Document XXIII

The Ecclesiastical Polity Which They Commonly Call the Agenda or the Form of the Exterior Government of the Christian Churches of Poland, Which Confess One God the Father Through His Only-Begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit

Explained by [Pastor] Peter Morzkowski [1646],

Item A
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Foreword to all Patrons of all the Church, Pastors, Elders (Seniores), judges of the Document .............................................................. 1–6

First Book of Ecclesiastical Polity concerning the members of the churches and the relationship of the members among themselves

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item B

'What and Who Are the Orders of the Members of the Church

(This being, of Eccl"siastical Polity, Book 1, Chapter 3.)

[41] Coming to the first chapter of our discussion, therefore, we shall look at three things: First, how many kinds of Orders among members of the church there are. Second, what and whence is the authority for those ruling in her.1 [42] Third, what and how much is the subjectio to their rulers on the part of those who are ruled.

[The Six Orders]

As to what pertains to the first, namely, how many and which are the orders of members of the church, we deal with it by means of the aphorisms that follow:

Aphorism 1

The integral body of the church consists, as it were, of six parts,2 by which it is perfected. Of these, four watch over the government; the two remaining so acquiesce in the glory of compliance that they even have the right of suffrage and free voice.

Aphorism 2

We ascribe the government (regimen) of the churches to the Patrons;3 Pastors, who with us [Brethren] are identical with Doctors and Bishops; Seniors;4 and Deacons. And even if all these unanimously make provision for all things that have also in some sense to do with the good of the church, nevertheless the Patrons and the Deacons have their roles rather in those things that concern the body. The Pastors [43] with the Seniors5 have the cure of souls especially appointed to themselves, as from the following [observations] will be apparent. That all the orders named by us were born, as it were, with the church itself, one ascertains from the reading of Sacred Letters.6 Therefore, let no one accuse this aphorism of falsity. But if the enumeration of the [six] groups will seem less adequate to someone, let him bear in mind, that we wish to recall,7 insofar as we can, all things in the government of the church at its cradle, according to those [principles] that we have set forth in the previous chapter [2]. And if in it, after Christ as Head, there were Apostles and Evangelists—that I might pass by the other sparkling stars in this spiritual heaven of the church—nevertheless the apostolic office (which was necessary to lay the foundations of the church and to give testimony to the resurrection of Christ), once the foundation had been laid and once all who rejoice in the Christian name had accepted the resurrection

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of Christ as an anchor of their hope and faith, [and] that [office] of the Evangelists—who were left behind by the Apostles for the purpose of setting up and ordering a recently gathered church—once these churches had been constituted and put in order—everywhere ceased. There is no finding in ecclesiastical history or in the reminiscences [44] of those who lived close to apostolic times, after those [Apostles and Evangelists] died, that other substitutes functioned in their places who were known by that title and name in the church. We, in fact, believe that those who were called “foresighted” because of their prediction of the future, along with the visible gifts of the Holy Spirit, have ceased. As to Prophets who are known as such because they descry the more abstruse mysteries of religion and explain them, the reason is different for our having a place for them in the church, in that, not wishing to make our boast in men—and we acknowledge our frailty and unworthiness—we prefer that these be revered among us and do something of importance rather than that we: [Pastors et al.] ourselves exploit (venditare) them. However, what is said today concerning the Apostolic See, and that any others whatever come in the church by the name of Apostles, is something more recent than the distinction between Bishop, Presbyter, Pastor, and Doctor. That someone no sooner born, nay, even before, shooting up in the church, not withou: considerable dispute, having been led swiftly to his “maturity,” so far proceeds that by various steps all things are referred to him as it were to the head, who, when he flaunts himself as “servant of servants,” is in truth “lord of lords.” Although, however, many [45] offices be named in the Primitive Church, as from 1 Cor 12:[4-30] and Rom 12:[4-8], is clear, all offices nevertheless are discharged in our church by them who have been named by us:

[Aphorism] 3

We call Patrons of the church those who either themselves erected churches on their property, or, perhaps, foster those erected by their ancestors, and who provide as much for the necessities of the pastors who live under them as for the convenience of those who congregate in the one regular place. We place the Patrons in the first place, not because they, of themselves and as such, everywhere obtain the first place. For this, in truth, is owed to him, Luke 12:42, to whom Christ commits all, the good and the bad alike in his Church, and whom he calls messenger and faithful and prudent servant, whom he establishes over [46] his slaves; but, because they are like bases and indeed columns of the churches, by reason of the congregation and the government, in relation to which, along with the Pastors and Seniors thus especially called, they are in charge. Consider that as we detest anarchy as the usual kindling of all evil, thus we suffer no Order in the Church to take unto itself the right of the Lord, which is of Christ himself; we wish, then, the Pastors, together with the Patrons, to yield to one another mutually, in order that neither these on account of their [preeminence] in earthly things, nor those on account of that same preeminence in divine things, should assume to themselves anything whatsoever or arrogate any absolute right whatsoever to themselves. To be sure, their own honor is due to the Patrons even from the
Pastors themselves, as much by reason of that excellence in them whereby they are eminent among others according to the flesh as, in truth, especially by reason of their zeal for the glory of God and for the raising up and protecting of the Church, which is a charter of his [Christ]. Besides, Pastors, for a good example, just as in every manner of virtue they so outshine others in modesty [47], are freely considered to give due reverence to them [Patrons], with appropriate submission. This [difference] should be such, nevertheless, that nothing be given to persons which Christ disallows and which he himself in this matter said otherwise, Matt 22:21, etc., that things should be given to God that are God's, to Caesar that are Caesar's. Again, to be sure, the Patrons should not involve themselves in matters which touch upon the cure of souls, that neither they themselves demand that something be shown and dispensed by the Pastors in their favor, nor that they, because those [the Pastors] live under them, should despise them, but rather that they should treat them most humanely, as beloved brethren in Christ and servants of God, worthy of double honor. Such [Patrois] we think Gaius to have been, named in Rom 16:23, and Philemon [48] to whom an epistle of the Apostle Paul exists, although the Apostle honors him with a higher title while he calls him his "fellow worker," Phlm 1. This deference in the proper way can be paid to all the Patrons, especially if they are counted among the Seniors, even if, on account of the integrity of their life and the sharpness of their judgment, they are numbered [together], or if the church be made up from those who acknowledge their [temporal] power [over them as owners]. For them [the temporal subject-members of the Patrons], Pastors are able to help much by their own authority, although at all times it is to be guarded against lest they usurp a coercive power in the Church. For the political is to be distinguished diligently [49] from the ecclesiastical government, because it [government in the church] consists only in voluntary subjection: but by the involuntary and coercive it is utterly overturned, in contrast to what happens in civil government.

Aphorism 4

Pastors are the ministers of Christ and the stewards of the mysteries of God, 1 Cor 4:1, who hold the key of the ecclesiastical republic, [30] procuring, of themselves, certain things in the Church concerning the salvation of souls and other things, together with the Seniors and Deacons adjointed to them as assessors [31] and an ecclesiastical Senate. [20]

In having to enumerate all the members of the Church, we have not used the distinction used by others between spiritual and temporal [persons] (spirituales et politicos). It is necessary that all, indeed, who desire to be of Christ be "spirituals," Gal 5:6, "that by doing the works of the flesh one is held back from the sheep of Christ," Rom 8:12ff. Much less do we acknowledge that distinction by which some are called in the Church "clerics," Acts 20:28, others "laymen." [1 Pet 5:3; Rev 1:6, 5:10; 1 Pet 2:9. We know, in fact, that all "for whose sins Christ died [51] and whom he redeemed by his blood," are his clergy and inheritance, "made even kings and priests by him unto God the Father" [Rev 1:6; 5:10; 1 Pet 2:9].
Aphorism 5

We recognize no other distinction, however, among Pastors by reason of eminence except that which their age, having been occupied by indefatigable labors in the Church or by singular achievements in her, has brought with it, and that only by the grace of strict order and direction. And thus, as brethren, they all mutually know each other, and none arrogates to himself any right over another, but the younger, of course, readily yield to the older and stand up; the older ones, however, take care lest the spirits of the younger suffocate, and all, at length, having one intended goal for themselves, namely the salvation of souls, toil in mutual toleration unanimously, that they may be able to render the reckoning of their office to the great Shepherd of the sheep.

Are not the specious names redolent of ambition—of Archbishops, Metropolitans, and what not? Even the name of Bishops was [early] corrupted with a disorderly connotation, 1 Tim 3:5; 1 Cor 6:1; 4:20; 2 Tim 4:24; 1 leave this to others. We [52] know that those names are only of honor and reverence commonly, not, however, of work and labor or humility, which should be especially eminent in those who sit at the head of the Church. And there is no one who does not know that those distinctions were born after the time of the Apostles, the new terms introduced when, as the pristine simplicity was growing palpably obsolete, superstition with ambition and a preoccupation with one's own convenience began to grow strong in the Church. Hence we read indeed in apostolic letters that there were the titles of Bishops, Presbyters, and Pastors, and Doctors. That there was an order among those, however, of that kind which is seen today, and that some were put in command of others, such as it is today, so that on their nod all things hung, we do not read. But rather, St. Peter, whom they preach up as the Prince of the Apostles, did not exalt himself so above the Presbyters and Pastors (although in truth that office [Prince] opposed the same) that, wishing to remind them of [the character of] his office, he calls himself a "co-presbyter" with them, and those whom he called Presbyters he beseeches to pasture the flock which is theirs, to empty [of any special official sense] their exercising oversight (ἐκκοιτάζοντες),[24] [1 Pet 5:2] by this scarcely obscure sign to indicate that the titles of Presbyter, Pastor, and Bishop are practically, as they say, ἀρχόμενοι[25] and everywhere the same office. Whence, those whom St. Luke in Acts 20:17 calls Presbyters, in verse 28 he addresses by the name of Bishops, with a word take 1 to express their office of "pasturing," when he says: "Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, in which the Holy Spirit placed you as Bishops, to pasture the church of God which he obtained with his own blood." Thou mayest note the same in the Epistle to Titus, if thou dost compare 1:5 with 1:7.[26] To these may be added what things are said in 1 Tim 3:1ff. And if, to be sure, the word Presbyter be properly of age and not of the office, because nevertheless, by chance, at the beginning of the Church, old men were especially advanced to the government, so much did it begin to be taken over for the sense of the office [rather than the age of the incumbent] that certain Apostles, even, did not eschew it [in the official sense], as we saw [53] in 1 Pet 5:1 and as is to be seen in the opening of St. John's two later epistles [2 John 1; 3 John 1].[27] When, however, St. Luke describes the
Apostolic Council, Acts 15:20-23, the whole body of the church is divided into these three [orders] as members, into Apostles, Bishops, and Brethren, including not at all obscurely under the word "Bishop" not only those whom we now call Pastors and Doctors, but even others as well who would [otherwise] be missing from any government in the church. In the larger sense, that word [Bishop], is openly taken over, 1 Tim 5:17, when the Apostle says:  
"Let the Presbyters who rule well be considered worthy of double honor, especially who labor in preaching and teaching." From this it is clear that not all who were Presbyters labored in the preaching of God and the teaching that is proper to Doctors, and so there were others besides these who were considered as having that title and name in the Church of Christ. Notwithstanding, someone might not consider that the word "Bishop" had taken over such a wide meaning without propriety, Phil 1:1f. where St. Paul, with Timothy, sends "grace and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ to all the saints in Christ Jesus who are at Philippi along with the Bishops and Deacons." [54] For he appears to have wished completely to name the whole body of the church in its members—unless by chance someone should think that either Presbyters of this kind, who [only] minimally led in preaching and teaching while others had left the office [wholly] vacant, did not exist in that church [of Philippi at the time] or that Deacons, having been named, were passed over by the Apostle; neither of these seems to be plausible. I do not lean on these passages, and I leave it to whoever has the leisure for discussing it more fully. What we say, in fact, concerning the inconsequential distinction between Presbyters and Bishops, is that it was later than the times of the Apostles, as Jerome explains to us [in Commentarius in Epistolam ad Titum 9.28 with reference to Titus 1:7]:

Therefore the Presbyter is the same as he who is Bishop, and before there were efforts in religion by the Devil, and it was said among the people [1 Cor 1:12]: "I belong to Paul," "I to Apollos," "I, however, to Cephas," the churches were governed by a common council of the Presbyters. After, in fact, anyone thought that those whom he had baptized were his, not Christ's, it was decreed throughout the whole world that one of the Presbyters elected should be placed above the others, whom all the care over church would concern, and [by whom] the seeds of schisms would be taken away.  

And after several passages from Sacred Scripture by which he supports his proposition, he [Jerome] subjoins the following:

This we say in order that we might show that among the ancients Presbyters were the same as Bishops; gradually, in truth, in order that the weeds of dissension might be rooted out, all care was referred to one only. Just as, therefore, Presbyters know that they are subjected to him who had been placed over them, out of the custom of the Church, so may the Bishops know that they are made superior to the Presbyters more by custom than by the truth of a Dominical disposition, and that they in common should rule the church. . . .  

Ambrose, moreover, in [Commentarius in Epistolas Paulinas] Ad Ephesios 4 [says with reference to the peculiar polity of Alexandria]:

. . . first the Presbyters . . . consecrate together if no Bishop be present, but because succeeding Presbyters began [55] to be found unworthy of being raised to
primacies, the procedure (ratio) was altered by provision of a council, so that not the order but the merit created the Bishop, who was established by the judgment of many priests (Sacerdotum), lest one unworthy should boldly usurp the office and there would be scandal to many. 12

For the rest, recognizing what the Apostle has taught so copiously in 1 Cor 12 concerning the divine gifts in the Church, in the servants of the Lord, we do reverence to the Lord in them, and take care, while shunning monarchy as well as anarchy and confusion, that all things be done in charity, so far as we are able.

Aphorism 6

Hence, not any of them suffer grievously or consider their dignity impaired, if in consultation something might appear to a younger [Pastor] otherwise than to himself, nor does he so persistently hold on to his opinion that he would not willingly yield to someone who has been considered by common consent to have come forward in their midst with a better opinion. For it is not for oneself but for the honor of Christ and the well-being of his church that all exert themselves.

Aphorism 7

Seniors are men, accordingly, called particularly from the political order, added to the Pastors for the governances of the church, men whom not so much age (even if this might well characterize others equally), nor any excellence according to temporality, as an unimpaired integrity of life and proven prudence being to this position.

From the beginning itself of the Church of Christ, this order existed; from what has already been said, I think, this has been clear. 33 Therefore, we attend very much to their argument which we say in the description of them. 34 In the beginning, therefore, we brought them out of the order of temporal persons (Politicorum) at that time lest, if we should transfer to the Pastors alone the whole right of ruling, we might have appeared to desire a monarchy or [56] surely an aristocracy [within the congeries of churches, each under strong Pastors] not sufficiently worthy for a free people; because at that time, in fact, the main reason for the Seniors in government consisted in helping the Pastors, be it in discipline and admonition, be it in giving and asking counsel, if the church locally or generally should require it. Since, however, all admonition and discipline is offensive and bitter, it used to be more acceptable in some sense for the wayward, if they should hear it even from those whom they think of as closer to themselves [as laymen] and so are not vexed by the suspicion of another’s tyranny. Add to this that because the Pastors, having very much to read in holy books, grow pale in having either to search out their more abstruse meanings or figure out others, [57] and thus they do not sufficiently attend to those things which are of civil administration, where political prudence rules. Hence it is not infrequent that the men of affairs [Seniors] (politicii), more readily than they [the Pastors], give thought to what
measure is to be taken in a given case and more felicitously come up against the impending wrong, and take thought for the integrity of all. Although quite simply, since man is a morose animal by nature, in that republic all classes (status) readily become most peaceful in which no order sees itself either ignored or disdain. Let me be silent as much about the counsel of Jethro given to Moses in appointing those seventy judges (assessores) [Num 11:16–25, drawn from the seniores] as about the reason that impelled the Apostles to create Deacons, Acts 6:1–6. Furthermore, we require an integrity of life, and that singular, in those, because it should be free of every wickedness—who otherwise might take over the authority of reproaching another, lest he hear that commonplace [Luke 4:23]. “Physician, cure thyself!,” or that of Christ, Matt 7:3, “Why dost thou see the speck in thy brother’s eye, and not see the beam in thine own eye?” We give to the integrity of life, as a comrade, prudence, a directrix of all actions, because it is theirs [Pastors and Seniors] to judge and resolve the controversies in the church, to anticipate imminent dangers and to avert, and to provide by all means that the church, amended and protected from its enemies, be saved: Hence [58] in choosing them [the Seniors] the church considers age, even if not just alone, nor always. For although wrinkles and gray hair do not bring authority, greater age acted out honorably [does], and sometimes young men are superior in prudence to the older. Nevertheless, venerable is that [saying]: “Judgment in the old, despatch in the young.” And somehow or other hoary Old Age with all its venerables, if it has been supported by uncorrupted morals and invigorated by prudence, is wont to bring to bear singular weight of authority. There are, in truth, Seniors like certain lamps [cf. Matt 5:25]17 banishing all the shadows that spread in the church and vivifying and confirming by their rays all of the members thereof—Seniors such that had they been removed or covered over, the whole church indeed would necessarily have been turned into, as it were, a moonless night.

 Aphorism 8

 Next we speak of Deacons, in whose hands is the treasury of the church, upon whom notably the responsibility rests of collecting and increasing it; and from it of coming up with the necessities to the aid of the poor and the widows and the others taken under the public patronage of the church.38

 The origin of the order and office of Deacons is noted in the Acts of the Apostles, where St. Luke writes, Acts 6:1, that, a murmuring of the Greek faithful against the Hebrews having arisen, because their widows were neglected in the daily distribution, the Apostles, the multitude being summoned, convinced and persuaded them that they should choose and elect among themselves seven men, esteemed of good repute, full of the Holy Spirit and of wisdom, who should be assigned this duty; and St. Paul not only in this place recalls them especially, but as in 1 Tim 3:8–10, where expressly discussing what kind should be elected, [59] asserts that those who have ministered well and who have much trust in the faith in Christ Jesus should attain this good grade for themselves.
Aphorism 9

There remains the order of them who are ruled. They, however, are of two kinds. For some are growing up and are quite recently grafted onto the vine of Christ [a conflation of John 15:4f. and Rom 11:17f.], or, unaware, are being watered and taken care of. The others are the adults and, either because of age or their own progress in piety and renown for the truth, are compared with men and even fathers.

Threefold is their kind who are ruled and are called by a special term, "Brethren" or "Holy Brethren," Heb 3:1, or the "multitude of believers," Acts 4:32, and who, beyond those four orders above named, [60] seem to be set forth. 1 John 2:12-14, where the Apostle seems to divide the faithful into children, youths, and fathers, so considered by reason of progress in religion rather than of age. In this direction goes that mention of the weaker brethren, Rom 12, and those of Gal 4:19, "my little children, with whom I am in travail until Christ be formed in you." The same distinction is suggested in 1 Cor 3:18, "But I, brethren, could not address you as spiritual men, but have spoken to you as men of the flesh, that is, as babes in Christ. I fed you with milk, not solid food, for ye were not ready for it, and even now ye are not able, for ye are still carnal." And in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 5:11-14, a little longer [and more openly] he writes:

About this we have much more to say, and these things are difficult to explain, inasmuch as ye have become dull in your ears. For ye, who by reason of the time ought to be teachers, needs must be taught again what are the principles of the beginning of God's words, and ye are become those that need milk and not solid food. For when one is concerned with milk, he is untaught in the speech of righteousness, for he is an infant, but the food of adults is solid, that is, of those who by practice have their senses trained to distinguish good and evil. Therefore, leaving aside all speech which pertains to the untaught in Christ, we are led toward perfection.

[61] The Apostle declares this copiously to the Ephesians when he says, 4:11-16:

Therefore he granted that some indeed be Apostles, but others indeed Prophets, but others Evangelists, others Pastors and Doctors, to the unification of the saints, to the work of the ministry, to the building up [62] of the body of Christ, until we come all in unity, faith and knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, having grown up to the measure of the stature of Christ, that we may be children no longer, who waver and are carried about by every wind of doctrine, by the uncertainty of men, through their cunning craftiness to deceive treacherously. But, comporting ourselves truly in charity, let us straightway grow up into him who is the head, namely Christ. From him the whole body, joined and compact through all the joints supplied, from the power working within for the measure of each individual member, takes its increase appropriately to the body, unto its own building up in charity. 41

For the rest, we might add here: no one should marvel at the distinction among them that are ruled. For the renown and the observation of this
[distinction among the laity] account much for shrewdly (scire) administering [ecclesiastical] government, as we shall see in its place.

Aphorism 10

And from these, as it were, six1 members (= Orders), the body of Christ among us consists, which thus joined with and among themselves are connected with Christ their head, so each one cannot be profoundly sundered from another, and all, in fact, are unable to be separated from the head without the ruin of the whole, and all mutually serve and assist each other, whence scarcely nothing that concerns government is wont to be done, unless all the Orders be assembled, and in the face of the whole Church.

It stands proven from those words of the Apostle to the Ephesians [4:11–16], which we placed toward the end of the above aphorism, where thou mightest read them a little more attentively and think them through. The practice, however, will appear when we pursue individual aspects of government.

Aphorism 11

Moreover, the Church is considered either [a] in general, taken as the people dispersed throughout the whole world, or certainly inhabiting one kingdom or region, for the rest, a people bound together among themselves by the same religion (= confession), acknowledging the same government, or, [b] in particular, insofar as it is confined to this or that place; it is [in both cases] called by them the same [i.e., ecclesiam].

This distinction is clearly founded on Sacred Letters. For when, for example, the Apostle says, in Acts 20:28, that God obtained the Church with his own blood or that Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her, Eph 5:25, when he teaches Timothy how he should conduct himself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, a column and pillar of truth; when next in the Apostles’ Creed it is called “catholic,” then certainly it is considered in still another respect; and when it is expressly called “Antiochene,” or “Ephesian,” or “Smyrrian” [church]; or when the Apostle in Crete commands [Titus 1:5] town by town to appoint Presbyters.

Aphorism 12

Whence it is, that some of the Seniors and Deacons are [such] to the Church considered in general, others in particular, insofar as the (“church”) is restricted to a certain place. For the people which is one as to religion and Christ their head, is distinguished in one sense from another, insofar as the people [of Christ] is ascribed particularly to this or that local church[64]. Yet in such a way that particularity derogates nothing with respect to its universality; and the Church, looked at in general, makes provision concerning all local churches, as the head makes provision for its members, just as a mother fosters and embraces in her bosom all her children, and all those [local] churches depend on her herself as their matrix.
We accordingly have distinguished Seniors (considered separately from Pastors) and Deacons as "general" and "local," because, since the diverse reasons for the general Church are considered apart from those which are restricted to this or that place, order itself demands that some [Seniors and Deacons] take care of those matters which concern the preservation of the universal community, and others look to the necessities of their own local church, and the reason is this, lest all members on whom the one Presbytery (senioratus) rests be obliged always to convene; when a case arises, provision is made for some counsel to the soul, secretly, which is more safely kept within the conscience of a few. However those Seniors and Deacons of the general Church are accustomed, quite a bit, to be chosen from those who discharge some office in private churches. As it often happens, as can be seen, a certain Deacon or Senior may be at once of the local and of the general Church. For the rest, we do not make mention here of universal general Pastors, who are like Bishops or, as others call the n., "Superintendents," call 65] and preside over the universal Church, both for that reason which we inclined to in Aphorisms 5 and 6, lest we seem to lay down the way to monarchy, which has thus far gone badly for the Church; and also because in the Synod (wherein we believe we are able to protect more safely the position that Bishops or others—however designated—once occupied) all Pastors of local churches (who are able) are considered to be entitled to appear.

NOTES

1 Throughout Morzkowski uses words suggesting "rule," where one would rather expect more frequent use of words suggesting "serve," at least in some offices.

2 The author uses many terms. Thus are the Patron, the Pastor, the (lay) Senior, the Deacon, the immersed Communicant member, and the Young, who only have hands laid upon them in infancy, unless they had already been pedobaptized before the conversion of their parents or guardians (Book 2, chap. 3).

3 These were usually the greater landowners on whose grounds or in whose villages, or even towns owned by them, the church edifices existed by new construction or by remodeling a Catholic or Orthodox edifice—magnates or the members of the higher szlachta. No other Reformed order gives such explicit ministerial status to "temporal" lords as that of the Brethren.

4 These are, of course, the lay elders of Calvin's Ordonnances eccésiastiques (1541), but the term is very common in both Reformed and Unitarian usage in Poland, and has ancient sanction in Tertullian, Cyprian, et al., as an alternative to presbyteri, which can so easily felt as "priests." In contrast with Calvin, the Brethren did not make of the Doctor a distinct officer, as he was in the Ordonnances.

5 The lay Presbyters in Geneva similarly worked with the clerical Presbýters = Pastors and Doctors.

6 Morzkowski will be hard put to find the Patron in the New Testament! Perhaps that is why he says "from the reading of sa:arum literarum," not quite the same as Holy Scripture, but in point of fact he does: not try to go beyond the Bible.

7 The idea of the Restitution of the Primitive Church was a leitmotif of Jan Laski as well as of the Brethren.

8 In the view that the office of Apostle and, to a lesser extent, that of Evangelist censed after their distinctive missions of testimony to the Resurrection of Christ, the
Brethren did not differ substantially from most classical Protestants.

This section surely harks back to the early days of Raków, when many, often simple, people professed to discern new meanings in Scripture, going beyond trained theologians. Morzkowski seems to be reserving a place for such prophecies (as in England at the same time among the Puritans) without taking them very seriously.

Both titles are sarcastic references to the Pope, whose apostolic authority to interpret Tradition alongside Scripture as two sources of revelation, had been enhanced by the Council of Trent.

In the apostolic Church, functionaries were appointed. Our author is suggesting here that the six Orders are either a matter of temporal position and largesse, of election by the faithful, or of age (Orders 5 and 6).

The Patron himself would attend the service of only one local church, presumably in the village closest to his principal estate, although sometimes in the manor house itself.

Oeder, no doubt correctly, ascribes the use of this text in this way to Socinus. It is surely a quite unsatisfactory scriptural sanction for the Patron!

Named only “host” in Scripture.

It is not clear how Gaius, the host, and Philemon, the fellow worker, are markedly distinguishable, nor near the point he made, except we know that Philemon was the owner of the slave Onesimus, who was sent back by Paul.

Theoretically, no distinction was made in the temporal realm between the humblest member of the szlachta, farming his own property, and its highest ranks, the magnates.

Pastors, however, often were themselves members of the szlachta.

The Brethren regarded their Church as the people of Christ the King. Hence they employ for their Church throughout Poland-Lithuania the very same term that they use for this vast Commonwealth, Republica, in a gesture of polemical parallelism.

Assessor is in the sense of judges in disciplinary matters.

This is a reference to the Presbytery above the several local churches, and substantiates the preceding point in that in the national Diet the Upper House was also called the Senate. The local Presbytery of Pastors, Seniors, and Deacons exercised discipline in the local church. The mixed Synod exercised discipline over the Pastors.

This is notably a Catholic distinction, but on a smaller scale with the temporal Patron so prominent, Morzkowski scarcely manages to sustain his point for the constitution of the Brethren.

The cited verses have not all the above, but stress the same theme of spiritual men, especially vv 13 and 14.

Pet 5:2f. To be sure, in both Epistles Peter begins as “[Simon] Peter, [servant and] Apostle.”

This ancient reading is not recognized in modern critical editions of the New Testament.

I.e., “having equal power or value.”

In v 7 the officer is expressly the Bishop, and here and in v 5 his expected exemplary character is demanded.

John speaks of himself in each case as “Presbyter.”

It would appear that Morzkowski was using the Cologne edition of 1616. This particular volume is inaccessible to me. The passage quoted is also in PL, 26 (Jerome 7) col. 597, in a much broader context of polity.

Ibid.

Ibid., col. 497ff. The text of Morzkowski/Oeder faultily puts a period in front of the last “Presbyters,” and the sense is spoiled, unnoticed in Oeder’s apparatus.

This still obscure fourth-century writer of two oft-cited works is today known as “Ambrosiaster,” a term invented by Erasmus.
32 *Ad Ephesios* is critically edited with the others by Heinrich J. Vogels, *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum* 81.3 (Vienna, 1969) 100, lines 15–22.

33 Oeder and I would agree that the author has really passed lightly over the scriptural sanctions for the two lay orders, Patrons and (here especially) Seniors, who were so prominent among the Polish Brethren.

34 The phrasing here suggests that Morzowski finds himself at some distance from the synodal aphorism he is commenting on. By the time of this composition, there were fewer politically distinguished Seniors than there were formerly.

35 Oeder notes the ambiguity: if the author means what he seems to be saying, he should not criticize the mixture of the spiritual and temporal among Catholics.

36 Personalized.

37 But the Vulgate has *candelabra* and *lucerna*; our text has *luminaria*.

38 We would eagerly wish to learn more than Morzowski tells below about the scope of the bounty of the church and the social range of the participants. We do have extant the register of contributions and disbursements for pastoral salaries and for the poor (pref. n. 8). The Pastor received from two hundred to three hundred florins *per annum*, with gifts and perquisites, in the period 1632–58.

39 An obscure reference; perhaps an adjective has dropped from *viris*. More likely he is thinking of morally precocious children or youth, called here *adulit* rather than *infantes*. Immersion (see item C) took place at about the time of confirmation in other churches. In any case, Morzowski does distinguish “children” and “youths” alongside “fathers” to make up three kinds of lay associates and members ruled.

40 This is the chapter where Paul distinguishes many gifts and roles among the Christ-humbled faithful.

41 Although there are two ruling lay Orders, Patrons and Seniors, and—from the quotations—three ruled lay Orders, of the latter there are really only two. See n. 42.

42 Orders 5 and 6 are the Immerged Communicant Brethren and Sisters, and the Young upon whom only hands have been laid. This is not made very clear in Point 9, but Book 2, chap. 3 is devoted to it.

43 Here *regimen* is ambiguous, whether political or ecclesiastical. In any case, it is to be noted that under the meaning of “church” in general he includes (1) universal Christendom, (2) the body of Christians of a kingdom or distinctive region, and (3) a distinctive confession of Christian faith, i.e., the Czech Brethren or the Lutherans.

44 Here *ordo* must mean not one or two of the Orders, but rather orderliness.

45 This would presumably be the Pastor, the local Seniors, and local Deacons.

46 Elsewhere the author lauds the principle of public discipline, but we need doubt not here, as in the evolution of other disciplined groups, say the New England Congregationalists, a gradual privatizing of intimate moral or spiritual problems under the auspices of an even more select group representing the congregation.

47 This word may suggest those small congregations especially close to, or on the personal estate of, the great protective *szlachta* or house or palace of a magnate.

48 The Reformers and the Lutherans, originally also the Brethren. It is interesting that the Brethren, in their “anti-episcopal!” thrust instinctive to the *szlachta*, are willing to have Patrons, Seniors, and Deacons function well beyond the local congregation. They have succeeded in inhibiting a comparable extension of the authority of any Pastor beyond his local congregation, except in the collectivity of a mixed synod.

49 The disappearance of the Superintendency among the Brethren may have been the consequence of the anti-monarchical egalitarianism suggested by the author, but he himself seems unaware of the degree to which the evolving polity gives the Patron and the general Senior something of the position of a Lutheran *Nobishof*. For generations the members of the *szlachta* resented the control of bishops in their ecclesiastical courts. In this *Polity* they have about as much authority as they could reasonably desire, pious and brave though they were.