to provide the congregations with public worship services adequate to meet the spiritual needs of the people. The Minor Polish Church did not fear innovation and was quick to cast aside formulations which might be insufficient or even misleading, and to change direction as necessary. The spirit of the Lithuanian Church was quite different. The theological and liturgical tradition was set in early times and remained quite static until, due to social circumstances and the desire for a fuller expression of its faith, the church moved very cautiously and tentatively, testing each new proposal according to standards determined by strong self-consciousness and liturgical tradition. When these two traditions came together in the Gdańsk Book, it was evident that one would have to give place to the other. Although neither church willingly or wholly gave up its sense of self-identity and its strong traditionalism, in the end it was the Lithuanians who had to give way to the stronger and more dynamic spirit of sister church in Minor Poland.

The material we have examined has provided us an accurate picture of the faith of the Lithuanian and Polish Churches. In the present day it is no longer considered a significant function of liturgy to reflect an established doctrinal position. Faith is often thought to be the distillation of a way of praying and worshiping according to the axiom *lex orandi, lex credendi*. The Reformers and their immediate descendants would not have agreed. They understood liturgy to be an expression of faith, not faith's source and norm. To them faith and its doctrinal expression were to be formulated on the basis of the Word of God. This word, according to the first article of the *Second Helvetic Confession*, is divinely inspired in all its parts. In the earliest days of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformation the formal doctrinal expression of the faith was understood to be secondary to the preaching and reading of the Holy Scriptures, and almost no place was given to extra-biblical material, including even the credal statements which arose out of the doctrinal controversies of

the third and fourth centuries. It was only after long struggle with the Anti-Trinitarians and other radical groups that the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed came to understand the importance of the testimony of the ancient fathers, the creeds, and the councils. Now they came to an understanding that they must formulate prayers and liturgies expressive of this faith: *lex credendi, lex orandi*.

As the church emerged from this period of struggle toward clearer self-identity, it was necessary to formulate a congruent expression of the church's teaching in the liturgy. The liturgies give a record of the doctrinal path taken by the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed and the increasingly adequate expression of the Reformed faith in public worship. This liturgical material, when viewed from its historical context and in conjunction with the doctrinal resolutions formulated in the synodical protocols and the general history of the Polish and Lithuanian Churches, is most helpful to us as we seek to draw a fuller picture of the church in this period. It provides much more than a record of how the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Protestants spent their Sunday worship hours. It reflects their struggle toward doctrinal understanding and their developing ecclesiology. In the case of Lithuania, where no church protocols prior to 1611 are available to us, this liturgical material is the most important evidence we possess of that life and faith. Indeed, without the consideration of this material only a very partial and inadequate picture could be drawn.

The faith set forth in these liturgies find their center in God himself. It is God in his complete power and majesty who is the center of worship. His omnipotence is emphasized above all else. He is the maker and ruler of all things and the judge of all men. All things are in his hands and there is no appeal from his decrees and judgments. He will have mercy on those to whom he desires to show his mercy, and none can complain of unfair treatment should he determine to withhold his mercies. The man who recognizes himself to be under the hand of God calls upon him, pleading for mercy for the sake of Christ and pledging himself to a life of obedience to God's holy law. Man's faith is understood primarily in terms of his obedience, which is by no means merely

theoretical. Obedience is to be rendered to God on the basis of his eternal edicts set down in the divine law in the pages of Holy Scripture. It is with the specific aim of living a life of obedience that the worshiper both comes to worship, and goes forth from worship. Worship is his duty, and he goes from the duty of worship to perform his moral and religious duties as they are set down in God's commandments.

Even in the midst of the congregation, man stands alone before the omnipotent God. The role of the minister in these liturgies is to guide him, to encourage him, and to warn him of the dire consequences, both temporal and eternal, of disobedience to God and to his church. In the moment of communion and in the presence of whole congregation each stands before his Lord and partakes of the signs of the sacrament, and spiritually eats the body and blood of Christ. If one is not adequately prepared or doubts, this spiritual eating will not take place and the man himself will stand under God's judgment. Indeed if the unworthy should partake of the outward elements, it may be feared that God's wrath might break out upon the whole congregation. The purpose of the minister is to assist the worshiper in preparing for that moment of truth. He will guide him through a period of preparation as long as two weeks in length and he will determine whether there are sufficient outward signs of piety and obedience to indicate that one may be admitted as a worthy communicant. Finally, he will excommunicate, that is 'fence off' from the Lord's table, any whom he deems to be unworthy. But more he cannot do. Now the moment of truth has come, and man must stand alone before God. It is the moment of fear and trepidation, filled with high emotion, not a time in which the Christian soul is arrayed in gladness and rejoicing.

In order to stand worthily before the omnipotent God in the Holy Communion man must be cleansed of sin. It is noteworthy that we find in these liturgies no unequivocal word of absolution after the pattern of the word of forgiveness. The word which declares God's grace is spoken in general terms and does not address the individual personally and directly, since no word of man can be the bearer of such an awesome power. Man can depend only upon the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit and the evidence of his own works of faith to provide him with

some measure of assurance that his sins have indeed been forgiven and that he may now worthily come to the sacrament and receive the spiritual body and blood of Christ in obedience to his Lord's command.

The liturgies express the typical Reformed thinking about the relationship between material and spiritual. From the standpoint of anthropology, sin is most clearly located in man's bodily nature. It is through bodily actions that he expresses disobedience to God's law. The flesh is not only weak, it is the locus of man's corruption. Sin is understood primarily in bodily terms, i.e., in terms of man's creatureliness. Even at its best what is outward and material can only point beyond itself to what is spiritual and immaterial. Man's soul is imprisoned in his sinful body. If one correctly follows the law of God, he will turn away from all fleshly allurements and preoccupations, in order that his soul may flourish. The goal is that the body should reflect man's spiritual nature in acts of obedience. Thus the body will more properly point beyond itself to the treasure which resides within it - man's immortal soul.

With reference to ecclesiology, the liturgies reflect the Reformed idea of the church as the pure, elect people of God. One of the marks of the visible church is the administration of discipline, the purpose of which is to mark out and exclude from the church all those who have given evidence by their actions that they are not among the pure. Such persons have no place in the gathering. From this perspective Holy Communion is understood to be the banquet of the purified, and not the Supper in which Christ forgives and grants his grace to penitent sinners. After the agreement with the Lutherans which was expressed in the *Sandomierz Consensus*, Calvinists took offence at the Lutheran practice of admitting to the sacrament public sinners whom they regarded to be by no means worthy of participation. From their point of view the true church is not an *ecclesia mixta* but rather a church in which members are strongly disciplined and from which the disobedient are removed with dispatch. Only in this way could the earthly church truly point beyond itself to the heavenly fellowship and to the unblemished bride of Christ, the heavenly church. Church government rests in the hands of ordained ministers and exemplary members of the congregation who

assist him in extending the rule of Christ over the congregation, according to the usual pattern in Reformed Churches. They participate with him in the examination of the communicants and the decision concerning who may and may not be admitted to the sacrament.

The Lord's Supper played a special role in the lives of the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed peoples. Religious devotion at this period was largely evaluated on the basis of one's participation in the worship life of the community and unquestioned obedience to the minister and leaders of the congregation. Christian life in the home was closely tied to the corporate worship life of the community. In a reciprocal relationship, the services of preparation before Holy Communion called for concentrated meditation and self-examination in the home by those who desired to participate in the celebration of the Holy Supper. Excommunication brought with it not only a prohibition to come to the Lord's table; it would also strongly affect one's social standing in the community. The edict labeling one publicly as a condemned sinner would have great personal as well as social effects. Thus membership, active participation, and obedience became the measure of the righteous life in both the civil and religious communities. On the theological level, the member of the congregation sees his life in its wider dimensions. His life has come from God, and now he fulfils God's requirement to give him all glory and praise in the community of the redeemed, and to live his life in that obedience which God's law requires of his redeemed and purified people.

In relation to the larger family of the Reformed Churches, it has often been remarked that the Reformed Churches are quite individual theologically and liturgically. Each has followed its own path, depending upon the ethnic characteristics of the people and the strong individuals who emerged to lead these national groups. Therefore it is no surprise that the liturgical traditions in Poland and Lithuania were influenced by the diverse rites of other Reformed Churches. In the earliest period we see the influence of the Swiss, German, English, Bohemian, and other Reformed liturgies. Most prominent was the liturgy which Johannes a Lasco wrote for his congregation in London. It was not until the end of

the sixteenth century that the particular traditions which had developed on the basis of these rites begun to assert themselves. Lithuania continued strongly in the tradition which had been set by Lasco and which by this time had effected a uniquely Lithuanian expression. In Minor Poland, beginning with Kraiński's 1599 liturgy, we see in addition to Lasco's influence a greater latitude which allows the introduction of elements and melodies from Lutheran and Catholic sources. The spirit of Kraiński remained imprinted upon all subsequent Polish rites, and this was indeed a major point of contention between the Lithuanians and the Poles in their controversies over the terminology and the ceremonial usages. In the larger family of Reformed liturgies, Kraiński's work stands out as a unique expression of Reformed Christianity. There is nothing akin to it in the other Reformed Churches. It is uniquely Polish in form, terminology, and theology. Although many of its specific provisions were later suppressed, the impact of this work would be ongoing. All future works would be measured according to it.

The standard form of the Western liturgical tradition which continued in use in the Roman, Anglican, and Lutheran Churches was cast aside in these liturgies. The liturgies of Zwingli 1524, Bucer 1537, and Calvin 1542 still conformed somewhat loosely to the pattern of the ancient *Missa catechumenorum* and *Missa fdelium*. The Polish and Lithuanian rites departed from this tradition altogether. It may be said that these liturgies are more Calvinist than Calvin, in that everything moves relentlessly toward the goal of the Christian appearing before God, offering him praise, and receiving the remembrance of the saving work which Christ has accomplished for him. There is little evidence of the ancient liturgy of the word, and little prominence is given to the exposition of the word. Holy Communion is by no means the ordinary form of Sunday worship. It is reserved for very special occasions, which are determined by the passing of the seasons. Communion is not just about Christ, it is about man and his affirmation as a member of a purified people of God.

We have found in Minor Polish rites uncharacteristic references to an act of consecration, and the use of traditional terms such as 'confes-

sion,' 'absolution,' etc. We notice as well the use of the manual acts during the historical recital of the institution, the use of formulas of distribution which refer to the elements as the body and blood of Christ, the use of extracts from the traditional Western *Prefatio* and *Sanctus* in the prayer of thanksgiving after communion, the singing of the *Agnus Dei*, and the use of traditional Gregorian chant melodies and Luther's metrical version of the Nicene Creed *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*. We may wonder what is the source of these elements which seem so foreign to the spirit of Reformed worship and theology. Given the political and social circumstances of the time and the strong role played by the Roman Catholic Church in the public persecution of the Reformed Church, we must seriously doubt that these elements were imported into the liturgies directly from Roman Catholic sources. We must look elsewhere. Lutheranism appears to be the likely source of these elements and their use in the Reformed Church would most naturally stem from that period during which the Reformed were anxious to form an alliance with the Lutherans. This takes us back to the *Sandomierz Consensus* of 1570 and the Reformed hope that the time would soon come when all three churches which signed to that agreement would use a common rite of Holy Communion and a common agenda. The victory of the *Sandomierz* spirit over the emerging party of confessional Lutherans in the general synod of Toruń in 1595 and the appearance of Kraiński's 1599 agenda and its successor rite in 1602 moved the Reformed to a careful examination of their own liturgies and those of the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren. However, the Reformed enthusiasm was not shared by the Lutherans, and no common rite with the Lutherans ever appeared. It is to the events of the period 1570-1602 that we must look to see how foreign terminology and practices made their way into the Polish Reformed agendas.

Doctrinal considerations still predominated. The communicants must receive communion in their hands, not in their mouths, since the Reformed regarded the Dominical Word 'take' as requiring that each communicant receives the bread from the hands of the minister into his own hands and takes the cup from the officiant to drink for himself. The

earlier practice of receiving communion while seated around a table did not long continue. The need to distinguish the Reformed Church from its heretical offshoots meant that the manner of communion reception must be restricted. It was no longer regarded as an *adiaphora*. Since sitting was forbidden, the agendas strongly recommend that all communicants stand. The Lutheran practice of kneeling was not employed, so as to avoid even the outward impression of artiology, i.e., the worship of bread, since they believed that Christ to be present not in the bread but in heaven. While outwardly standing, the worshipers should inwardly kneel in heart and mind before the heavenly throne. Although many concessions could be made to the Lutherans, here the line had to be drawn, for what is earthly cannot be the bearer of the heavenly body of Christ, because *finitum non capax infiniti*.

These liturgies represent a picture of the spiritual development and theological maturation of both the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed. The Gdańsk liturgy of 1637 has played a most significant role, for worship life in both churches is still built around this volume. It represents the mature expression of Reformed theology concerning man's relationship to God in which he seeks above all things to give the worship and praise that are his due. Unfortunately, few outside Poland and Lithuania are aware of the existence of these liturgical traditions and even fewer are well acquainted with their provisions. The forces of history have conspired to turn the attention of historians and liturgical scholars to other matters. As a result, the 1644 liturgy has been almost completely forgotten, and the 1637 Great Gdańsk Book is but a dim memory. Careful study, however, greatly enhances our understanding of the special characteristics of the Reformed Church and worship, and the forms in which it is expressed in these rites.

The study has helped us to peel away the outward veneer of apparent uniformity to see two churches which are in fact quite individual. Historians have often treated the Lithuanian and Polish Reformed Churches under a single heading, as though they differed only in location, language, and national sentiments. The study of the rites and ceremonies makes it clear that the Polish and Lithuanian Churches were two very

different bodies, exhibiting different spiritual temperaments. One remained quite static, with a theological spirit born of the conservatism which was exhibited in Lasco's church order. The other was more adventurous, and its spirituality was tied to an ecumenical hope. They were finally unable to blend together in a completely harmonious liturgical expression. It is clear that the historical study of these churches deserves careful but separate attention.

The study of these liturgies helps us also to answer the perennial question concerning the periodization of the Reformation in these countries. Nineteenth century historians took the view that the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania came to an abrupt end with the arrival of the Jesuits in 1569. More recently scholars have looked to a somewhat later date. They have identified the close of the Reformation with the climax of open hostilities against the Protestants which came with the destruction of the churches, as in Vilnius in 1611, and even earlier in Poland. It was during this time that the Polish and Lithuanian Protestants lost their last chance to wield political influence. In the most recent decades a third group of scholars has suggested that the Reformation in these countries did not come to an end until the middle of the seventeenth century. There are some inherent weaknesses in this third view, but it should be noted that our study of liturgies indicates that the Reformation Churches lost their vitality little by little until, after the middle of the seventeenth century it became clear that the question of survival was uppermost and the melding of the liturgical rites was secondary.

Our quest to understand the Reformation in these countries has led us to examine more closely the nature and significance of the *Sandomierz Consensus*. Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic students of this period are not agreed in their interpretation of the *Consensus* or its significance. We have seen that from the very beginning the *Consensus* was very superficial and represented no theological breakthrough. In so far as consensus was reached, it was based upon the worsening political and social circumstances of the time. On a deeper level, no doctrinal agreement was reached concerning the nature of the Lord's Supper. The Reformed interpreted the document as a Reformed victory

and viewed it in the light of the *Second Helvetic and Sandomierz Confession*. The emerging Lutheran spirit, which would so soon show itself in the publication of the *Formula of Concord* and the entire Lutheran *Book of Concord*, was such that, although they still publicly expressed agreement with the *Consensus*, the Lutherans came more and more to consider it inadequate. As confessionalism grew, support for the *Consensus* gradually waned, and finally it was most clearly repudiated at the *Colloquium Charitativum* in 1645, when the Lutherans refused to make common cause with the Reformed and Bohemian Brethren before the Polish monarchy.

This study should also be of value both for students of the Reformed tradition and for the Reformed Church itself. Previous examinations have not studied the liturgical life of the church closely. Most have been content to speak only of the Great Gdańsk Book as the final expression of Reformed piety. The labors which went into the production of this volume have indeed been great. But the picture still has been incomplete. We have seen that the introduction and use of the Gdańsk Book was the occasion of new tensions and controversies between the churches. It is to be hoped that this examination will inspire students of this tradition to reconsider this book and its place in the worship life in the church. This study should also be of value to Reformed Church in Lithuania. It provides an opportunity to reconsider and reevaluate the church's peculiar liturgical tradition and spiritual heritage. These matters had not been given careful attention in the past. It has generally been assumed that the 1637 book was from the start the unqualified expression of the life and faith of both nations.

Questions remain. Some of them will not be answered until and unless documents come to light which are presently unknown or which are now thought to have perished. The destruction of the Vilnius church in 1611 was a tragedy not only in the immediate sense, but also because so many important records perished with the building. They are unrecoverable. We hold out the hope that further diligent searches and the careful sifting of all writings from this period will cast further light upon these matters.

The attention to this study has been directed to the liturgical celebration of the Lord's Supper. Consideration should be given also to other rites including Holy Baptism, marriage, ordination, the visitation of the sick, burial, etc. These were beyond the scope of this present study. As attention is given to them in the future, our understanding of this period will be further enhanced.

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- Forma albo porządek* 1581 *Formá álbo porządek sprawowania świętości Pańskich / iako Krztu Świętego / y społeczności Wieczerzey Pańskiey / przytym y inszych Ceremoniy albo posługowania Zboru Bożego / ku potrzebie pobożnym Pasterzom / y prawdziwym Ministrom Pana Krystusowym / znowu wydana y drukowana w Wylnie. Roku od narodzenia Syná Bożego: 1581.*
- Forma albo porządek* 1594 *FORMA Albo porządek sprawowania Świętości Pańskich / iáko Krztu świętego / y społeczności Wieczerzey Pańskiey / przytym y inszych Ceremoniy albo posługowania Zboru Bożego / ku potrzebie pobożnym Pasterzom / y prawdziwym Ministrom Páná Krystusowym / z nowu wydána y drukowána w Wilnie. Roku od narodzenia Syná Bożego / 1594.*
- Forma albo porządek* 1598 *FORMA Albo porządek sprawowania Swiatości Pańskich / iáko Krztu świętego / y społeczności Wieczerzey Pańskiey / przytym y inszych Ceremoniy álbo posługowania Zboru Bożego / ku potrzebie pobożnym Pásterzom / y prawdziwym Ministrom Páná Krystusowym / z nowu wydána y drukowána w Wilnie. Roku od narodzenia Syná Bożego / 1598.*
- Forma albo porządek* 1600 *FORMA Albo porządek sprawowania swiatości Pańskich / iáko Krztu świętego y społeczności Wieczerzey Pańskiey / przytym y inszych Ceremoniy álbo posługowania Zboru Bożego / ku potrzebie pobożnym Pasterzom / y prawdziwym Ministrom Páná Krystusowym / z nowu wydána y drukowána w Wilnie. Roku od narodzenia Syná Bożego / 1600.*
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- Katechism* 1581 *Kathechism álbo krotkei w iedno mieysce zebranie/ wiary y powinności Krześciańskiej / z pásterstwem Zborowym / y domowym / z Modlitwami / Psalmami / y Piosnkami / na część á chwałę Pánu Bogu / á Zborowi iego ku zbudowaniu / teraz z nowu zá pilnym przeyrzeniem y popráwieniem / wydány. Nakładem Jego Miłości Pána Jana Abráámowicza Stárosty Lidskiego / Woyskiego y Namiestniká Wileńskiego. W Wilnie / z Drukarniey Jego Książęcey Miłości Pána Mikołaiá Rádziwiłá / Woiewody Wileńskiego. Przez Dánielá z Łęczyze / Roku Páńskiego 1581.*
- Katechism* 1594 *Katechism álbo krotkie w iedno mieysce zebranie/ wiary y powinności Krześcijáńskiej / z pásterstwem Zborowym / y domowym / z Modlitwami / Psalmami / y Piosnkami / na część á chwałę Pánu Bogu / á Zborowi iego ku zbudowaniu / teraz z nowu zá pilnym przeyrzeniem y popráwieniem wydány. Nakładem Jego M. Pána Janá Abráámowicza / na Wornianách / Woiewody Mieńskiego / Presidentá Derptskiego / Stárosty Lidskiego / y Wendeńskiego / w Wilnie W Drukárni Janá Karcáná / Roku Páńskiego 1594.*
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Darius PETKŪNAS

Holy Communion Rites in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Agendas
of the 16th and Early 17th Centuries

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Darius Petkūnas has provided us with valuable information concerning a little known area of post-Reformation liturgical studies. On the basis of a careful analysis of little known liturgical source materials, his work offers us new insights into the course of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania in both the Reformed and Lutheran churches. This is the first investigation of Liturgical church life among the Reformed Christians in post-Reformation Poland and Lithuania. It gives us a far more complete picture of the course of the Reformation in the northeastern Europe.

Dr. Charles Evanson,
Concordia Theological Seminary
(Russian Project),
Fort Wayne Indiana.

Darius Petkūnas has shown us the special form that Calvinism took in post-Reformation Poland and Lithuania, and he has revealed to us its spiritual foundations and its unique piety and public worship. This work will be helpful to students of Polish and Lithuanian religion in general and post-Reformation developments in particular. In addition he provides us with previously unexplored liturgical source materials and uncovers a Reformed worship tradition unlike that found elsewhere on the European continent. This will be of special interest to students of Christian liturgy.

Dr. Jyrki Knuutila,
Faculty of Theology,
University of Helsinki.