

THE POETIC-MUSICAL INTERTEXTUAL RHETORIC OF THE POLISH BRETHREN'S
LITURGY

By

Felipe Pedro Wiczorek Villas Boas

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Musicology - Master of Arts

2022

ABSTRACT

THE POETIC-MUSICAL INTERTEXTUAL RHETORIC OF THE POLISH BRETHREN'S LITURGY

By

Felipe Pedro Wieczorek Villas Boas

This thesis explores the main source of liturgical music of the Polish Brethren, a publication entitled *Psalmy Niektóre Króla Dawida* (1610 and 1625). The three Chapters contained in this thesis give a broad overview of *PNKD* and a detailed case study of some of its most relevant works. Although important sources mention some of the names of composers who contributed with the melodies contained in *PNKD*, the issue of determining the origins of most of its melodies is still largely unstudied. This thesis shows that a significant portion of the melodies found in *PNKD* are also featured in earlier Calvinist publications from Poland and abroad, as well as in earlier works published by the Polish Brethren themselves. A central theme in this thesis is the frequent use of melodic borrowings as a recurring feature of *PNKD*. As my statistical analysis shows, most of the works found in the Polish Brethren's psalter do not contain melodies, thus depending entirely on the melodies of other works from within *PNKD* in order to be performed. Some of these borrowings create complex intertextual juxtapositions that involve, at times, more than three or four different texts. These juxtapositions were planned deliberately and served as a rhetorical tool, as the Polish Brethren likely created *PNKD* with the intent of providing not only spiritual commentary on the scriptures, but also political and philosophical critique of the *status quo*. The textual juxtaposition of psalms in many ways relates to some of the core values of the group as well as to political issues faced by the movement in Poland, which is why studying these intertextual connections is an important step towards understanding how these communities thought and acted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS	vii
Introduction	1
<i>The Rise and Fall of the Polish Brethren (1565-1660)</i>	3
<i>Historical Sources of the Polish Brethren</i>	10
Chapter 1 – The Polish Brethren’s Liturgical Music Sources	15
<i>The Main Source of Liturgical Music of the Polish Brethren - Psalmy Niektóre Króla Dawida i Pieśni Nabożne</i>	15
<i>The Roles of Music and Music Education in the Lives of the Brothers and Sisters of the Polish Brethren</i>	19
<i>The Composers of the Polish Brethren</i>	25
<i>Conclusion</i>	28
Chapter 2 – <i>PNKD</i> and Its Relationship to Other Liturgical Books of the Time	30
<i>Introduction</i>	30
<i>The Structure of PNKD (1610/1625)</i>	31
<i>The Origin of the Psalm Melodies In PNKD</i>	35
<i>Liturgical Performance Practices Among the Polish Brethren</i>	52
<i>Conclusion</i>	59
Chapter 3 – Historical and Spiritual Meanings for Intertextuality In <i>PNKD</i>	60
<i>Introduction</i>	60
<i>The Most Recurrent Intertextual Path of PNKD</i>	61
<i>Pieśń Na Psalm 131</i>	72
<i>The Musical Setting of “Pieśń Na Psalm 131”</i>	81
<i>Conclusion</i>	86
Conclusion	87
APPENDICES	91
APPENDIX 1a – The Melodies of the Psalms Re-used In <i>PNKD</i>	92
APPENDIX 1b – The Melodies of the Pious Songs Re-used In <i>PNKD</i>	95
APPENDIX 2 – The Origins of the Melodies Featured in the Psalms of <i>PNKD</i> and How they Relate to Each Other	97
APPENDIX 3 – Details Regarding the Melodic Settings of the Texts of the Pious Songs in <i>PNKD</i>	134
APPENDIX 4 – Where and How is Psalm 3L Quoted in <i>PNKD</i>	146

BIBLIOGRAPHY149

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 - Abbreviations for different translations of the Psalms.....	32
Table 2 - Details regarding the origins of the melodies present in <i>PNKD</i> (data extracted from Appendix 2).....	37
Table 3 - Details regarding which psalms in <i>Katechizm</i> are to be set to the "old melody" (data extracted from Appendix 2).....	45
Table 4 - Details regarding cases of texts in <i>Katechizm</i> that have matches in <i>PNKD</i> , and therefore might have been set to the same melodies present in the latter (data extracted from Appendix 2)...	48
Table 5 - Detailed comparative analysis showing which melodies from <i>PNKD</i> are found in the later <i>HS</i>	54
Table 6 - Number of times Psalms and Songs are quoted directly (number outside of parentheses) and indirectly (number inside of parenthesis) in <i>PNKD</i>	62
Table 7 - Translation of Psalm 3L, <i>Panie, Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i> ; and 3K, <i>Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało</i>	66
Table 8 - Translation of Psalm 1K, <i>Szczęśliwy, Który Nie Był</i>	69
Table 9 - Translations of psalms 131U, 131K, and <i>Pieśń Na Psalm 131</i> . Stanzas are color-coded to show common themes that are repeated in different texts.....	75
Table 10 - An analysis of how the text and music of Psalm 1K fit with each other.....	83
Table 11 - An analysis of how the text of <i>Pieśń Na Psalm 131</i> fits with the melody of Psalm 1K...84	84
Table 12 - The Melodies of the Psalms Re-used In <i>PNKD</i>	92
Table 13 - The Melodies of the Pious Songs Re-used In <i>PNKD</i>	95
Table 14 - The Origins of the Melodies Featured in the Psalms of <i>PNKD</i> and How they Relate to Each Other	98
Table 15 - Details Regarding the Melodic Settings of the Texts of the Pious Songs in <i>PNKD</i> ..134	134
Table 16 - Where and How is Psalm 3L Quoted in <i>PNKD</i>	146

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 - Title page of <i>PDzEPCZ</i> (A) and the page containing the aforementioned <i>Hejnał</i> (B).	16
Figure 2 - The indices of <i>PDzEPC</i> (A) and <i>PNKD</i> (B). Note how both indices are identical despite the books having different titles	17
Figure 3 - Psalm 25 – <i>Ad te Domine levavi anima</i> (<i>Do ciebie Pani wzdycha serce moie</i>) – as it appears in both <i>PDzEPC</i> (A) and <i>PNKD</i> (B)	18
Figure 4 - The index pages of <i>HS</i>	24
Figure 5 - Statistical analysis of the Psalms and Pious Songs present in <i>PNKD</i> (1610 and 1625). Boxes outlined in red highlight the occurrence of intertextual borrowings	34
Figure 6 - <i>Pieśń Poranna</i> (“morning song”), from the Pious Songs included in <i>PNKD</i>	35
Figure 7 - Legend for Table 2	36
Figure 8 - Psalms 4 (<i>HS</i>) and 69 (<i>PNKD</i>). Note how these psalms are identical, but no reference about an intertextual borrowing is displayed in <i>HS</i>	57
Figure 9 - Flowchart clarifying the number of psalms that were not included in <i>PNKD</i> and <i>HS</i>	58
Figure 10 - The melody of Psalm 1K as it appears in <i>PNKD</i> (folios A2r and A2v were combined in one Figure)	82
Figure 11 - Legend for Appendix 2 (Appendix 2 proper starts on next page)	97

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- BAnt* Sandius, Christopher. *Bibliotheca antitrinitariorum, sive Catalogus scriptorum et succincta narratio de vita eorum auctorum, qui praeterito & hoc seculo, vugo receptum dogma de tribus in unico Deo per omnia aequalibus personis vel impugnarunt, vel docuerunt solum Patrem D. N. J. Christi esse illum verum seu altissimum Deum*. Freistadii Apud Johannem Aconium, 1684. *Google Books*. Accessed January 18, 2022. <https://books.google.com/books?id=PHAlixttUkIC&pg=PP3#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Genevan Psalter* Marot, Clément, and Théodore de Bèze. *Les pseumes de David, mis en rime françoise par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze*. Par Iean Riuery, 1565. Accessed April 10, 2022. https://publications.cedarville.edu/bhg/sing_to_the_lord/genevan_psalter/.
- HAnt* Bock, Friedrich Samuel. *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum quorum auctores, promotores, cætus, templa, ministri, praeceptores, officinae typographicae, bibliothecae, colloquia, synodi, sectae, pacificationes, studia irenica, indoles, disputationes, fata prospera et adversa, scripta typis expressa pariter atque inedita, nec non opera illis opposita, ex fontibus, magnamque partem monumentis et documentis mssctis recesentur. Tomi Primi, Pars I*. Regiomonti et Lipsiae, Impresis Gott. Lebr. Hartungii, 1774. *Google Books*. Accessed January 22, 2022. https://www.google.com/books/edition/Friderici_Samuelis_Bock_Historia_antitri/pXY9AAAAYAAJ.
- _____. *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum quorum auctores, promotores, cætus, templa, ministri, praeceptores, officinae typographicae, bibliothecae, colloquia, synodi, sectae, pacificationes, studia irenica, indoles, disputationes, fata prospera et adversa, scripta typis expressa pariter atque inedita, nec non opera illis opposita, ex fontibus, magnamque partem monumentis et documentis mssctis recesentur. Tomi Primi, Pars II*. Regiomonti et Lipsiae, Impresis Gott. Lebr. Hartungii, 1776. *Google Books*. Accessed January 22, 2022. https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/3spbAAAACAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0.
- _____. *Historia Antitrinitariorum et Socinianorum ex fontibus magnamque partem documentis mssctis. Tomus Secundus*. Regiomonti et Lipsiae, Impresis Gott. Lebr. Hartungii, 1784. *Google Books*. Accessed January 22, 2022. https://www.google.com/books/edition/Historia_antitrinitariorum_maxime_socini/Moex1DvuQN0C?hl.

- Historia* Lubieniecki, Stanisław, and George Huntston Williams. *History of the Polish Reformation: and nine related documents*. Translated by George Huntston Williams. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995.
- HS* Preuss, Johann. *Herzliches Saytenspiel oder Geistreiche und Schriftmassige Lieder*. Druckte es Erasmus Roßner zu Franckfurt an der Oder, 1657. *Bibliotheca Strahoviensis*.
- Katechizm* Kraiński, Krzysztof. *Katechizm: to iest Nauka krotka Wiary Krześciańskiej*. Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1609. *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/38411/edition/55440>.
- _____. *Katechizm z naukami y z pieśniami y z modlitwami Kościoła powszechnego [...] przez Krzysztofa Kraińskiego [...]. powtóre spisany y wydany, ktemu na wielu mieyscach rozszerzony y poprawiony [...] za rewidowaniem Superintendentow w mat. synodów prowincjalnych Włodzisławskiego y Ożarowskiego wydany na iawię*. Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1603. *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/515888/edition/481804>.
- _____. *Katechizm z naukami z pieśniami z modlitwami kościoła powszechnego apostolskiego [...] przez X. Krzysztofa Kraińskiego*. Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1624. *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/419435/edition/334780>.
- PDzEPC* *Psalmy Dawidowe z Ewngelią Pana Christusovną zgodne, do których są przyłączone Piesni pobożne, z pism svwiętych vzięte*. Vv Rakowie, druk: Sebastyan Sternacki, roku 1620. *Polona*. Accessed December 20, 2021. <https://polona.pl/item/psalmy-dawidowe-z-ewngelia-pana-christusovva-zgodne-do-ktorych-sa-przylaczone-piesni,NTc0NzUwOA/5/#info:metadata>.
- PNKD* *Psalmy niektóre króla Dawida, Proroka Bożego, z Ewanielią Pana Christusową Zgodne. Do których są przyłączone pieśni pobożne, z pism świętych wzięte*. Drukował Seb. Sternacki/1625. *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/188838/edition/180364>.
- PDOŚ* *Psalterz Dawida onego Świątego, a wiecznej pamięci godnego Króla y Proroka: teraz nowo na piosneczki po Polsku przełożony, a według żydowskiego rozdziału na pieczoro ksiąg rozdzyelony*. W Krakowie: drukowano u Mathysa Wirzbięty. Roku od wcielenia Syna Bożego, 1558. *Polona*. Accessed May 25, 2022. <https://polona.pl/item/psalterz-dawida>

[onego-swietego-a-wieczney-pamieci-godnego-krola-i-proroka-teraz-
nowo-na,MTE2MzU0MDM/](#).

Introduction

At the turn of the sixteenth century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was socially and religiously diverse.¹ Evidence for such diversity can be found even in its constitutional decisions, which allowed for political and religious freedom within the context of the early Reformation. These conditions allowed for the rise of a radical antitrinitarian religious group – the Polish Brethren – whose musical practices played an important role in the lives of churchgoers, as well as in the education of the Brethren’s leaders.

In this thesis, I explore the Brethren’s main source of liturgical music, a publication entitled *Psalmy Niektóre Króla Dawida*, or “Some Psalms of King David” (hereafter referred to as *PKND*), which contains a genre of songs called *Pieśni Nabożne*, or “Pious Songs.”² I show through the writings of important leaders in the movement how these works were central to their liturgy.³ While these writings mention some of the composers who likely wrote music for the

¹ In the first half of the century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was still referred to as the Royal Commonwealth of the Two Peoples. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth became constitutionally united after the Union of Lublin of 1569. See George Huntston Williams, *The Polish Brethren: Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora 1601-1685* (Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1980), 1-2; and Earl Morse Wilbur, “Erasmianism in Poland: An Account of a Major, though Ever Diminishing, Current in Sixteenth-Century Polish Humanism and Religion, 1518-1605,” *Polish Review* 22 (1977): 3-10. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25777498>.

² As will be discussed later, *PKND* has had two publications (1610 and 1625). I was not able to track down the 1610 edition of this psalter, but the later edition can be found at the Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa: *Psalmy niektóre króla Dawida, Proroka Bożego, z Ewangelij Pana Christusową Zgodne. Do których są przyłączone pieśni pobożne, z pism świętych wzięte* (Drukował Seb. Sternacki/1625). Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/188838/edition/180364>.

³ The evidence I use that supports this is found in the writings of important leaders of the movement, as well as scholars from the time period. Additionally, there have been some studies done by modern historians. Among these works are the writings of Christopher Sandius, *Bibliotheca antitrinitariorum, sive Catalogus scriptorum et succincta narratio de vita eorum auctorum, qui praeterito & hoc seculo, vugo receptum dogma de tribus in unico Deo per omnia aequalibus personis vel impugnarunt, vel docuerunt solum Patrem D. N. J. Christi esse illum verum seu altissimum Deum* (Freistadii Apud Johannem Aconium, 1684). Google Books. Accessed January 18, 2022. <https://books.google.com/books?id=PHAlixtUkIC&pg=PP3#v=onepage&q&f=false>; three volumes of Friedrich Samuel Bock’s *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum quorum auctores, promotores, caetus, templa, ministri, praeceptores, officinae typographicae, bibliothecae, colloquia, synodi, sectae, pacificationes,*

Pious Songs, the issue of determining the origins of the melodies featured in *PNKD* is still largely unstudied. My work shows that some of the melodies present in *PNKD* find their origins both from within and from outside the Polish Brethren, namely in three earlier publications: the Genevan Psalter, *Psalterz Dawida Onego Świętego* (hereafter referred to as *PSOŚ*, which was the first Calvinist translation of the Psalms of David into Polish), and the Brethren's own *Katechizm*.⁴

A central theme in the thesis is the frequent use of melodic borrowings as a recurring feature of *PNKD*. The process of juxtaposing texts with melodies as a means to enhance their meanings was already well established before the publication of *PNKD*, and can be found in the medieval tradition of *contrafacta* in the Catholic liturgy, as discussed in detail by Sarah Long and Margot Fassler.⁵ Renaissance and early Baroque composers inherited this idea that the setting of texts to music can serve as a rhetorical means to emphasize the meanings and affections of the poetry. As Dietrich Bartel shows, the concept was revived with the advance of

studia irenica, indoles, disputationes, fata prospera et adversa, scripta typis expressa pariter atque inedita, nec non opera illis opposita, ex fontibus, magnamque partem monumentis et documentis mssctis recesentur, published in 1774, 1776, and 1784 respectively; Stanisław Lubieniecki, *History of the Polish Reformation: and nine related documents*, translated by George Huntston Williams (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995); and Andrzej Wiszowaty, who has made numerous contributions to both Bock's and Lubieniecki's works. The timeline for the productions of these works will be discussed later in the introduction.

⁴ Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, *Les pseumes de David, mis en rime françoise par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze* (Par Iean Riurey, 1565). Accessed April 10, 2022.

https://publications.cedarville.edu/bhg/sing_to_the_lord/genevan_psalter/; *Psalterz Dawida onego Świętego, a wiecznej pamięci godnego Króla y Proroka: teraz nowo na piosneczki po Polsku przelożony, a według żydowskiego rozdziału na pieczoro ksiąg rozdzzielony* (W Krakowie: drukowano u Mathysa Wirzbięty. Roku od wcielenia Syna Bożego, 1558). *Polona*. Accessed May 25, 2022. <https://polona.pl/item/psalterz-dawida-onego-swietego-a-wieczney-pamieci-godnego-krola-i-proroka-teraz-nowo-na,MTE2MzU0MDM/>. And Krzysztof Kraiński, *Katechizm z naukami y z pieśniami y z modlitwami Kościoła powszechnego [...] przez Krzysztofa Kraińskiego [...]. powtóre spisany y wydany, ktemu na wielu mieyscach rozszerzony y poprawiony [...] za rewidowaniem Superintendentow w mat. synodów prowincjonalnych Włodzisławskiego y Ożarowskiego wydany na iawię* (Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1603). *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/515888/edition/481804>. *Katechizm* also has editions published during the Brethren's period in 1609 and 1624.

⁵ Sarah Ann Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai, 1300-1550* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press; 2021), 8. And Margot Elsbeth Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 161-162.

humanism and the resurgence of the linguistic and rhetorical disciplines.⁶ The spread of Reformation ideals in Poland was directly related to the popularity of humanist thought among the noble sect of Polish society, which means that these textual-musical connections were likely planned rhetorically.⁷ As my statistical analysis shows, most of the works found in the Polish Brethren's psalter do not contain melodies, thus depending entirely on the melodies of other works from within *PNKD* in order to be performed. Some of these borrowings create complex intertextual juxtapositions that involve, at times, more than three or four different texts. These juxtapositions were planned deliberately and served as a rhetorical tool.

The Rise and Fall of the Polish Brethren (1565-1660)

Although the Polish Brethren was only founded in the second half of the sixteenth century, the socio-political events that led to the formation of radical religious movements in Poland started as early as the second half of the fourteenth century.⁸ It was then that the political power in the Polish Kingdom began to slowly shift from the king to the Polish nobility. In the 1350s, King Casimir the Great (1310-1370) still had no direct male heir to the throne. Due to this, he bestowed the Polish nobility, which was referred to as the *szlachta* (a member of the *szlachta* was called a *szlachcic*), with the right to have a voice in the choice of his successor. This essentially brought the Kingdom of Poland close to what Wilbur calls a “democracy of land-holders.”⁹

⁶ Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 6-10.

⁷ Wilbur, “Erasmianism in Poland,” 7-10.

⁸ Maciej Ptaszyński, “The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,” in *Reformation in Central Europe*, ed. Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 41-42.

⁹ The pronunciations of *szlachta* and *szlachcic* are respectively: “shlAch-ta” (with “ch” being pronounced as the “ch” in the Scottish word “loch”) and “shlAch-cheats” (with the first, italicized *ch* being pronounced as in the word “loch”, and the second “ch” being pronounced just as it appears in the English word “cheats”). On the history of the Polish nobility and their status, see Paul. W. Knoll, “Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland: Political

Differently from other places in Europe where noble classes were stratified (i.e., dukes, barons, etc.), the *szlachcice* (=plural of *szlachcic*) were legally considered to have an undifferentiated, unitary status.¹⁰ Regardless of a *szlachcic*'s financial situation and land ownership (or lack thereof), they all theoretically held the same amount of political power. Another aspect that distinguished the Polish *szlachta* from other European nobility classes of the time was the proportion of noblemen to middle- and lower classes of the population. Some estimates place the *szlachta* as comprising roughly ten percent of the Polish population, or around 800,000 people at the time.¹¹ Other European upper classes were proportionally much smaller and were more stratified. This meant that the Polish nobility held significant potential to exert political power already in the fourteenth century. During the next 200 years, their political rights were to be constitutionally extended, while the political power of the King of Poland was to become more decentralized.¹² This ongoing decentralization of power in Poland created a domino effect in which the more the power shifted from the King onto the *szlachcice*, the more the *szlachta* acted politically against the King.

The nobleman of what was then Poland-Lithuania saw in the Reformation an opportunity to take a political and strategic stand against the King, who was confessionally Catholic.¹³ Three

Realities and Social Constraints,” in *Diversity and Dissent : Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz A. J. Szabo (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 37; and Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism. Socinianism and its Antecedents* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1945), 268. Wilbur does mention that this “democracy of land-holders” only occurred in theory and that, in practice, Poland was, at that time, “an aristocracy of the higher nobility” (268).

¹⁰ Knoll, “Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland,” 39; *szlachcice* is pronounced “shlach-chEAt-tse.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹² The successor of Casimir the Great, Louis (the Great) I of Hungary (1326-1382) faced a similar fate to that of his predecessor, as he also left no male heirs to his throne. Upon this situation, during his later years, he too bestowed the *szlachta* with more political privileges in exchange for a guarantee that his elder daughter, Maria of Anjou, would succeed his throne in Poland. The privileges in question included the corroboration of the status of the *szlachta* as an independent political class in the constitution of the Kingdom, as well as protection to *szlachta* land rights in Polish territories. See *Ibid.*, 37.

¹³ An important decision made by the *szlachta* still before the Reformation has had important political implications that are related to the history of Poland. In 1386, the *szlachta* arranged for Jadwiga of Anjou (1373/4-1399) to marry the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jogaila Jagiellon (1352/1362 – 1434), thus uniting the Polish and Lithuanian crowns

historical convenings of the *Sejm* (the Polish Parliament) played an important role in laying the grounds for the creation of a political-religious safe heaven.¹⁴ The first of these was the *Sejm* at Nieszawa of 1454, at which King Casimir Jagiellon passed on a new agreement stating that the *szlachcice* ought to be consulted by the king prior to issuing certain new laws, assembling an army, or raising taxes. These became known as the Nieszawa Statutes and further solidified the power status of the *szlachta* as the “political body of the Commonwealth.”¹⁵

The second was the *Sejm* at Radom in 1505, which effectively halted the king’s current and future power to make any arbitrary political decisions independently without prior approval from both chambers of the *Sejm*. The act, named *Nihil Novi Nisi Commune Consensu* (Eng., “nothing new without the common consent”), stated that:

[...] henceforth, and into future times perpetual, nothing new [Lat., *nihil novi*] shall be constituted [...] without the common consent of the senators and the landed envoys [the

dynastically, spiritually, and politically. This arrangement was significant for two reasons. First, because it sparked the formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, officiated by the Union of Lublin two centuries later in 1569, which went on to become Europe’s largest state at the turn of the sixteenth century. And second, because the decision to unify the Polish and Lithuanian crowns prevented the Polish Kingdom from falling under the German influence of the Habsburgs. Originally, Jadwiga’s father had arranged for her to marry William of Habsburg, the son of the Duke of Austria. Had this arrangement come to fruition, the Polish nobility would have been extirpated from their own sovereign interests, and their potential to expand Polish influence onto the lands east of the kingdom would have been significantly reduced. See Oskar Halecki and Tadeusz Gromada, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East Central Europe* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1991), 15, and 37-38; Williams *The Polish Brethren*, 1; and Knoll, “Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland,” 37-38.

¹⁴ Before 1493, the *Sejm* met once or twice a year, and meetings often involved the King of Poland, certain members of the *szlachta*, and Church officials. Post-1493, the *Sejm* became a bicameral organization divided into an upper house, or Senate (comprised of the King of Poland, plus state officers and clergymen appointed by him), and a lower house, or Chamber of Deputies (comprising the *szlachcice*). The word *Sejm*— which in old Slavonic could be translated as a “gathering”, and in today’s lexicon might be translated as a “parliament,” is pronounced like the English word “same”.

¹⁵ Ptaszyński, “The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,” 41. Here, it is worth pointing out that the political structure of the *Sejm* during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries further exemplified how the *szlachcice* enjoyed constitutional autonomy and political power. Already in the 1450s, the *Sejm* not only held large national gatherings, but also smaller local gatherings known as the *Sejmiki* (or “little” *Sejms*), which involved solely members of the *szlachta*. These local *Sejmiki* had two functions: one, to select a *szlachcice* to be sent as a local representative to the lower house of the national *Sejm*; and two, to give *szlachcice* the chance to discuss policies and decisions prior to a gathering of the national *Sejm*. As mentioned above, the Nieszawa Statutes imposed that the king of Poland-Lithuania would need to pre-submit all new decrees to local *Sejmiki* prior to reunions of the *Sejm*, thus allowing local *szlachcice* to discuss and vote on decisions privately and autonomously. For information about the history of the *Sejm*, see Jacek Jędruch, *Constitutions, Elections, and Legislatures of Poland, 1493-1993: A Guide to Their History* (New York: EJJ Books, 1998).

local Deputies, the *szlachta*] that shall be detrimental or burdensome to the Rzeczpospolita. [Commonwealth], or harmful or injurious to anyone, or be intended to amend the general law and public liberty.¹⁶

The third *Sejm* in 1573 embodied the idea that the Polish-Lithuanian Reformation had far more strategic and political motivations than theological ones. Its resolutions, known as the Warsaw Confederation Act of 1573, ensured constitutional protection to all “dissidents of religion” (i.e., protestants) by stating that current and future kings of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were not legally allowed to exercise abusive and authoritarian acts against protestant groups.¹⁷ Although in theory theologically driven, the Warsaw Confederation Act increased the political independence of the *szlachta* at the *Sejm*, while also theoretically transforming Poland-Lithuania into a safe haven for different religious groups.

The issues of constitutional power distribution raised thus far have direct political correlations with the spread of religious reformist ideals in Poland-Lithuania, as well as with the Catholic Church’s seeming lack of authority in this area. By adhering to the Reformation, the *szlachta* took a political stand against the king of Poland as well as against the upper Chamber of the *Sejm* (composed of high-rank representatives of the clergy chosen by him). In other terms, the Reformation in Poland was an aristocratic endeavor that allowed the *szlachcice* from the

¹⁶ Translated by Tristan Korecki and Philip Earl Steele. See “The Legal Path of Polish Freedom - Konstytucja nihil novi,” Polish Freedom, accessed March 18, 2022, <https://polishfreedom.pl/dokument/konstytucja-nihil-novi>. See also “III. Sejm | AGAD,” Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, accessed March 18, 2022, https://agad.gov.pl/?page_id=1078. Knoll provides an interesting discussion on the idea of Poland-Lithuania being a “Republic of Nobles” in which policymaking was done democratically via a general consensus between *szlachcice* themselves and between the two chambers of the *Sejm*, rather than by the decisions of one authoritative monarch. See Knoll, “Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland,” 39 and 50. The opening lines of the *Nihil Novi* act provide a justification of the “democratic” philosophies of this so-called “Republic of Nobles,” as it indicates that the statute quoted above is being proclaimed on the basis that “the general laws and public acts pertain not to the individual, but rather to the whole populus.” See Korecki and Steele, “The Legal Path of Polish Freedom - Konstytucja nihil novi.”

¹⁷ Additionally, if abusive behavior were to be conducted, the *szlachta* would be lawfully permitted to intervene against such acts. The Warsaw Confederation Act can be read in full on “The Legal Path of Polish Freedom - Akt konfederacji generalnej warszawskiej,” *Polish Freedom*, accessed March 19, 2022, <https://polishfreedom.pl/dokument/akt-konfederacji-generalnej-warszawskiej>.

lower chamber of the Sejm to use religion as political leverage against the king and the Catholic clergy.¹⁸

The founding members of the Polish Brethren were wealthy and influential *szlachcice* who consequently held a significant financial and political potential for growth.¹⁹ So much so that, in 1570, the Consensus of Sandomierz was signed with the twofold objective of halting the advance of the Antitrinitarians (who were incidentally the Polish Brethren) and of Counter Reformation efforts. This act unified Lutherans, Calvinists, and the Bohemian Brethren under one pan-Protestant federation, effectively strengthening these movements politically at the *Sejm* (since their votes were henceforth combined into one large constituency within the lower chamber).²⁰ As a result, the Polish Brethren in practice never fully enjoyed the religious freedom established by the Warsaw Confederation Act, a fact that will play an important role in my interpretation of textual juxtapositions in Chapter 3.

The first records of the Polish Brethren come from 1556, when antitrinitarian-unitarian thoughts were first introduced in Poland at the general synod of the Reformed (Calvinist) Church at Secemin. Although these ideas were taken as a “blasphemy” by the majority of those present, a radical minority did take these remarks seriously.²¹ In 1565, this radical group of *szlachcice* held its first independent antitrinitarian synod at Brzeziny, and this marked the irreversible schism within the Reformed movement. While the Antitrinitarians formed the *Ecclesia Minor* (or

¹⁸ See Knoll, “Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland,” 40; and Ptaszyński, “The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,” 46.

¹⁹ Hence the concern of the Consensus of Sandomierz with the growing popularity of the Antitrinitarians. The Polish Brethren’s most influential leader was Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604), whose name yielded the Polish Brethren the nickname “Socinians”. Andrzej Wiszowaty, who was Sozzini’s grandson and himself an influential leader of the movement, left a detailed account of the genealogy of Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604). His family had a hereditary relationship with the Petruccis in Italy, the Prince of Siena, Pope Pius II and III, the King of Aragon and Naples, and also with important cardinals and bishops of the Church in Italy. See Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 18-21.

²⁰ See Knoll, “Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland,” 41; and Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 3 and 53.

²¹ See Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 286.

Minor Church of Poland, or the Polish Brethren), the majority of Calvinists remained in the *Ecclesia Major* (or Major Church of Poland).²² The antitrinitarian philosophy of the Polish Brethren denied the existence of the Holy Trinity, since this notion is never mentioned in the Bible or in the Apostles' Creed. Instead, they believed that the three individuals represented by the Trinity are in fact all united under the "One Supreme Being," hence their other designation as "Unitarians".

Following their schism from the Calvinist Church in 1565 (which officially marks the establishment of their movement), the Polish Brethren took advantage of the political context of the Warsaw Confederation Act of 1573 to champion their beliefs and expand their realm of influence. Their first achievement was the completion of their own "capital city," the village of Raków, founded in 1569.²³ Two more feats would lead the Polish Brethren to its golden age at the turn of the century. First, the founding of the Racovian Academy in Raków (Latin, *Gymnasium Bonarum Artium*; Polish, *Akademia Rakowska*) in 1602; and second, the construction of the Racovian print shop, which provided the Brethren with the possibility of producing and distributing their own publications.²⁴ It is important to note that the Academy's by-laws did not seek to indoctrinate its students, and it moreover required its members to accept and tolerate representatives of all Christian denominations (in fact, even Catholic students were

²² See Lubieniecki and Williams, *Historia*, 15 and 21; Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 285-293 and 330-333; and Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 23.

²³ By the turn of the century, Raków had become the "recognized metropolis of Socinianism". See Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 362; and Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 4.

²⁴ Andrzej Wiszowaty, an important figure of the Polish Brethren, appraised the Racovian Academy as the "Sarmatian Athens", in reference to its high esteem among state and Church officials. Williams notes that the Academy had "approached in significance the University of Nuremberg." See Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 4. However, despite its significance in the national and international stage and its influential corpus of humanist and theological publications, the Academy also gained the reputation from the Catholic Church, as well as from other Protestants, for "being hotbeds of heresy." See Tworek, "Education: The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," 377. For information on the body of students and faculty at the Racovian Academy, see Wilbur *A History of Unitarianism*, 359-360; Tworek, "Education: The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," 377-381; and Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 23-26. See also Tworek *ibid.*, 379.

regularly sent to study at the Academy). As will be discussed in Chapter 3, this information finds correlations in some of the texts of the Pious Songs.

The Polish Brethren's golden age was short lived, and so was the movement as a whole. Already in the 1630s, the Catholic Church had acquired much more political power than it had during the previous century. Moreover, the Warsaw Confederation Act of 1573 began to be reinterpreted at the *Sejm*, and the Antitrinitarians of the Polish Brethren were no longer being included under the category of "dissidents of religion" that were to be protected under its laws. In 1638, following persecution from State and Church officials, the church of the Polish Brethren in Raków, along with its Academy and print shop, were abolished. Only twenty-two years later in 1660, the Polish Brethren as a whole was banished by Royal decree at the *Sejm*, and its members forced to either convert to Catholicism or Calvinism, or to exile.²⁵

In many ways connected to the activities of the Racovian Academy, the print shop in Raków was responsible for printing educational materials, theological publications and, most importantly for the present research, psalters and books of songs.²⁶ Many of the materials produced in Raków still survive to this day, including their influential *Katechizm* (translated from Latin to both Polish and German) and their psalter, which survives in two forms – one without music scores, and another with musical scores.²⁷

²⁵ See Lubieniecki and Williams, *Historia*, 4; Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 451-454; and Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 3.

²⁶ The print shop was initially run by Aleksy Rodecki (1540-1606) and later his son-in-law, Sebastian Sternacki (1574-1635). Their books were printed in Polish, German, and Latin. See Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ariánskie oficyny wydawnicze Rodeckiego i Sternackiego: dzieje i bibliografia* * *Les imprimeurs des antitrinitaires polonais Rodecki et Sternacki : histoire et bibliographie* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1974).

²⁷ The first edition of *Katechizm* to be published was Krzysztof Kraiński, *Katechizm z naukami y z pieśniami y z modlitwami Kościoła powszechnego [...] przez Krzysztofa Kraińskiego [...]. powtóre spisany y wydany, ktemu na wielu mieyscach rozszerzony y poprawiony [...] za rewidowaniem Superintendentow w mat. synodów prowincjalnych Włodzisławskiego y Ożarówskiego wydany na iawię* (Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1603). Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa. Accessed March 28, 2021.

Historical Sources of the Polish Brethren

Following their expulsion from Poland in 1660, members of the Polish Brethren in exile continued producing important works.²⁸ Three such sources will play a significant and twofold role in this thesis. First, they will elucidate which musical sources were used by the Polish Brethren in their liturgy; and second, they help us understand the roles of liturgical music and of music education in the daily lives of the brothers and sisters of the Polish Brethren.

The three works that will be discussed are both historically and thematically connected and thus complement each other. These three works can be subdivided into two categories according to their publication dates, authors, and posthumous editors. The first category includes Stanisław Lubieniecki's *Historia Reformationis Polonicae* (hereafter referred to as *Historia*) and Christopher Sandius's *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum* (hereafter referred to as *BAnt*).²⁹ These two works were published within the first two decades of the expulsion of the Polish Brethren from their country (in 1685 and 1684 respectively) and their authors were also closely related to the antitrinitarian movement in Poland. While Lubieniecki was a member of the Polish Brethren born and raised in Raków, Sandius was a non-member who held close relationships with

<https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/515888/edition/481804>; The psalters in question will be dealt with in Chapters 2 and 3.

²⁸ Members of the Polish Brethren who refused to convert sought refuge in other locations in Europe, most notably the Low Countries and Transylvania. See Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, Chapters 34-38. For an overview of these historical sources, see Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 1-15; and Lubieniecki and Williams, *Historia*, 1-11.

²⁹ Lubieniecki and Williams, *Historia*. George Huntston Williams, who has translated all three books that comprise *Historia* into English, was professor of Ecclesiastical History at the Harvard Divinity School. His translation of Lubieniecki's *Historia* not only provides an immeasurable source of information about the Polish Brethren, but it also adds to that by appending "nine related documents" written by other important figures of the Polish Brethren (such as Andrzej Wiszowaty and his son Benedykt Wiszowaty, Jan Stoiński, and Jerzy Szoman). Christopher Sandius, *Bibliotheca antitrinitariorum, sive Catalogus scriptorum et succincta narratio de vita eorum auctorum, qui praeterito & hoc seculo, vago receptum dogma de tribus in unico Deo per omnia aequalibus personis vel impugnarunt, vel docuerunt solum Patrem D. N. J. Christi esse illum verum seu altissimum Deum* (Freistadii Apud Johannem Aconium, 1684). Google Books. Accessed January 18, 2022.

<https://books.google.com/books?id=PHAlixttUkIC&pg=PP3#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

members of the Polish Brethren abroad. In fact, Lubieniecki and Sandius knew each other, and they knew Benedykt Wiszowaty, who was the posthumous editor and publisher of both works.³⁰

While *Historia* and *BAnt* were written in different styles, these two books together provide indispensable information regarding the Brethren's output and its leaders. In terms of its style, *Historia* concerns itself with narrating historical, philosophical, and theological information about the Polish Brethren in prose. Each chapter has a narrative that deals with a specific episode or concept related to the Polish Brethren. Meanwhile, *BAnt*'s main section is composed of a biographical and bibliographical compendium of information related to specific members of the Polish Brethren or to specific publications issued by them. Fundamentally, *BAnt* acts as an encyclopedia of the antitrinitarian movement in Poland and, in some cases, of Antitrinitarianism abroad.³¹

The second category of sources that will be utilized in this thesis includes three volumes of Friedrich Samuel Bock's *Historia Antitrinitariorum* (hereafter referred to as *HAnt*).³² Contrary to *Historia* and *BAnt*, *HAnt* was published more than a century after the Polish Brethren was

³⁰ Benedykt Wiszowaty was the great-grandson of Fausto Sozzini and the son of Andrzej Wiszowaty and therefore an influential leader of the Polish Brethren after their expulsion from Poland.

³¹ *BAnt* does contain documents attached after its main section, and some of these were included in the "nine related documents" that are featured in Williams' translation of Lubieniecki's *Historia*.

³² See Friedrich Samuel Bock, *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum quorum auctores, promotores, cætus, templa, ministri, praeceptores, officinae typographicae, bibliothecae, colloquia, synodi, sectae, pacificationes, studia irenica, indoles, disputationes, fata prospera et adversa, scripta typis expressa pariter atque inedita, nec non opera illis opposita, ex fontibus, magnamque partem monumentis et documentis mssccctis recesentur. Tomi Primi, Pars I* (Regiomonti et Lipsiae, Impresis Gott. Lebr. Hartungii, 1774). Google Books. Accessed January 22, 2022.

https://www.google.com/books/edition/Friderici_Samuelis_Bock_Historia_antitri/pXY9AAAAYAAJ; *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum quorum auctores, promotores, cætus, templa, ministri, praeceptores, officinae typographicae, bibliothecae, colloquia, synodi, sectae, pacificationes, studia irenica, indoles, disputationes, fata prospera et adversa, scripta typis expressa pariter atque inedita, nec non opera illis opposita, ex fontibus, magnamque partem monumentis et documentis mssccctis recesentur. Tomi Primi, Pars II* (Regiomonti et Lipsiae, Impresis Gott. Lebr. Hartungii, 1776). Google Books. Accessed January 22, 2022.

https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/3spbAAAACAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0; and *Historia Antitrinitariorum et Socinianorum ex fontibus magnamque partem documentis mssccctis. Tomus Secundus* (Regiomonti et Lipsiae, Impresis Gott. Lebr. Hartungii, 1784). Google Books. Accessed January 22, 2022.

https://www.google.com/books/edition/Historia_antitrinitariorum_maxime_socini/Moex1DvuQN0C?hl.

forced into exile, with volumes being published in 1774, 1776, and 1784 respectively. Furthermore, while Lubieniecki and Sandius were personally connected to the antitrinitarian movement in Poland, Bock was concerned with the Polish Brethren as a scholar and held no personal relationships with any descendants of the movement.³³ *HAnt*'s content in many ways mirrors that of *BAnt* since it also contains mostly biographical and bibliographical entries about members of the antitrinitarian movement in Poland and outside of it. Generally, however, *HAnt* contains more entries than its predecessor and therefore serves as a useful complement to Sandius's and Lubieniecki's works.³⁴

While the three publications discussed thus far represent the largest historical sources of the Polish Brethren, smaller documents written by the leaders of the movement also provide invaluable information regarding the roles that music played in the congregation. To that end, I will analyze some of the documents contained in George Huntston Williams's *The Polish Brethren*, which he published in 1980. This publication provides a compilation of translations of numerous historical documents created by members of the Polish Brethren before and after their expulsion from Poland.³⁵

The three Chapters contained in this thesis give a broad overview of *PNKD* and a detailed case study of some of its most relevant works. Chapter 1 discusses *PNKD* as the main source of liturgical music of the Polish Brethren, and it shows evidence that points to it being their main liturgical book. Chapter 2 answers questions related to the performance practices of the Polish Brethren's music, and how these relate to a predominant feature of the structure of *PNKD*,

³³ In fact, *HAnt* was originally written by Bock as his doctoral dissertation.

³⁴ Despite their titles suggesting the antitrinitarian movement as a whole, both *BAnt* and *HAnt* mostly comprise bibliographical data about members and publications of the Polish Brethren, both before and after their expulsion. For that reason, these two publications are to this day considered indispensable in the scholarship of the Polish Brethren. See Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 17; and Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 512.

³⁵ Williams, *The Polish Brethren*.

namely, the intertextual juxtaposition of texts via melodic borrowings. My statistical analyses of the works contained in *PNKD* reveal that more than 60% of the texts in the Polish Brethren's psalter do not have their own melodies, thus relying completely on melodic borrowings within the Psalms and Pious Songs. This structural organization was later imported into a German antitrinitarian publication – the *Herzliches Saytenspiel* (hereafter referred to as *HS*) – which contains identical use of intertextual borrowings within its own Psalms and Songs. *HS* incorporated melodies that were previously unique to *PNKD*, thus confirming that these two publications were related and in dialogue with each other. This information is crucial, for while *PNKD* contains only monophonic melodies, *HS* contains melodies with a *basso continuo* accompaniment. Therefore, it is likely that the Polish antitrinitarian movement performed their music polyphonically as opposed to monophonically.

The topic of intertextuality in the music of the Polish Brethren, which still remains largely unexplored in the literature, is approached in this work from two angles. Chapter 2 shows that this intertextuality was used deliberately as a means to establish multiple meanings through the reutilization of melodies, a feature already studied in the *contrafacta* traditions of confraternities in Tournai and Paris from the fourteenth through the sixteenth century.³⁶ Chapter 3 provides a case study revealing how this rhetorical device was used to further the Brethren's antitrinitarian cause. Bartel notes that Calvinist thought deemed music as a human innovation (as opposed to a divine gift as Lutherans believed).³⁷ Being derived from the Calvinist movement, the Polish Brethren likely created *PNKD* with the intent of providing not only spiritual commentary on the scriptures, but also political and philosophical critic to the *status quo*. As I

³⁶ Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai*, 33.

³⁷ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 4.

will show, the textual juxtaposition of psalms in many ways relates to some of the core values of the group as well as to political issues faced by the movement in Poland, which is why studying these intertextual connections is an important step towards understanding how these communities thought and acted.

Chapter 1 – The Polish Brethren’s Liturgical Music Sources

The Main Source of Liturgical Music of the Polish Brethren - Psalmy Niektóre Króla Dawida i Pieśni Nabożne

Information found in *BAnt* and *HAnt* point to the psalter *Psalmy Niektóre Króla Dawida i Pieśni Nabożne* (hereafter referred to as *PNKD*) as being the main source of liturgical music used by the Polish Brethren. Although *PNKD* itself is not directly cited in either of these two sources, its significance as a source of liturgical music is revealed indirectly via the specific entries that recount the lives of the composers whose works are included in *PNKD*. I will analyze four of these entries appearing in *BAnt*, which illustrate the importance of the *PNKD* to this community.³⁸

The first is an account of the life of Stanisław II Lubieniecki.³⁹ It states that he:

[wrote] various Polish songs, and among them the awakening Poem of Hejnał in Polish: *inserted in the book of Psalms and Songs used among the Unitarian Polish Brethren*, printed in Raków. 1610, & a. 1625.⁴⁰

A version of a Polish Brethren psalter containing a poem entitled *Hejnał* (in English, a “bugle call,” or simply a “call”) indeed survives. The title of this psalter is *Psalmy Dawidowe z Ewngeliq Pana Christusovvq Zgodne (PDzEPCZ)*, but its publication is from 1620 and not from 1610 or 1625 as the quote mentions (see Figure 1). Its contents, on the other hand, are

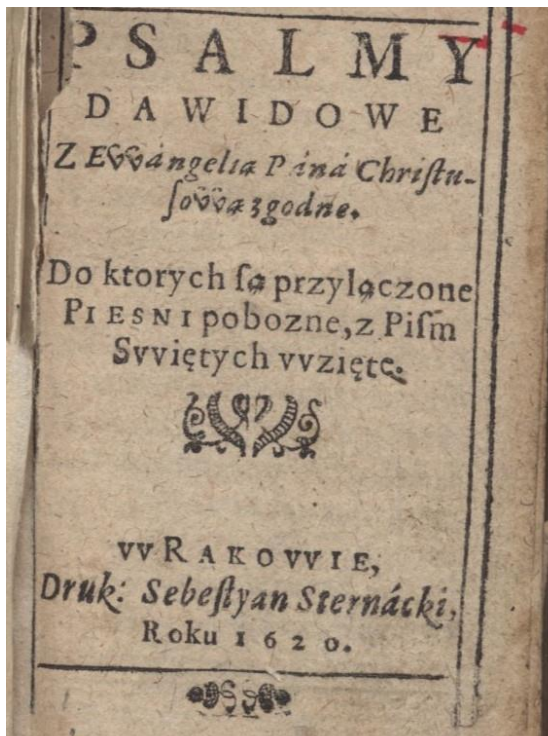
³⁸ Although all four examples were taken from *BAnt*, most composers featured in there are likewise included in *HAnt* with descriptions that are practically identical.

³⁹ Not to be confused with Stanisław Lubieniecki (1623-1675), the author of *Historia*. Stanisław II Lubieniecki was the brother of the grandfather of the author of *Historia*.

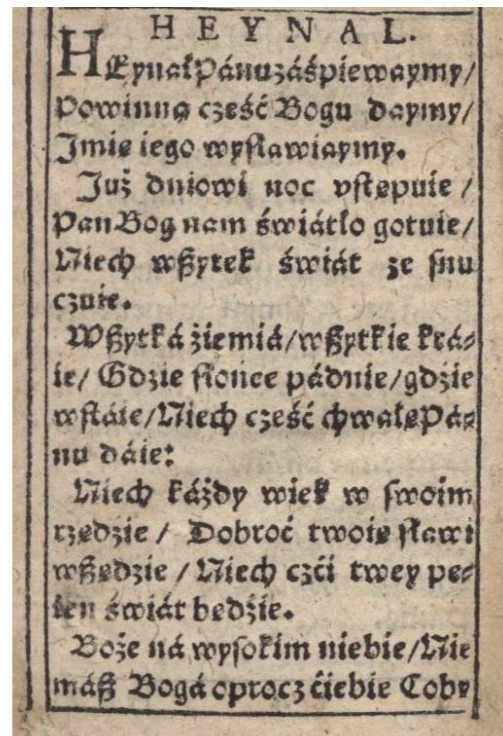
⁴⁰ *Bant*, 89-90. Italics are mine for emphasis. Original text in Latin reads “Variae cantilenae Polonicae , interque eas Carmen expurgificum Polonice Hegnal: insertae libro Psalmorum canticorum quo Fratres Poloni Unitarii utuntur, impresso Racoviae a. 1610, & a. 1625.”

identical to the contents of the 1625 edition of *PNKD*, as evidenced by their matching indices in Figure 2.⁴¹

Figure 1 - Title page of *PDzEPCZ* (A) and the page containing the aforementioned *Hejnał* (B).⁴²



A - title page of *Psalmy Dawidowe z Ewangelia Pana Christusa*



B - The Hejnał cited in *BAnt*, 89-90

⁴¹ *PNKD* was first published in 1610, with a second edition being published in 1625. I was not able to find the 1610 edition of this psalter and could not therefore verify if that edition also matches the indices mentioned above. Since I do not have a copy of the 1610 edition of *PNKD*, the remainder of this thesis will only deal with the 1625 edition of this source. The 1625 edition of *Psalmy Niektóre Króla Dawida* is available online via the *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa* (the Wielkopolska Digital Library). See *Psalmy niektóre króla Dawida, Proroaka Bożego, z Ewangelia Pana Christusa Zgodne. Do których są przyłączone pieśni pobożne, z pism świętych wzięte* (Drukował Seb. Sternacki/1625). Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa. Accessed March 28, 2021.

<https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/188838/edition/180364>.

⁴² *PDzEPCZ*, title page and folio c4v.

Figure 2 - The indices of *PDzEPC* (A) and *PNKD* (B). Note how both indices are identical despite the books having different titles.⁴³

Reieſtr Pſalmow.

B

A j	Błogostawio: ezto: fol: 3	
B xv	Bede cie wielbil	70
C iij	Bede ia chwalił	89
D j	Bog wſzechmo: Bog	131
D v	Bog wſzechm: Pan	139
D vii	Bog wieczny/ Ktory	144
D x	Bogu duſzą dufa mo:	150
D xij	Błogostaw nam	154
D xv	Boże wieczney mo:	159
E vij	Boże niezwyćieſo:	186
E xiiij	Boże moia nādzie:	202
F ij	Boże ktorem	219
F xvi	Błogost: duſo moia	247
F xvij	Błogost: duſo moia	251

A (1620)

Reieſtr Pſalmow.

B

Błogostawiony czlo:	A j.
Bede cie wielbil	B xv.
Bede ia chwalił	C iij.
Bog wſzechmocny/ Bog	D j.
Bog wſzechmocny/ Pan	D v.
Bog wieczny/ Ktory	D vij.
Bogu duſzą dufa moia	D x.
Błogostaw nam	D xij.
Boże wieczney mocy	D xv.
Boże niezwyćieſony	E vij.
Boże moia nādziecio	E xiiij.
Boże ktoremu pomſtá	F ij.
Błogost: duſo moia Pá.	F xvj.
Błogost: duſo moia Pá:	F xvij.
Boże ktory mieſtkaſ	G vij.
By byl Pan nie tał	G x.

B (1625)

From these matching indices we may infer that these two publications are fundamentally the same, despite their differences in title and the lack of a *Hejnał* in the 1625 version of the psalter. More importantly, since the 1620 *PDzEPC* contains the aforementioned *Hejnał* cited in *BAnt*, we may conclude that this particular psalter – and by extension *PNKD* – is indeed the “book of Psalms and Songs used among the Unitarian Polish Brethren,” and thus their main source of liturgical music.

⁴³ See *HS*, 213; and *PNKD*, folio Y3v.

The difference in titles between *PDzEPCZ* and *PNKD* might be explained by the fact that although these two books are identical in terms of content, they differ in terms of how their content is presented. While the music in *PDzEPCZ* contains only text (with written cues of which melodies should be used with each Psalm and Song), *PNKD* contains the same text with the added musical notation (see Figure 3). This difference might have been interpreted by the editors of these books as an actual difference in content, thus deserving two separate titles. For the purposes of this work, I will use *PNKD* as the main source of information regarding the musical practices of the Polish Brethren, since it contains notated music. The reader should however be aware that, for any Psalm or Song mentioned in *PNKD*, there is a corresponding one in *PDzEPC*.

Figure 3 - Psalm 25 – *Ad te Domine levavi anima* (*Do ciebie Pani wzdycha serce moie*) – as it appears in both *PDzEPC* (A) and *PNKD* (B).⁴⁴



No other psalter or liturgical book is referenced in *BAnt* in the same fashion as *PNKD*, namely by means of using language that implies that this was in fact the main liturgical book of

⁴⁴ See *PDzEPC*, folio D3v; and *PNKD*, folio C4r.

the group. In the three other instances in which the “book of psalms and songs” of the Polish Brethren is mentioned in *BAnt*, the language used is always identical. This in turn further confirms *PNKD* as the main book of liturgical music for the Polish Brethren. In the first instance, *PNKD* is referred to as “the book of David's Psalms and Hymns or Songs, which the Polish Brethren used in their churches, published in Racovia in 1610, [?]. Also in 1625, [?].”⁴⁵ The other two instances describe hymns by Samuel Przykowski and Stanisław Lubieniecki, and they are indicated in the following way: “[these composers wrote] the hymn in the Apostles’ Creed, attached to the Book of Psalms and Hymns used among the Unitarian Polish Brethren.”⁴⁶ Although the entry does not specify the publication date of this psalter, we can infer from the language used that Sandius was once again referencing the same publication, which my research indicates to be *PNKD*.

The Roles of Music and Music Education in the Lives of the Brothers and Sisters of the Polish Brethren

The purposes of music in early Reformation movements was twofold. On the one hand, it served to enhance the oratory of preachers. On the other hand, it served as an educational tool for young learners. Lutheran thought, for example, deemed music and grammar as forming an integral part of the educational curriculum of children. In that sense, the study of the Word as a rhetorical tool to create compelling oratory was essential, a trend that was an integral part of the humanist life to which the Polish Brethren adhered.⁴⁷ Surviving sources from the Lubieniecki

⁴⁵ *BAnt*, 102. The context in this case regards a hymn written by Walenty Smalc. The hymn’s title is unfortunately not included in *BAnt*. Original text in Latin reads “liber Psalmorum Davidis & Hymnorum seu Cantilenarum, quo fratres Poloni in ecclesiis suis utuntur, editus Racoviae a. 1610, 120. item a. 1625, 120, ab ipso potissimum concinnatus est.”

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 125 and 165. Quotes are the same in both cases, and they both lack information regarding the titles of these songs. Original text in Latin reads: “Hymnus in Symbolum S.S. Apostolorum, adjunctus libro Psalmorum & Hymnorum, quo Fratres Poloni utuntur.”

⁴⁷ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 64-65; and Wilbur, *Erasmianism in Poland*, 26-50.

family and from the Polish Brethren's *Katechizm* (1603) indicate that music performance—more specifically the singing of psalms and songs—and music education indeed fulfilled these two roles in Polish Brethren society. These sources indicate that singing was used as a preaching and congregational tool during worship and that it was used as an edifying tool in the education and training of important leaders of the group.⁴⁸

Although scarce in number, written commentaries on the social and theological function of the music of the Polish Brethren do exist. They indicate that singing was seen by its leaders as a means to draw the congregation's attention to sermons, to increase prayer devotion, and to ensure that congregation members were collaborating with each other. This conclusion stems from the fact that the by-laws of the Racovian Academy placed the "act of singing" in the same paragraph with rules that define the Brethren's expectations regarding attentiveness to sermons, prayer devotion, and good congregational etiquette:

those who belong to our church (*Ecclesiam*) shall attend the holy meetings; [...] they shall sit modestly in church; *they shall all sing*; they shall listen attentively to the sermons; they shall utter prayers devoutly to God; they shall not disturb others.⁴⁹

Two additional sources show that the study of the liberal arts played a major role in the formation of high-ranking brothers of the Polish Brethren, especially for its leaders, educators, and preachers.⁵⁰ The first comes from the autobiography of Stanisław Lubieniecki, which is attached to his *Historia*.⁵¹ Stanisław wrote that his father "took great pains to give him the best

⁴⁸ The sources in question are found in Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, which is a compilation of several primary sources translated by the author, with added commentary and media.

⁴⁹ Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 78. Italics are mine for emphasis. Paragraph VI of the "laws to be observed by the students," as stated at the "Laws of the School at Raków." Written by Stanisław II Lubieniecki, circa 1602.

⁵⁰ During the Renaissance, the liberal arts included the study of the *trivium* and of the *quadrivium*. The latter included, among others, the study of music.

⁵¹ Although originally attached to it, Williams' translation of *Historia* does not include this autobiography. Instead, it appears translated to English in his *The Polish Brethren*, 519-541. According to Williams, this document was likely written by Lubieniecki but later edited and revised by one of his three sons, as well as by Benedykt Wiszowaty. See *ibid.*, 519.

possible training in the practice of the Christian religion as well as instruction in the liberal arts.”⁵² Based on this, Lubieniecki’s education must have involved the study of music. Music had a place in both the *quadrivium* and the *trivium* at different times in history. While the discipline of music composition was regarded as a mathematical art during the Middle Ages (and thus a part of the *quadrivium*), the Renaissance *cantor* found a place in the *trivium* via the musical performance of texts, thus combining linguistic-rhetorical aspects into the discipline of music.⁵³ This shift from a mathematical to a linguistic approach is significant because it meant that music combined these elements rather than discarded one in favor of the other. Therefore, the discipline of music in the context of the Polish Brethren fundamentally encompassed the liberal arts as a whole.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Stanisław later informs us that his father wrote “not a few hymns in his own tongue.”⁵⁵ It is clear that the acquisition of this knowledge in the liberal arts was deemed essential by Stanisław’s father.

The second source of interest is the Preface to the final edition of the *Katechizm* (1603) which contains two excerpts of importance to the present research.⁵⁶ The Preface has a section fully dedicated to defining the qualities of a bishop who is “apt to teach.” In the first of the two excerpts, the authors debate that the acquisition of liberal arts was indispensable to the formation of an individual who is “apt to teach.” The following paragraph uses the persona of an “ignorant

⁵² Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 521.

⁵³ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 12.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 19-27, and 74.

⁵⁵ Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 521.

⁵⁶ Krzysztof Kraiński, *Katechizm z naukami y z pieśniami y z modlitwami Kościoła powszechnego [...] przez Krzysztofa Kraińskiego [...]. powtóre spisany y wydany, ktemu na wielu miejscach rozszerzony y poprawiony [...] za rewidowaniem Superintendentow w mat. synodów prowincjalnych Włodzisławskiego y Ożarówskiego wydany na iawię* (Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1603). Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/515888/edition/481804>.

in the art of music” as an allegory of an “incompetent” educator, thus drawing comparisons between the art of music and the art of being “apt to teach:”

But who would deny that he who is expert in speech, who is familiar with the liberal arts, who has a clear and cultivated judgment, who has a flowing style of teaching, teeming with a rich store of ideas and words is commonly and ordinarily more “apt to teach” than he who is destitute of all these things?⁵⁷

But how ridiculous, may we not ask, and how absurd would it be, if any one ignorant of the art of music, and unskilled in the modulation of his voice, were yet to desire, with a discordant and rude noise, to sing, or rather to bray, in the church? [...] But not less absurd is it that he who is uninstructed for its duties should wish to execute the office of a teacher.⁵⁸

The quotes above attest to the fact that the leaders of the Polish Brethren, as well as its educators and preachers, were well-versed in the liberal arts, and therefore music.⁵⁹ It is not surprising then that the music contained in *PNKD* is mapped out into a complex intertextual web in which single melodies are set to several different texts. As discussed above, the focus of music acquisition during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shifted from a mathematical to a linguistic-rhetorical one.⁶⁰ This might explain why *PNKD* does not seem to concern itself with composing new melodies, and put a bigger focus on reutilizing melodies and thus juxtaposing different texts. The melody of Psalm number 3, for example, is quoted 27 times in *PNKD* via direct and indirect borrowings, which will be explained in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3.⁶¹

Analyses of psalters published by later antitrinitarian communities show that the Polish Brethren’s musical intertextuality was designed intentionally since it was exported to other parts of Europe. The most significant example of this comes from a German community of

⁵⁷ Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 693.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 693.

⁵⁹ Being well-versed in the liberal arts and music was also an important aspect of Lutheran life as noted by Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 64-65.

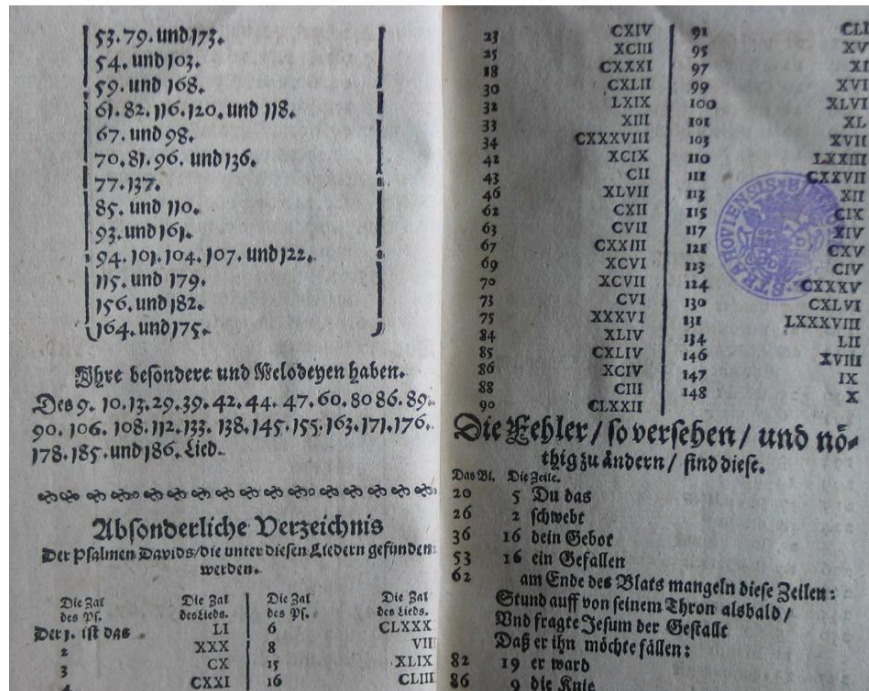
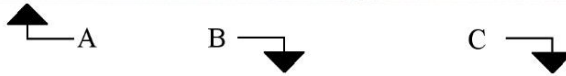
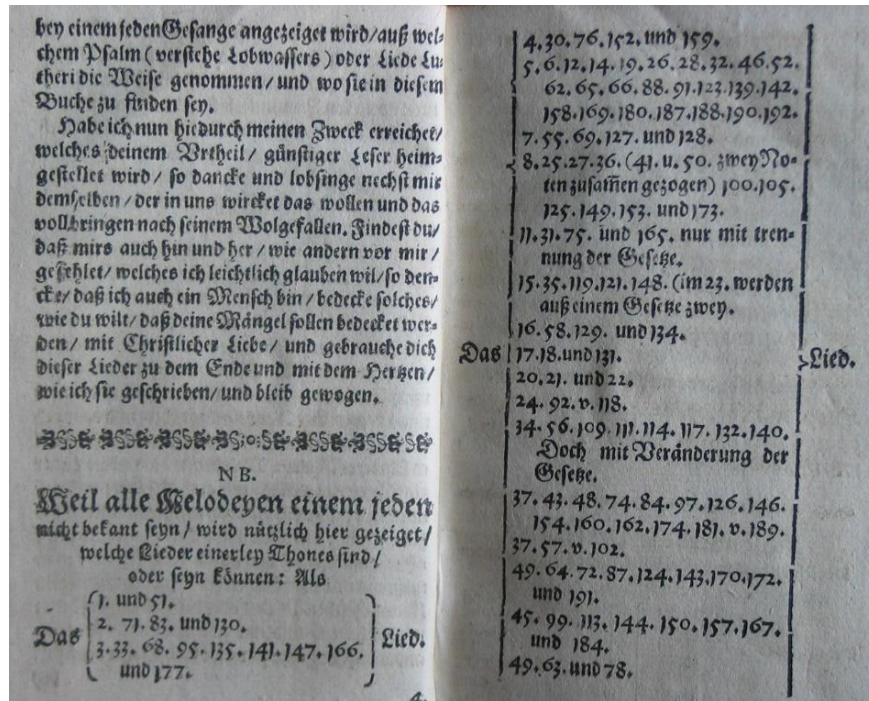
⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶¹ *PKND*, folio A8v.

antitrinitarian Socinians from East Prussia, whose psalter *HS* (1657) contains an identical intertextual organization of melodies and texts.⁶² So much so that this book's index is displayed in a manner as to map out, in detail, the use of different melodies with different texts. Figure 4 shows the index pages in question, and the sections read as follows: A) "because not all melodies are known to everyone/it is usefully shown here/which songs find the same notes/or can be as;" B) "peculiarities of the index of the Psalms of David/ found among these songs [i.e., Song 1 is Song LI];" and C) "the errors/thus provided/and necessary to change/find these." Although section C in this figure only shows errata relating to spelling errors, the next page does contain corrections regarding the reutilization of songs (i.e., Psalm 57 on page 158 should be sung with the melody of Song number XXXVIII, and not XXXVII as marked on the page).

⁶² Johann Preuss, *Herzliches Saytenspiel oder Geistreiche und Schriftmassige Lieder* (Druckte es Erasmus Roßner zu Franckfurt an der Oder, 1657). *Bibliotheca Strahoviensis*. I would like to thank Mr. Ireneusz Trybulec for sharing his personal scans of this book with me.

Figure 4 - The index pages of HS.⁶³



⁶³ HS, folio Vv-Viir.

Further connections between the Polish Brethren and the movement that published *HS* are revealed by Wilbur, who mentions that the leader of this antitrinitarian community in East Prussia was a descendant of a Professor at the Racovian Academy.⁶⁴ Therefore, it is probable that the traditions of the Polish Brethren, as well as the particular intertextual style of *PNKD*, were at least in part inherited by this German community. If so, this was likely done because the antitrinitarian-Socinian community in general saw this style as their own.

The Composers of the Polish Brethren

In terms of the Polish Brethren's earliest compositions, Williams reveals that the movement was already producing its own music even before it was officially established in 1565.⁶⁵ According to him, the first hymn composed for the movement was written by a female composer, Zofia Oleśnicka, and published in 1556 under the title "a new Song in which is the giving of thanks unto the Lord Almighty that he has designed to reveal the secret of His Kingdom to the humble and those of low degree."⁶⁶ Although Williams affirms that this is the first hymn of the Polish Brethren, I could not find information that confirms whether it was composed for the Polish Brethren or for the Calvinist movement. Oleśnicka was the wife of Mikołaj Oleśnicki, the founder of the Pińczów Academy. The Pińczów Academy, although originally a Calvinist center, soon became "the focus of the antitrinitarian movement in the

⁶⁴ Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 460 and 518-519.

⁶⁵ Lubieniecki and Williams, *Historia*, 45 and 882.

⁶⁶ Title in Polish: *Pieśń nowa w ktorey iest dziękowanie Panu Bogu wssechmogącemu, że malutkim a prostakom raczył objawić tajemnice krolestwa swego*. A 1558 version of it is held at the National Library of Poland – see Zofia Oleśnicka, *Pieśń nowa w ktorey iest dziękowanie Panu Bogu wssechmogącemu, że malutkim a prostakom raczył objawić tajemnice krolestwa swego* (W Krakowie : Matheusz Sybeneicher, 1558).
<https://polona.pl/item/piesn-nowa-w-ktorey-iest-dziekowanie-panu-bogu-wssechmogacemu-ze-malutkim-a-prostakom,MTE3MDM3NA/3/#info:metadata>.

Reformed Church.”⁶⁷ Thus, it is conceivable that this hymn was indeed written for the uses of the Polish Brethren.

Although Williams attributes this hymn to Oleśnicka, various Polish musicologists claim that it was written by a male composer, Cyprian Bazylik.⁶⁸ An analysis of the text of the hymn reveals that the first-person voice of the poem is feminine since she calls herself a “handmaid” (Pl., *szużebnica*). It likewise utilizes feminine pronouns when referring to herself (i.e., “surrenders herself and her all to Thy mighty protection”).⁶⁹ It is possible then to assume that the writer of the text was a female author, while the composer who set the text to music could be either Oleśnicka or Bazylik.

In terms of the music that was included in *PNKD*, the complex intertextual manner with which these compositions are incorporated into the Polish Brethren’s liturgy was unique to the antitrinitarian-Socinian movement at that time. While multiple juxtaposition of older and newer texts can be found in the French sequence repertoire, *PNKD* juxtaposes multiple texts in a single publication.⁷⁰ As we have seen from the aforementioned quotes taken from the Lubienieckis and from the *Katechizm*, the composers of *PNKD* were individuals who certainly went through a serious and rigorous education process, which explains the complex rhetorical nature of *PNKD* and *HS*.

⁶⁷ Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 294-295.

⁶⁸ Williams claim is followed by a discussion about the issue of women’s rights and freedom in the Polish Brethren. See Williams, *The Polish Brethren*, 45. See Józef M. Chomiński, and Zofia Lissa, *Music of the Polish Renaissance* (Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1955), 31 and 24-251.

⁶⁹ Original in Polish: “Nie zgardziłeś pokorą szużebnicy swojej/Która sie wszytka daje w moc opiece twojej.” Translation of the hymn by Przemysław Mroczkowski. See Józef M. Chomiński, and Zofia Lissa, *Music of the Polish Renaissance*, 359.

⁷⁰ Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai*, 213.

Given that both *PNKD* and *HS* do not mention composer names, it is difficult to establish who exactly the creators of the melodies present in *PNKD* were. Both *BAnt* and *HAnt* include entries with names of composers who contributed some of the Pious Songs included in the Brethren's psalter. As we have seen, however, these entries do not specify the names of the songs that were written by them, with the exception of the *Hejnał* written by Stanisław II Lubieniecki. It is also unclear if the list of composers cited in these sources is comprehensive or not. In fact, their accounts relating to the music of the Polish Brethren are very limited and repetitive, which means that the list of composers found in *BAnt* and *HAnt* is probably not comprehensive. What this list does reveal is that the creators of *PNKD* included the most influential and respected figures of the movement, including Stanisław II Lubieniecki (1558?-1633), Walenty Smalc (1572-1622), Jan Stoiński (1590-1654), and Samuel Przypkowski (1592-1670).⁷¹

The accounts that describe the music of these four composers leave more questions open than answered. In both *BAnt* and *HAnt*, each instance in which these composers are cited reads as follows: “[this person wrote] the hymn in the symbol of the Holy Apostles, attached to the Book of Psalms and Songs [or Hymns] used among the Unitarian Polish Brethren.” This is a rather odd description for two reasons. One, because I could not pin down a specific song (much less four of them) that was written “in the symbol of the Apostles' Creed” in *PNKD*. Two, because it seems rather strange that both Bock and Sandius used the same words, copied verbatim, to describe the music of these four composers in their own publications. This is not to say that the songs in question do not exist in four different forms in the book. Given the broad nature of the

⁷¹ Stanisław II Lubieniecki is cited in Sandius (*BAnt*), 89-90 and 165 and Bock (*HAnt*, volume I part I), 454; Walenty Smalc in Sandius (*BAnt*), 102; Jan Stoiński in Bock (*HAnt*, volume I part II), 946; Samuel Przypkowski in Sandius (*BAnt*) 125 and in Bock (*HAnt*, volume I part II), 693.

description of these songs, it is conceivable that the references in *BAnt* and *HAnt* could be alluding to any hymn that deals with the figures of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit as a general theme, even if these texts did not evoke the text of the Apostle's Creed in any manner.

Therefore, although these sources cite Lubieniecki, Smalc, Stoiński, and Przytkowski as composers of the *PNKD*, it is rather difficult to establish whether they indeed contributed to the composition of both texts and melodies present within it. However, based on the high level of complexity of intertextuality contained within this psalter, it is likely that its authors were well-versed in the liberal arts and that they were thus part of the high ranks of the Polish Brethren. Indeed, the names listed in this Chapter all comprise the most well-known and respected families of the golden age of the Polish Brethren, so it is plausible to accept Sandius's and Bock's accounts as truthful. Nevertheless, these sources do not account for other composers that likely have contributed to the creation of *PNKD*, and further research is therefore much needed.

Conclusion

This Chapter has dealt with two issues regarding the music of the Polish Brethren, namely, identifying their main book of liturgical music and principal composers. *BAnt* and *HAnt* provide substantial clues that the main source of liturgical music for the Polish Brethren was *PNKD*, with editions published in 1610 and 1625 in Raków. The strongest evidence comes from the fact that *BAnt* indicates that the "book of Psalms and Songs used among the Unitarian Polish Brethren" contained a song called a *Hejnał*, which is found in a psalter published in 1620, named *PDzEPC*. Although the publication date of *PDzEPC* does not match the dates listed in *BAnt*, the contents of *PDzEPC* are identical to that of the 1625 edition of *PNKD*, with two exceptions. First, that *PDzEPC* does not contain notated music, while *PNKD* does. Second, that the 1625 edition of *PNKD* does not contain the *Hejnał* in question. However, since all the other pieces

included in *PDzEPC* are also present in this version of *PNKD*, it is plausible to infer that they are essentially the same book. Since *PNKD* contains notated music and since it was published in the date referenced in *BAnt*, it must be that it was indeed the main book of liturgical music of the Polish Brethren.

Chapter 2 – *PNKD* and Its Relationship to Other Liturgical Books of the Time

Introduction

An analysis and comparison of the contents of the 1625 edition of *PNKD* with those of the *Genevan Psalter* (1562), *Katechizm* (1603), *HS* (1657), and *PDOŚ* reveals three important aspects of the music of the Polish Brethren.⁷² First, some of the melodies present in *PNKD* predate the publication of the first edition of the book in 1610, with some melodies being imported from either the *Genevan Psalter*, *PDOŚ*, or from the Brethren's *Katechizm*.⁷³ Second, it shows evidence that the intertextuality present in *PNKD* was an intentional rhetorical device used by the group. Lastly, my analysis of the Psalms contained in *HS* has uncovered clues that point to the music of the Polish Brethren as being performed homophonically, even though *PNKD* was entirely notated monophonically. This Chapter will show that the Polish Brethren was in many ways connected to the musical traditions of their time, while also implementing unique musical aspects into their liturgy via a complex juxtaposition of texts and melodies. These unique qualities of the Brethren's music were later transferred into other antitrinitarian groups whose output will serve to clarify how music was performed and consumed by the members of these communities.

⁷² The analysis and comparisons in question are summarized in the tables displayed in Appendices 1 and 2.

⁷³ Jakub Lubelczyk's *Psalterz Dawida Onego Świętego* was the first Calvinist translation of the Psalms into Polish, published in 1558. See *Psalterz Dawida onego Świętego, a wiecznej pamięci godnego Króla y Proroka: teraz nowo na piosneczki po Polsku przełożony, a według żydowskiego rozdziału na pieczoro ksiąg rozdzielony* (W Krakowie: drukowano u Mathysa Wirzbięty. Roku od wcielenia Syna Bożego, 1558). *Polona*. Accessed May 25, 2022. <https://polona.pl/item/psalterz-dawida-onego-swietego-a-wiecznej-pamieci-godnego-krola-i-proroka-teraz-nowo-na,MTE2MzU0MDM/>

The Structure of PNKD (1610/1625)

Analysis of the structural organization of *PNKD* reveals that the Polish Brethren's liturgy affected the musical output of later antitrinitarian movements. The most striking feature of the Brethren's psalter is the fact that most of its texts do not contain a melody and thus need to be set to the melodies of other texts from within *PNKD*. While this fact might be misconstrued as a lack of melodic creativity on the part of the composers of the Polish Brethren, my research shows that melodic borrowings were used intentionally as a device to add further meanings to texts. While these borrowings likely started as a simple means to facilitate the memorization of texts and melodies, they were later systemized and made more complex, as evidenced by the analysis of subsequent antitrinitarian liturgical books. Reutilizing pre-existing melodies as a starting point in the creation and setting of new texts was already a long and established tradition in the Catholic liturgy at the time of the publication of *PNKD*. This tradition, known as *contrafactum* (pl., *contrafacta*), formed an essential part of the twelfth-century Parisian sequence repertoire, as well as of sequences and other chants for the Mass and Office composed three centuries later as discussed by Long and Fassler.⁷⁴ Therefore, it is plausible to assume that the melodic borrowings that happen within *PNKD* were initially created with the same objective, and later evolved into a more complex system of juxtapositions. This practice found in *PNKD* was later adopted almost identically into the German antitrinitarian movement, as evidenced by the structural organization of *HS*.

PNKD is divided into two sections, the first containing Polish translations of 83 Psalms of David (hereafter referred to as the "Psalms," with capital P), and the second containing 105

⁷⁴ See Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 161-162; and Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai*, 2, 83-85, and 127.

original “Pious Songs” written in Polish. An analysis of the Polish psalters published within the one hundred years before the publication of *PNKD* shows that the Psalms that were included in the Brethren’s psalter have been translated into Polish by three different people – Jan Kochanowski, Jakub Lubelczyk, and by an unknown translator (or perhaps multiple translators).⁷⁵ Most Psalms contain more than one translation, and each translation is subjected to different melodic settings. For practical purposes, translations of the Psalms will be hereafter referred to as “K” for Kochanowski, “L” for Lubelczyk, and “U” for unknown (for instance, Psalm 1K refers to Kochanowski’s translation of Psalm 1, while 133U refers to the translation of Psalm 133 that was done by an unknown translator. See Table 1 for a summary).

Table 1 - Abbreviations for different translations of the Psalms.

Translator	Abbreviation	Examples of how they are listed in my research
Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584)	K	1K
Jakub Lubelczyk (1530-1563)	L	1L
Unknown	U	133U

In both the Psalms and Pious Songs, performers are instructed to set texts to music in either one of two different ways: 1) by using a melody composed for setting that specific text; or 2) by reutilizing the melody from another Psalm or Pious Song (i.e., by borrowing a melody from elsewhere in *PNKD*).⁷⁶ Figure 5 contains a statistical analysis showing that a majority of

⁷⁵ The first translations of the psalms into the Polish language were done by two Calvinists – Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584) and Jakub Lubelczyk (1530-1563). See Jan Kochanowski, *Psalterz Dawidow. Przekładania Jana Kochanowskiego* (W Krakowie: w drukarni Lazarzowey, roku Pańkiego 1601). And footnote 73 for more information about Lubelczyk and his *PDOŚ*.

⁷⁶ There are two exceptions to this rule, both from the Pious Songs. Both *Weselcie Się, Weselcie w Panu Swoim Wszyscy* and *Ojczy Nasz Któryś w Niebie [b]* can be set to either its own melody or to the melody of another Psalm or Song. See Appendix 3 for more information.

the Psalms and Pious Songs present in *PNKD* are subjected to intertextual borrowings. In total, 174 of the 220 texts contained in *PNKD* are subject to direct or indirect melodic borrowings, or 79.09% of the entire corpus of texts contained in the book (see boxes highlighted in red).⁷⁷ More specifically, 46.09% of the translations of the Psalms are subjected to direct intertextual borrowings (53 out of 115), This is the case for 79.05% of the Pious Songs (or 83 out of 105). This analysis reveals that a majority of the texts present in *PNKD* (136 out of 220, or 61.82%) do not contain their own melodies (in Figure 5, see the two boxes to the far left).

These works depend entirely on melodic borrowings in order to be performed, as indicated in the instructions provided for each one of them. Figure 6 gives an example of how intertextual instructions are displayed in *PNKD*. Under the title *Pieśń Poranna*, the reader of *PNKD* finds out by the instructions written in italics that the notes to be sung in this Song are “the same notes as those of Psalm 121.” What follows after the italics is the title of Psalm 121, which reads “Na wysokość gór patrząc.” The fact that the title of the Psalm included is significant, since Psalm 121 has two different translations and thus two different versions. This means that the authors of *PNKD* wanted the congregation to refer specifically to the version of Psalm 121 that starts with the phrase “Na wysokość gór patrząc”, which contains a melody different from that of the other translation of Psalm 121.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ A direct borrowing means that a text in *PNKD* directly asks for the melody of a particular Psalm or Song, while an indirect borrowing means that a text asks for the melody of a Psalm or Song that itself does not contain a melody and, therefore, needs to be set to the melody of yet another Psalm or Song (i.e., *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* [Song for Psalm 131] asks for the melody of Psalm 131, which itself does not contain a melody and instead asks for the melody of Psalm 3L).

⁷⁸ For more information about how intertextual borrowings are mapped out in *PNKD*, refer to Appendices 1a, 1b, 2, and 3. Appendices 1a and 1b provide general information about where all the melodies present in *PNKD* are used. Appendix 2 (see two leftmost columns) provides more detailed information about melodies and melodic borrowings in the Psalms, while Appendix 3 shows similar information regarding the Pious Songs.

Figure 5 - Statistical analysis of the Psalms and Pious Songs present in *PNKD* (1610 and 1625). Boxes outlined in red highlight the occurrence of intertextual borrowings.

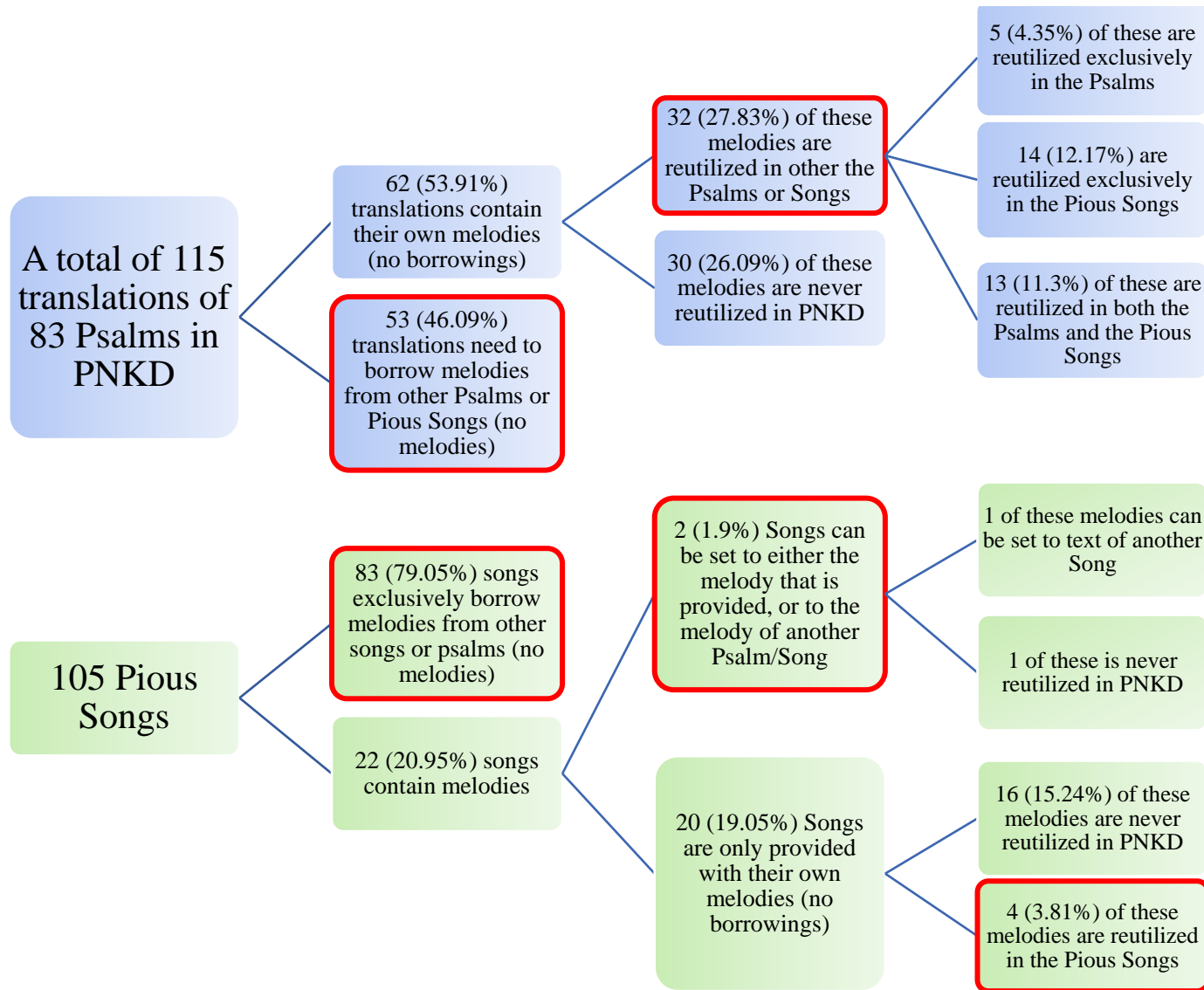
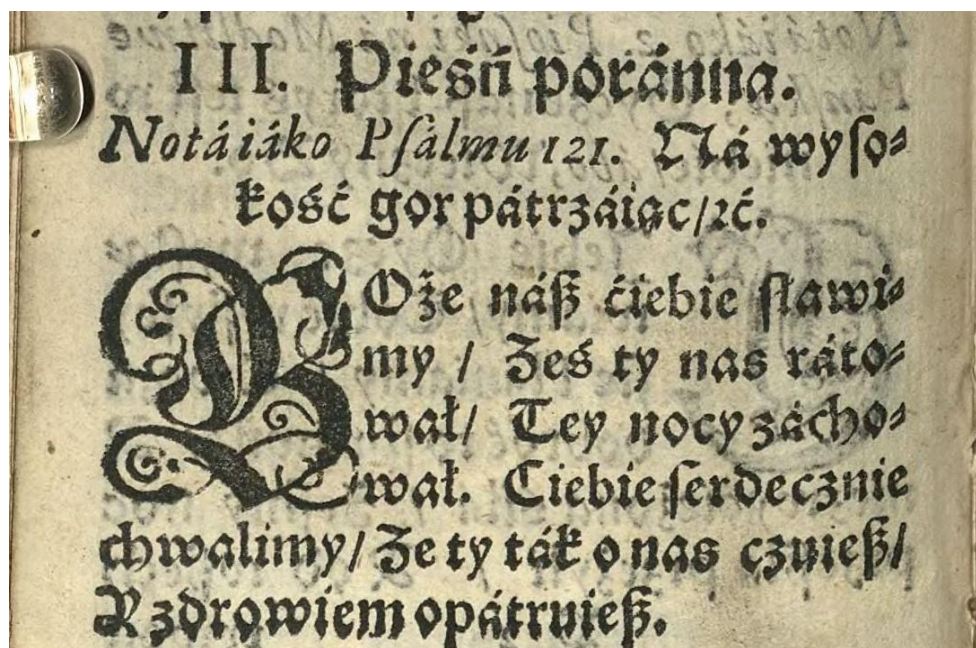


Figure 6 - *Pieśń Poranna* (“morning song”), from the Pious Songs included in *PNKD*.⁷⁹



The Origin of the Psalm Melodies In PNKD

While Chapter 1 briefly discussed some of the composers that wrote a number of the Pious Songs, the question of the origin of the Psalm melodies still remains unanswered. A comparison between the melodies present in the Psalms of *PNKD* with those present in the *Genevan Psalter* (1562), *PDOŚ* (1558), and in the Brethren's *Katechizm* (1603) reveals that 18 out of its 62 melodies (29.03%) trace back to these earlier sources and were thus later transferred into *PNKD*. Table 2 contains detailed information regarding where these melodies are found (see boxes highlighted in green with green text. Refer to Figure 7 for a legend for Table 2). Note that, in some instances, melodies are found in more than one of these sources at the same time.

⁷⁹ *PNKD*, folio U2v.

Figure 7 - Legend for Table 2.

<p>Nomenclature of Psalms:</p> <p>#K = Psalm translated to Polish by Jan Kochanowski</p> <p>#L = Psalm translated to Polish by Jakub Lubelczyk</p> <p>#U = Translation does not match Kochanowki's nor Lubelczyk's; unkown</p>	<p>Boxes in green:</p> <p>Text in green = melody found in another source;</p> <p>Text in black = melody found in another source, but already accounted for</p>	<p>Boxes in blue:</p> <p>Melody is not found in <i>PNKD</i>, but matches a melody found in <i>HS</i> or <i>PDOŚ</i></p>	<p>Boxes in grey with orange text:</p> <p>There is a possibility that the melody found in <i>Katechizm</i> matches the melody that is displayed in <i>PNKD</i>, due to the language that is used in <i>Katechizm</i> to describe the melodic setting</p>	<p>Boxes in red:</p> <p>Melody does not have a match with any of these sources</p>	<p>Boxes in yellow:</p> <p>Source does not contain this particular Psalm</p>
--	--	---	--	--	--

Table 2 - Details regarding the origins of the melodies present in *PNKD* (data extracted from Appendix 2).

Psalm #	<i>PNKD</i> (1625) - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter</i> (1562)?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel</i> (1657)?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm</i> (1603)?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
1	OM (x2: 1L; and 1K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1L: <i>Błogosławiony Człowiek Co Się Tak Sprawuje</i> • 1K: <i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i> (melody appears in <i>PDOŚ</i> #3) 	No (<i>GP = HS*</i>) * <i>GP = HS</i> means that the melody in the <i>Genevan Psalter</i> is the same as in <i>HS</i> , but not found in <i>PNKD</i> .	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.1)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> . Can also be set to Song <i>Krzyżacy Prawde Boża</i>	Yes. Not as Psalm 1, but as Psalm 3 (<i>PDOŚ = PNKD</i> , 1K)
2	OM (x2: 2L; and 2K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2L: <i>Przecze Się Poganie Zaburzyli</i> • 2K: <i>Co za przyczyna tego zamieszania</i> 	Yes (<i>GP = PNKD</i> , 2a)	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
5	OM (5K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5K: <i>Przypuść, Panie, W Uszy Swoje</i> 	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Yes (<i>Katechizm = PNKD</i> , 5K)	No

Table 2 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
23	OM (x3: 23Ua; 23K ; 23Ub) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 23Ua: <i>Pan Mój Wszemchnocny</i> • 23K: <i>Pan Mię Mój Żywi, Pan Mię Mój Pasie</i> • 23Ub: <i>Pan Mój Pasterz, Czegoż Mi Nie Dostawa</i> 	Yes (<i>GP</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 23Ub)	Yes (p.293-295; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 23Ub)	Yes (<i>Katechizm</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 23Ua)	No
30	OM (30K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30K: <i>Będe Cię Wielbił, Mój Panie</i> 	No (<i>GP</i> = <i>HS</i>)	Yes (p.355, <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 30K); (<i>GP</i> = <i>HS</i> , p.192-193)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i>	No

Table 2 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
67	<p>BM (67K = 3L, which = 1K); OM (67L)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 67K: <i>Pokryj Swym Miłosierdzim, Panie, Nasze Złości = 3L (Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest) = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> • 67L: <i>Błogosław Nam Nasz Panie Z Miłosierdzią Twego</i> 	No	No (p.313)	Yes (<i>Katechizm</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 67L)	Yes (<i>PDOŚ</i> = <i>PNKD</i> 67L)
69	<p>OM (69U)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 69U: <i>Panie Mój Przyszły Na Mię Srogie Wały</i> 	No	Yes (p.286-287, appears as Psalm 4, but contains melody of Psalm 69; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 69U)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 14)

Table 2 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
71	<p>BM (71K = 3L, which = 1K); OM (71U)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 71K: <i>W Tobie Ufność Swą Kładę, Boże Niezmierzony = 3L (Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest) = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> • 71U: <i>W Tobie Mój Wszchemocny Panie</i> 	No	***melody not found in HS***	Yes (<i>Katechizm = PNKD, 71a</i>)	No
86	<p>BM (86Ua = 1K); OM (x2 = 86Ub; and 86K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 86Ua: <i>Nakłoń Ku Mnie Łaskawe Panie = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był; melody appears in PDOŚ #3)</i> • 86Ub: <i>Nakłoń, Panie, Ku Mnie Ucho Twoje</i> • 86K: <i>Nakłoń, O Panie, Uszu Swoich</i> 	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS, p.243-244</i>)	Yes (<i>Katechizm = PNKD, 86Ub</i>)	No

Table 2 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
97	OM (97K) • 97K: <i>Pan Nasz, Bóg Nasz Panuje</i>	No	Yes (p. 27; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 97K)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
100	OM (x2 = 100U; 100K) • 100U: <i>Krzyknicie Ludzkie Pokolenia</i> • 100K: <i>Wszyscy, Którzy Po Ziemi Chodzą</i>	No	No (p.136. Same melody as Psalm 131)	Yes (<i>Katechizm</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 100U)	No
102	OM (102K) • 102K: <i>Ułysz Prośby Moje, Boże Litościwy</i>	Yes, with some variation (<i>GP</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 102K)	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Yes, indirectly. It is to be set to the melody of <i>Chwalcie Pana Godno Dać</i> , whose text appears as Psalm 147K in <i>PNKD</i> , but whose melody appears on Psalm 102 in <i>PNKD</i>	No

Table 2 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
115	OM (115K) • 115K: <i>Nie Nam, Nasz Panie, Stworzeniu Podłemu</i>	No	Yes (p.282-283; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 115K)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 28)
117	OM (117K) • 117K: <i>Wszelki Naród, Wszelkie Plemię</i>	No	Yes (p. 34; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 117K)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
121	BM (121K = 26U, which = 3K); OM (121U) • 121K: <i>Człowiek Ja Nieszczęśliwy, Człowiek Strapiony = 26U (Sądź Mię A Użysz Mię Niewinność Moją) = 3K (Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało)</i> • 121U: <i>Na Wysokość Gór</i>	Yes (<i>GP</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 121U)	Yes (p.296; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 121U)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 26. Can also be set to <i>Wzdawaymysz Wierni Chwale</i>	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 12)

Table 2 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
124	OM (x2 = 124U; and 124K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 124U: <i>Czasu Tej Naszej Przygody</i> • 124K: <i>By Był Pan Nie Tak Łaskaw Na Nasze Zdrowie</i> 	No	Yes (p.247, as referenced on page 337; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 124U)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	Yes (<i>PDOŚ</i> = <i>PNKD</i> 124U)
146	BM (146K = 71U); OM (146U) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 146U: <i>Chwał Duszo Moja, Pana</i> • 146K: <i>Ciebie, Nieśmiertelny Panie = 71U (W Tobie Mój Wszchemocny Panie)</i> 	Yes, with some variation (<i>GP</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 146U)	No (p.43, uses melody of 103)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 71. Can also be set to Song <i>Bog Gdy Niebo Zmieni</i>	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 92)

My research has revealed that five other melodies present in the Psalms of *PNKD* were likely composed before its publication. This conclusion stems from the fact that these works appear in *Katechizm* under the instruction “to be set to the old melody.”⁸⁰ Although these “old melodies” were not actually included in *Katechizm*, it is plausible to assume that these are the same melodies that are featured in *PNKD*. This would follow a similar pattern to what I established above, where melodies were in fact transferred from the former to the latter. Table 3 shows which psalms are instructed in *Katechizm* to be set to the “old melody” (see boxes highlighted in grey with orange text. Table 3 follows the same format as Table 2).

On the least traceable side of the spectrum, there are eight melodies that might also predate the publication of *PNKD*, since their texts have an exact match in *Katechizm* (see Table 4 for details). Although these particular psalms do not contain any melodic instruction included with their text (nor a notated melody), they were certainly set to a melody and sung by the congregation. We can confirm this with two pieces of evidence taken from *Katechizm*. First, all other psalms in *Katechizm* have instructions indicating that they were to be sung; and second, they are all listed in the index under the “list of songs” (and not under the general index). Based on these two factors, we can conclude that the melodies that were used to set these psalms could be the same ones that appear also in *PNKD*, since we know for sure that some of the melodies featured in *Katechizm* were later integrated into this book.

⁸⁰ In Polish, “na starą note.” See, for example, *Katechizm* (1603) folio Miir.

Table 3 - Details regarding which psalms in *Katechizm* are to be set to the "old melody" (data extracted from Appendix 2).

Psalm #	<i>PNKD</i> (1625) - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter</i> (1562)?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel</i> (1657)?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm</i> (1603)?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (1558)?
3	BM (3L = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5); OM (3K) • 3L: <i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> • 3K: <i>Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało</i>	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.216-217)	Possibly (asks for "the old melody")? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 1	Yes (<i>PDOŚ = PNKD</i> , 1K)
14	OM (14K) • 14K: <i>Głupi Mówi W Sercu Swoim</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Possibly (asks for "the old melody")? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i>	No

Table 3 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD</i> (1625) - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter</i> (1562)?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel</i> (1657)?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm</i> (1603)?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
42	<p>BM (42K = 8K; or = 16K); OM (42U)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 42K: <i>Jako Na Puszczy Prędkimi Psy Szczwana = 8K (Wszehmocny Panie, Wiekuisty Boże);</i> • or 16K (<i>O, Który Mieszkaś Na Wysokim Niebie</i>) • 42U: <i>Równie jak bujna</i> 	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.133)	Possibly (asks for "the old melody")? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 8 or 16	No
113	<p>OM (113K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 113K: <i>Chwalcie, O Słudzy Boży</i> 	No	No (p.29-30)	Possibly (to be set to its "ordinary melody")? Also can be set to melody of Psalm 70	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 112)

Table 3 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
142	BM (142K = 5K); OM (142U) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 142U: <i>Głos Mój Do Pana Swego Wznoszę</i> • 142K: <i>Pana Wołam, Pana Proszę = 5K (Przypuść, Panie, W Uszy Swoje)</i> 	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Possibly. <i>Katechizm</i> does have its own melody for this Psalm, but it also gives the option of it being set to the "old melody"	No

Table 4 - Details regarding cases of texts in *Katechizm* that have matches in *PNKD*, and therefore might have been set to the same melodies present in the latter (data extracted from Appendix 2).

Psalm #	<i>PNKD</i> (1625) - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter</i> (1562)?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel</i> (1657)?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm</i> (1603)?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (1558)?
1	<p>OM (x2: 1L; and 1K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1L: <i>Błogosławiony Człowiek Co Się Tak Sprawuje</i> • 1K: <i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i> (melody appears in <i>PDOŚ</i> #3) 	<p>No (<i>GP = HS*</i>) *<i>GP = HS</i> means that the melody in the <i>Genevan Psalter</i> is the same as in <i>HS</i>, but not found in <i>PNKD</i>.</p>	<p>No (<i>GP = HS</i>, p.1)</p>	<p>Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i>. Can also be set to Song <i>Krzęściani Prawde Boża</i></p>	<p>Yes. Not as Psalm 1, but as Psalm 3 (<i>PDOŚ = PNKD</i>, 1K)</p>
4	<p>BM (4K = 3L, which = 1K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4K: <i>Wzywam Cię, Boże, Świadku Mojej Niewinności = 3L (Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest) = 1K (Szcześnieśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> 	<p>No</p>	<p>No (p.286-287, but uses melody of Psalm 69, which also appears in <i>PNKD</i>)</p>	<p>Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 3</p>	<p>No</p>

Table 4 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
6	<p>BM (2x: 6U = 3L, which = 1K; and 6K = 3L, which = 1K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6U: <i>W Popedliwy Gniewie Twym O Mój Panie Proszę</i> = 3L (<i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i>) = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>) • 6K: <i>Czasu Gniewu I Czasu Swej Zapalczywości</i> = 3L (<i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i>) = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>) 	No (GP = HS**)	No (GP = HS, p.441-442)	Possibly? Like in <i>PNKD, Katechizm</i> asks for the melody of Psalm 3, and it can also be set to Psalm 1	No
30	<p>OM (30K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30K: <i>Będę Cię Wielbił, Mój Panie</i> 	No (GP = HS)	Yes (p.355, HS = <i>PNKD</i> , 30K); (GP = HS, p.192-193)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i>	No

Table 4 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
34	<p>BM (34U = 1L); OM (34K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 34U: <i>Będę Ja Chwalił Zawsze Imię Boga Mego = 1L (Błogosławiony Człowiek Co Się Tak Sprawuje)</i> • 34K: <i>Jakokolwiek Szczęście Ku Mnie Się Postawi</i> 	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.344)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 1	No
121	<p>BM (121K = 26U, which = 3K); OM (121U)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 121K: <i>Człowiek Ja Nieszczęśliwy, Człowiek Strapiony = 26U (Sądź Mię A Użysz Mię Niewinność Moją) = 3K (Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało)</i> • 121U: <i>Na Wysokość Gór</i> 	Yes (GP = <i>PNKD</i> , 121U)	Yes (p.296; HS = <i>PNKD</i> , 121U)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 26. Can also be set to <i>Wzdawaymysz Wierni Chwale</i>	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 12)

Table 4 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (Psalm translations by Lubelczyk, published 1558)?
133	<p>BM (2x: 133U = 1L; and 133K = 8K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 133U: <i>Otoć Pięknie Gdzie Bracia We Zgodzie Mieszkają</i> = 1L (<i>Błogosławiony Człowiek Co Się Tak Sprawuje</i>) • 133K: <i>Jako Rzecz Piękna, Jako Rzecz Przyjemna</i> = 8K (<i>Wszchemocny Panie, Wiekuisty Boże</i>) 	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 8	No
146	<p>BM (146K = 71U); OM (146U)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 146U: <i>Chwał Duszo Moja, Pana</i> • 146K: <i>Ciebie, Nieśmiertelny Panie</i> = 71U (<i>W Tobie Mój Wszchemocny Panie</i>) 	Yes, with some variation (<i>GP</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 146U)	No (p.43, uses melody of 103)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 71. Can also be set to Song <i>Bog Gdy Niebo Zmieni</i>	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 92)

Liturgical Performance Practices Among the Polish Brethren

The question of how the music of the Polish Brethren was performed by its congregation is a difficult one to answer due to the lack of sources describing the musical practices of the movement. While their liturgical books do not give much information about performance practice, the later German antitrinitarian publication *HS* (1657) provides invaluable information concerning how the Polish Brethren might have performed their music and suggests that a *basso continuo* was used to accompany their melodies. This section will discuss evidence that demonstrates that these two movements were more aligned than previously thought, thus shedding light on how the music of the Polish Brethren might have been performed and interpreted.⁸¹

As discussed earlier, *PNKD* leaves no clue about whether its music was accompanied homophonically, with the use of a *basso continuo* or chorus, or if it was sung monophonically as displayed in the book (i.e., like chant). Likewise, the songs contained in the Brethren's *Katechizm* were notated monophonically without any mention as to how these melodies were to be performed.⁸² One more of the Brethren's publications containing music, the *Psalterz Dawidow, przekładania X. Macieia Rybinskiego*, similarly contains only monophonic melodies without any other musical information.⁸³ This publication is a Polish translation of the Genevan Psalter, and the melodies contained in this book are the same ones contained in the Calvinist

⁸¹ The evidence displayed in this section was gathered from the information contained in the table displayed in Appendix 2.

⁸² In fact, this is true for all three editions of *Katechizm* published during the Polish Brethren's time in Raków. See Krzysztof Kraiński, *Katechizm z naukami y z pieśniami y z modlitwami Kościoła powszechnego* (Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1603); Krzysztof Kraiński, *Katechizm: to iest Nauka krotka Wiary Krześciańskiej* (Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1609); and Krzysztof Kraiński *Katechizm z naukami z pieśniami z modlitwami kościoła powszechnego apostolskiego* (Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1624).

⁸³ Maciej Rybiński, *Psalterz Dawidow, przekładania X. Macieia Rybinskiego, na melodie psalmow francuskich, z argumentami X. Iana Turnowskiego [...] uczyniony. ; Teraz znowu [...] poprawiony y przedrukowany, z przydaniem na końcu kilku pieśni nabożnych* (W Rakowie: Roku Pańkiego, 1624).

psalter. It is important to highlight that there is no intertextuality present in either of these two publications, which shows once again that the use of intertextual juxtapositions in *PNKD* was developed by the Polish Brethren and not imported from the Calvinist musical tradition from where they derived. Other protestant psalters that do make use of such rhetorical devices do so in a much simpler and less frequent manner. For example, in *PDOŚ* only 39 of the 150 psalms do not have a melody, and all borrowings are direct ones (that is, there are no cases of texts that borrow from another text that itself borrows from a third source. See Appendix 2 for details).

Much evidence implies that the German antitrinitarian movement that published *HS* (1657) was directly descended from the Polish Brethren. In the previous Chapter, I briefly mentioned that its main leader was a relative of a professor at the Racovian Academy. As we will see, three other pieces of evidence show that the creators of *HS* were indeed connected with the traditions of the Polish Brethren.

The first evidence suggesting that *PNKD* and *HS* were musically connected is the fact that five of the 68 Psalm melodies featured in *HS* were directly imported from *PNKD* (see Table 5 for details). These melodies are not found in any of the other sources that I have surveyed and, to my knowledge, are first found in *PNKD*. This serves as concrete proof that members of the German antitrinitarian movement were familiar with the Brethren's music, and they were likely aware of how this music was performed by them. Given that most psalms in *HS* use melodies from the *Genevan Psalter* (36 out of the 68 psalms that are featured in *HS*), it is significant to note that five of its melodies were instead taken from *PNKD*.

Table 5 - Detailed comparative analysis showing which melodies from *PNKD* are found in the later *HS*.

Psalm #	<i>PNKD</i> (1625) – contains own melody (OM); contains borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel</i> (1657)?
30	OM (30K) • 30K: <i>Będę Cię Wielbił, Mój Panie</i>	Yes (p.355, <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 30K)
69	OM (69U) • 69U: <i>Panie Mój Przyszły Na Mię Srogie Wały</i>	Yes (p.286-287, appears as Psalm 4, but contains melody of Psalm 69; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 69U)
97	OM (97K) • 97K: <i>Pan Nasz, Bóg Nasz Panuje</i>	Yes (p. 27; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 97K)
115	OM (115K) • 115K: <i>Nie Nam, Nasz Panie, Stworzeniu Podłemu</i>	Yes (p.282-283; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 115K)
117	OM (117K) • 117K: <i>Wszelki Naród, Wszelkie Plemię</i>	Yes (p. 34; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 117K)

The second bit of evidence that connects *PNKD* with *HS* is the identical style of intertextual melodic borrowings that happens in both these publications. As I have shown previously, within these books we find a complex web of melodic borrowings. Intertextual borrowings can be found as early as the *Katechizm* of 1603, in which all borrowings involve two texts. This tradition was later passed onto *PNKD* and *HS*, in which this system has been made more complex by the juxtaposition of several texts at the same time. In Chapter 1, I discussed how *HS* goes as far as listing an index of melodic borrowings in its opening pages, thus confirming the movement's intentional use of intertextuality.

One more important aspect of the intertextuality found in *PNKD* and *HS* plays an important role in establishing a connection between the liturgy of these two antitrinitarian groups. In both *PNKD* and *HS*, we can find a number of psalms and songs being subjected to multiple layers of intertextuality that at first glance seem unnecessary. For example, the Song *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* [a Song for Psalm 131] has no melody and thus asks for the melody of Psalm 131, which likewise does not have its own melody. Instead, it is to be set to Psalm 3L which also does not have a melody and asks for that of Psalm 1K, which finally has its own melody. Here, the authors of *PNKD* could have asked the reader of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* to simply refer directly to Psalm 1K, but instead they opted for going through these multiple layers of juxtapositions. Similarly, Psalm 63 in *HS* uses the melody of Psalm 77, which itself borrows from the melody of Psalm 86. While these multilayered mapping of texts are not the norm, they do happen frequently enough in both *PNKD* and *HS* to be noted. As we will see in Chapter 3, they allow for a multidimensional interpretation of texts. These examples serve as more evidence that the intertextuality present in *PNKD* and *HS* was an intentional rhetorical device used by the Polish Brethren and subsequently by the German antitrinitarian movement.

Another important aspect of this discussion is the fact that *PNKD* and *HS* seem to be in dialogue with each other. While we have already seen that *HS* borrows a few melodies from *PNKD*, Psalm 4 in *HS* is an interesting case of melodic borrowing. This is because the melody that is set to this particular Psalm is identical to the upper-voice melody of Psalm 69 in *PNKD* (see Figure 8). While borrowing from another Psalm number is a common feature of both these publications, what is unusual here is the fact that *HS* makes no mention of where the melody of Psalm 4 comes from. Despite this being the only case that I could find of this happening, it does serve as more evidence that the German antitrinitarian movement was at least familiar with the

music of the Polish Brethren, and thus likely knew how their Polish correlates performed their music.

The third piece of evidence that connects the musical practices of the German antitrinitarian movement with the Polish Brethren is the fact that most of the psalms that were purposefully not included in *PNKD* were also not included in *HS*.⁸⁴ In fact, 50 of the psalms that are missing in *PNKD* are also missing in *HS*. Only 17 psalms that are missing in *PNKD* are actually present in *HS*, and only 33 psalms that are missing in *HS* are present in *PNKD* (see Figure 9 for clarification). It seems unlikely that both of these movements would coincidentally choose to leave out the same groups of psalms. Therefore, this represents another aspect of the music contained in *HS* that once again exemplifies how the musical practices of these two groups were connected.

⁸⁴ The reason why we can confirm that these psalms were purposefully not included in these books is because there are no pages missing in either one of these publications. More importantly, the psalms that are featured in both *PNKD* and *HS* are all listed in their respective indexes, while missing psalms are not listed (thus confirming that they were left out intentionally).

Figure 8 - Psalms 4 (*HS*) and 69 (*PNKD*). Note how these psalms are identical, but no reference about an intertextual borrowing is displayed in *HS*.⁸⁵

In Schanden von mir fliehen.
 Die Feind' er gar erlegt/
 Biß auff das Haupt er schlägt/
 Die ihn nicht wollen ehren;
 Der HErr nimmt die in Hut/
 Thut ihnen allen gut/
 Die sein Volk angehören.

CXL

Der 4. Psalm. Wann man von den Gewaltigen unterdrückt wird.



HErr laß mein' Unschuld vor dein Ohren kommen:
 Der du dich vormals ihrer angenommen/
 Der du tu Trübsal mich pflegst zu entbinden / laß


Psalm 4 (*HS*)

PSALM LXIX.

Salvum me fac Deus, &c.

Argument.

prosi Bogá o obrone : opuśczenie si
 od wszytkich opisuje / á duszność swa
 Bogu wyswiadczaqc.

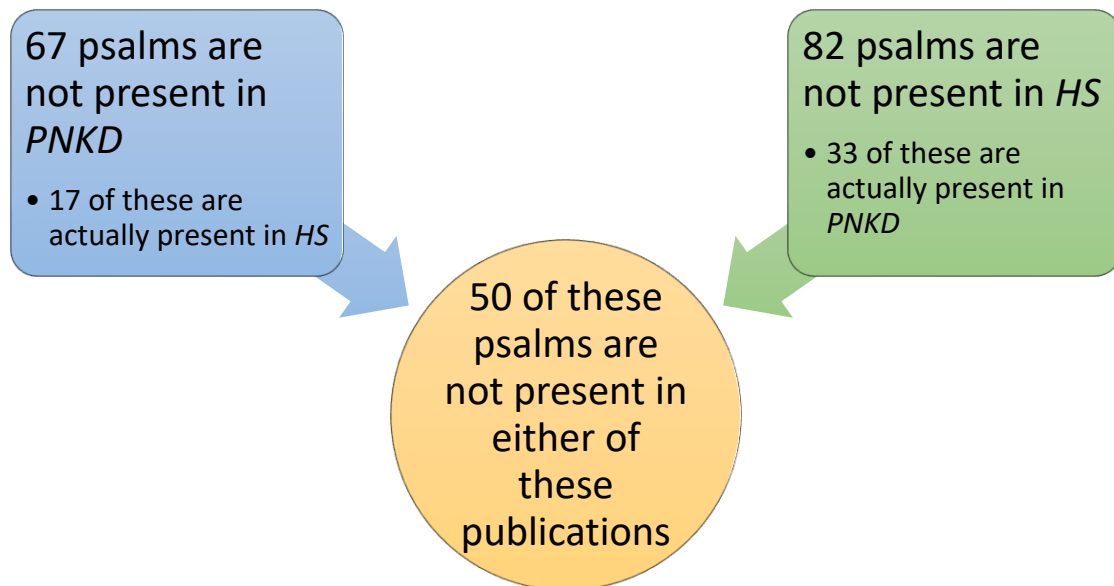


Anie moy przyşly
 Ktore mie prawie
 mie srogie wáły/
 z duşá zálaly / Kátuy mie pánie

Psalm 69 (*PNKD*)

⁸⁵ See *PNKD*, folio B4r; and *HS*, 286-287.

Figure 9 - Flowchart clarifying the number of psalms that were not included in *PNKD* and *HS*.



The evidence presented in this section points to *HS* being musically derived from *PNKD*. As we have seen, these books share melodies that are unique to them, similar intertextual melodic borrowings, as well as a similar index of psalms. It is then conceivable to assume that if the German antitrinitarian movement imported all of these musical and structural aspects directly from the Polish Brethren, they might have done the same with the Brethren's performance practices. As mentioned earlier, the music contained in *HS* has both a melody and a *basso continuo*, including those melodies that are common to both *HS* and *PNKD*. Therefore, there is a significant chance that the congregation of the Polish Brethren sang their melodies with an instrumental accompaniment. This is further corroborated by the fact that this practice was common to other Reformation movements, such as the music of the Calvinist movement (from which the Brethren was derived), as well as of the Lutheran Church.

Conclusion

The musical-intertextual tradition of the Polish Brethren, which can be traced as early as their *Katechizm* of 1603, was adopted by the German antitrinitarian movement that later published *HS* (1657). Substantial evidence shows that the musical connections between these two groups are multifaceted. It was not only the melodies that were imported from *PNKD* into *HS*, but also the concept of creating complex multilayered juxtapositions of text via melodic borrowings. The musical dialogue present between these two publications might therefore shed light on how the congregation of Polish Brethren performed and consumed the music from *PNKD*. As we have seen, there is enough evidence in *HS* for us to assume that the Polish Brethren performed their music homophonically, even though *PNKD* notates the music monophonically. This can be corroborated by the fact that the *Genevan Psalter*, from which many of the melodies present in both *PNKD* and *HS* were taken, were also notated monophonically but performed homophonically.

While my research has been able to trace these melodic and structural connections between *PNKD*, *HS*, the *Genevan Psalter*, *PDOŚ*, and the Brethren's *Katechizm*, there might be more connections to be drawn between the music of the Polish Brethren and other protestant movements of the time. As is clear from the information contained in Appendix 2, I was not able to trace the origins of many of the melodies contained in *PNKD*. While these could be original melodies created by its leaders, there is always a possibility that they were either imported from another religious movement of the time or that they were incorporated from popular secular practices.

Chapter 3 – Historical and Spiritual Meanings for Intertextuality In *PNKD*

Introduction

This Chapter will deal with some of the important historical and philosophical meanings established through the use of intertextuality in *PNKD*, and how these relate to issues regarding the Brethren's spirituality. In *PNKD*, we see that the examples that involve juxtaposition of texts in many ways mirror the composition of *contrafacta*, a process that is sometimes viewed as primarily textual rather than a musical.⁸⁶ I will provide a case study demonstrating that the juxtaposition of Psalms and Pious Songs played an important role in shaping how biblical texts were consumed and interpreted by the Polish Brethren as a community through their liturgical music. This case study will show that the most recurrent intertextual path in *PNKD*, that of Psalm 3 borrowing the melody of Psalm 1, served as a constant reminder to the congregation that humbleness and faithfulness are the only means to God's trust and protection. The theme of divine protection, which permeates all texts that will be studied in this Chapter, in many ways reflected the political context in which the Polish Brethren was inserted and served to advance the movement's cause. As discussed in the Introduction, the group has been politically targeted since its inception, with the Consensus of Sandomierz being created with the objective of halting the growth of the antitrinitarian movement in Poland-Lithuania. It therefore makes sense that *PNKD* constantly refers its congregation back to these Psalms via melodic borrowings as a means to exercise the community's trust in God and His protection

⁸⁶ Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai*, 27.

Additional textual juxtapositions laid onto this dialogue between Psalms 3 and 1 reflect the Brethren's philosophies regarding community and tolerance towards other denominations. The texts of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* and of Psalm 131 (which also utilize the intertextual path in question) reveal that the authors of *PNKD* intended these meanings to be interpreted collectively rather than only individually by each member. This is important because *PNKD* serves as a concrete example that liturgical music played a significant role in establishing a sense of community among the Polish Brethren.

The Most Recurrent Intertextual Path of PNKD

Given that not all intertextual paths in *PNKD* are utilized equally in terms of how frequently they appear, we can infer that the authors of the Brethren's psalter likely deemed certain textual pairings as more important in meaning than others. As shown in Table 6, the most recurrent directly quoted text in *PNKD* is that of Psalm 3L, which itself does not contain music and is to be set to the melody of Psalm 1K (see highlighted cell).⁸⁷ Why Psalm 3L was chosen to be the most quoted Psalm in *PNKD*, along with its intertextual dialogue created with Psalm 1K, likely has to do with the fact that the Polish Brethren was often politically targeted due to its radical thoughts. Incidentally, the dialogue created between these two psalms reflect upon the concept that one's trust and faith in God will be rewarded in the form of protection (Psalm 3) and revenge (Psalm 1) against enemies.

⁸⁷ See Appendix 4 for details regarding how Psalm 3L is quoted in *PNKD* (directly or indirectly via other texts). In total, Psalm 3L is directly quoted 23 times throughout *PNKD*, while it is also indirectly quoted another 4 times via other psalms. Consequently, Psalm 1K is indirectly quoted 27 times via Psalm 3L, while it is also directly quoted another 5 times via other psalms or songs. In comparison, the second most directly quoted Psalm in *PNKD* is Psalm 1L, which is quoted only 11 times.

Table 6 - Number of times Psalms and Songs are quoted directly (number outside of parentheses) and indirectly (number inside of parenthesis) in *PNKD*.

Psalm# or Song	Number of times it is quoted directly (and indirectly) in <i>PNKD</i>	Psalm# or Song	Number of times it is quoted directly (and indirectly) in <i>PNKD</i>
1L	11	71?	4
1K	5 (27)	79?	1
2K	1 (2)	85K, which = 16K	1
3L, which borrows from 1K (3L→1K)	23 (4)	90K	6
3K	1 (7)	95K	1
5K	2	96K	2
8K	5	100K	5
14K	3	100U	7
16K	7 (1)	112K, which borrows from 46K (112K→46K)	2
19K, which borrows from 2K (19K→2K)	2	116K, which borrows from 33K, which itself also borrows from 26K (116K→33K→26K)	1
23K	1	117K	1
25K	6	121K, which borrows from 26U, which itself borrows from 3K (121K→26U→3K)	1
26K	4 (2)	121U	4

Table 6 (cont'd)

Psalm# or Song	Number of times it is quoted directly (and indirectly) in <i>PNKD</i>	Psalm# or Song	Number of times it is quoted directly (and indirectly) in <i>PNKD</i>
26U, which borrows from 3K (26U→3K)	6 (1)	131K, which borrows from 3L, which itself borrows from 1K (131K→3L→1K)	1
33K, which borrows from 26K (33K→26K)	1 (1)	131U, which borrows from 3L, which itself borrows from 1K (131U→3L→1K)	1
39K	1	145K	1
42U	1	146U	5
43K	1	150K	1
43U	4	Song <i>Boże Co Żywisz Kruki</i>	2
46K	2 (2)	Song <i>Kto Żywi Powietrzne Ptaki, Which = Twoja Chwała</i>	4
50K	1	Song <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [a]</i>	3 (2)
50U	1	Song <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [B], Which = Song Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [a]</i>	2
67L	4	Song <i>Święte Jest Wieczny</i>	2
67K, which borrows from 3L, which itself borrows from 1K (67K→3L→1K)	2	Song <i>Twoja Chwała</i>	1 (4)
70K	1	Song <i>Wieczny Boże Z Wysokości</i>	3

Seybold and Bellinger provide a useful discussion that directly relates to the two psalms being discussed thus far and to the social-religious meanings contained within these texts. Regarding the opening stanzas of Psalm 3, Seybold emphasizes the importance of these first lines in evoking the concept of enemies rising up against those who believe in God.⁸⁸ He also discusses how the narrator in Psalm 3 later uses his trust in God as a weapon against enemies by seeking protection and refuge behind God's divine powers. Complementarily, Seybold argues that Psalm 1, being the opening text in the Book of Psalms, plays an important role in setting the reader in the right mindset before delving into the next Psalms. Namely, it "forces" the reader to meditate upon two choices – one of righteousness and one of corruption.⁸⁹ The duality of good vs. bad plays a major role in the intertextuality that is being studied in this thesis. As my analysis shows, it is used in *PNKD* as a justification for the Brethren's pleas for divine protection, and it is furthermore utilized as a means to define the Polish Brethren as "righteous" and the Consensus of Sandomierz as "evil."⁹⁰

Bellinger highlights the importance of Psalm 1 in establishing communion and trust in God, themes that are recurrent in all texts being studied in this Chapter. It is thus unsurprising that the intertextual paths being studied in this Chapter all end on the melody of Psalm 1K. It is likewise interesting to note that both translations of Psalm 1 in *PNKD* (1L and 1K) are one of the most frequently used in terms of the number of melodic borrowings (see Table 6 for details).⁹¹

⁸⁸ See Klaus Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990), 74. Seybold's discussion regarding the importance of the opening and closing stanzas of psalms in establishing meaning is useful to this Chapter. According to him, the opening and closing lines of Psalms are the most relevant parts of the Psalms in terms of establishing the meaning that is trying to be conceived throughout an entire Psalm.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 64-65 and 125-126.

⁹⁰ For more discussion related to the connections between these two Psalms, see W. H. Bellinger, Jr., "The Psalter as Theodicy Writ Large," in *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms: Conflict and Convergence*, ed. Susan Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 148-149, and 155.

⁹¹ See Bellinger, "The Psalter as Theodicy Writ Large," 149.

Considering that the intertextual path between Psalms 3L and 1K involves more than 10% of all texts contained in *PNKD* (27 out of 220), it is plausible to assume that the congregation was exposed to it often enough so that its juxtaposed meanings were understood collectively.⁹² Shared understanding of the implied meanings of textual juxtapositions has been discussed by Long and Fassler in regard to the French tradition of *contrafacta*. Fassler goes as far as to argue that the creation and development of liturgy in itself is a collective endeavor.⁹³ This in turn means that these juxtapositions were likely created over time by the collective effort of the members and leaders of the Polish Brethren and later codified in *PNKD*.⁹⁴ Therefore, it is conceivable that the pairing up of Psalms 3L and 1K has developed over time as a rhetorical tool that served the community as a constant reminder that, despite all adversities, the congregation should trust that the way of the Polish Brethren is the only one that provides salvation.

Since Psalm 3 has two translations available in *PNKD*, we must analyze why its authors specifically chose Psalm 3L as the most frequent starting point to conceive the concept of divine salvation through trust. Although these translations come from the same source, each one of them emphasizes slightly different aspects of the original text in Hebrew, which explains their specific choice (see Table 7 for translations of Psalms 3L and 3K).⁹⁵ Namely, Psalm 3L addresses its narrator and his enemies with words that are contextually more related to the Polish Brethren than those of Psalm 3K. For example, the opening strophe of Psalm 3L highlights the “anger and stubbornness” of the narrator’s enemies, while 3K instead emphasizes their strength.

⁹² See Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai*, 209-215; and Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 7-8.

⁹³ See Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 7-8.

⁹⁴ Fassler’s investigation about how the creation of pieces of music often predate the codification of that music in a publication is useful to this discussion. See Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 7-15, and 137.

⁹⁵ For an interesting discussion regarding how translations of psalms are “received, interpreted, and transmitted,” see Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford, “On Translating the Poetry of the Psalms,” in *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms: Conflict and Convergence*, ed. Susan Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 190-203.

Table 7 - Translation of Psalm 3L, *Panie, Jak Ich Wiele Jest*; and 3K, *Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało*.⁹⁶

Psalm 3L	
Panie, jak ich wiele jest którzy się zebrali	Lord, how many there are who have gathered
I ze złości z uporu przeciw mnie powstali	And they rose up against me out of anger and stubbornness
Wiele ich którzy mówią nedznej duszy mojej	Many are there who speak of my miserable soul
Hej, nie mać w Panu Bogu ten nadzieje swoicy	“Hey, do not have this hope in God”
Lecz ty mnie przyjmij ku sobie, okaż możność swoje	But You: accept me, show me Your power
A podnieś uniżoną nedzną głowę moję	And lift up my humble, miserable head
Bom ja wołał do Ciebie wielkim głosem, Panie	For I have called You with a loud voice, Lord
Usłysz z góry swej świętej me nedzne wołanie	Hear my wretched cry from Your holy mountain
Zasnąłem ja w łasce twej, a zaśie ocucił	I fell asleep in Your grace, and then I awoke
Bom się w opiekę twoję mój Panie poruczył	For I have moved myself to Your care, my Lord
Nie strach mie nic tysięcy ludu złośliwego	I do not fear even thousands of evil people
Gdyż cię pewnym obrońcą mam Pana swojego	For I have You, my Lord, as a sure protector
Powstańże ty mój Panie z twą boską możnością	Arise, my Lord, with Your divine power
Uskrom me przeciwniki z taką ich srogością	Punish my opponents with their own fierceness
Którzy bez wszej przyczyny tak na mie powstają	Who, without Your cause, would rise instead against me
Zamkniżeby grzesznikom co na mie zgrzytają	Close off the sinners who grind at me
Bowiem twoje zbawienie, mój wszechmocny Panie	For Your salvation, my almighty Lord
Z wiecznym błogosławieństwem w ludu twym zostanie	Will remain with Your people with eternal blessing
Bowiem ty mocnie raczysz podnieść upadłego	For You hardly condescend to raise the fallen ones
Który się wiernie podda pod moc bostwa twego	The ones who faithfully submit to Your divine power
Psalm 3K	
Mocny Boże, jakoż ich wiele powstało,	Mighty God, how many have risen
Jakoż się ich przeciw mnie siła zebrało:	And gathered their strength against me:

⁹⁶ PNKD, folios A6v-A8r.

Table 7 (cont'd)

(Psalm 3K cont'd)	
A tym serca nawięcej dodają sobie,	And their hearts add the most to this
Jakobyh ja już prawie zwątpił o Tobie.	As if I have ever doubted You
Mylą się: Tyś jest, Panie, moja zasłona,	They are wrong: You, Lord, are my veil,
Tyś moja cześć i mojej głowy korona;	You are my reverence and the crown of my head:
Kiedym Cię kolwiek wzywał w swojej potrzebie,	Whenever I called you in my need,
Zawżdy ucho łaskawe znalazł u Ciebie.	You have always listened to me graciously
Przetoż i dziś będę spał na to bezpiecznie,	Because of this, today I will sleep safely
Bo Pan żywota mego strzeże koniecznie:	For the Lord always guards my life
Nie ustraszą mię mocą nieprzyjaciele,	My enemies' strength will not scare me
Chociaż zdrać na mię knują i praktyk wiele.	Even though they plot and act against me
Powstań, Panie, a broń mię w mej niewinności	Arise, Lord, and defend me in my innocence
Żaden mój nieprzyjaciel Twojej srogości	No enemy of mine could ever
Nigdy wytrzymać nie mógł: tyś je zatracił,	Withstand your sternness: you would mislead them
Tyś każdemu z nich wedle zasług zapłacił	You would make each of them pay according to their merits
Sam Ty, niebieski Panie, zdrowiem szafujesz	Only You, heavenly Lord, can manage life [one's health]
I w ostatnich przygodach snadnie ratujesz:	And slickly save us from our recent adventures
Od ciebie wszystko dobre na świecie mamy,	Because of You, we have all the good things in world
Którzy się kolwiek ludem Twym ożywamy.	Things that come alive to any of Your people

Considering the message that the leaders of the Polish Brethren are trying to convey is one of trust in God's protection, it is unlikely that they understood their enemies' acts as acts of strength. More likely, they saw these as the result of political resentment. The last strophe of Psalm 3L is likewise more relatable to the historical context of the Polish Brethren than that of Psalm 3K, since it closes the poem with the theme of the "fallen ones." From the perspective of the Polish Brethren being a movement that did not have any allies, the idea of fallen heroes who were made victims of political persecution was manifoldly real. While Psalm 3K makes the unrealistic remark that the narrator has "all the good things in the world," Psalm 3L provides a more realistic close to this psalm by emphasizing that God never fails to uplift these fallen heroes.

The creators of *PNKD* chose to set melodies to these two versions of Psalm 3 differently, and this decision plays a role in how we read the text of Psalm 3L. While Psalm 3K has its own melody and therefore does not need to borrow from another source, Psalm 3L requires the melody of Psalm 1K in order to be sung. This implies that Psalm 3L was deliberately left without a melody and that the specific juxtaposition of these psalms was planned (see Table 8 for a translation of Psalm 1K). The authors of *PNKD* likely understood that the reading of Psalm 3 alone would not justify why the Polish Brethren deserves God's protection, which might explain why the most common intertextual borrowing in *PNKD* pairs up these two Psalms. While both Psalms 3K and 3L are clear about asking God for protection, what they lack is an answer as to why the first-person lyric of both these translations are worthy of God's attention. Psalm 1, on the other hand, teems with reasons as to why God should hear one's cries, while it also explains why He punishes the unfaithful.

Table 8 - Translation of Psalm 1K, *Szczęśliwy, Który Nie Był*.⁹⁷

Psalm 1K	
Szczęśliwy, który nie był między złymi w radzie,	Happy/blessed is the one who was not in the counsel of the wicked
Ani stóp swoich torem grzesznych ludzi kładzie:	Or who does not lay feet along the path of sinful men:
Ani siadł na stolicy, gdzie tacy siadają,	Or who sit in the company of such people
Co się z nauki zdrowej radzi naśmiewają	Who mock the teachings of the Mighty sciences
Ale to jego umysł, to jego staranie	But it is his mind, it is his effort
Aby na wszystkim pełnił Pańskie przykazanie:	That he should fulfill the Lord's commandment in all things:
Dzieńli ten świat oświeca, nocli już nastawa	During the day, He enlightens this world; at night, He sets it dark
On o Pańskim zakonie zawsze rozmyślawa	He always meditates on the Lord's law
Taki podobien będzie drzewu porzecznemu	This person will be like a tree planted by a river
Które przynosi co rok owoc panu swemu:	Which bears fruit to his Lord each year:
Liście nigdy nie tracąc, choć zła chwila przydzie:	Never losing a leaf, but when a bad moment comes:
Temu wszystko, co pocnie, na dobre wynidzie	Everything that is done to him will be for good
Ale źli, którzy Boga i wstydu nie znają	But the evil, who does not know God or shame
Tego szczęścia, tej nigdy zapłaty nie mają:	This happiness/blessing, they will never have it as retribution:
Równi plewom, które się walają przy ziemi	Like chaff that was littered on the ground
A wiatry, gdzie jedno chcą, wszędzie władną iemi	Ruled by the winds wherever and however it desires
Dla czego przed sądem być muszą pohańbieni	For which they must be judged in disgrace
Ani w liczbie z dobrymi będą policzeni:	And not be counted with the righteous
Pan bowiem sprawiedliwych na wszelki czas broni	For the Lord always defends the righteous
A przewrotne złe ludzi cicha pomsta goni	And chases the perverse evil with silent vengeance

⁹⁷ PNKD, folios A2r-A3r.

The tone of both translations of Psalm 3 (3L and 3K) in many ways set the first-person lyric as one who is attempting to be in charge of God's decisions. For example, 3L demands the Lord to "close off the sinners who grind at me," while 3K similarly commands God to "arise [...] and protect my innocence."⁹⁸ Meanwhile, the tone of Psalm 1K reveals a humbler narrator, one that "always meditates on the Lord's laws" and who even deems unfortunate circumstances simply as a part of God's plans. In the historical context of the Polish Brethren, the concept of "bad moments that will come for good" was likely taken seriously. This yet again explains the frequent pairing up of these two psalms as a means for the Polish Brethren to not only ask God for protection, but also to validate their reasons for asking for such protection.

A stanza-by-stanza analysis of Psalms 3L and 1K further confirms that Psalm 1K directly provides a justification for, or commentary on, each respective stanza in Psalm 3L. For example, whenever a stanza from Psalm 3L addresses God with a plea (stanzas 2 and 4), Psalm 1K replies with a justification for such a demand. On the other hand, whenever a stanza from 3L addresses those who are against God (stanzas 1 and 3) or those who are faithful to him (stanza 5), Psalm 1K replies with a commentary that adds to God's righteousness and power.

The dialogue created between stanzas 1, 3, and 5 in the pairing up of these two Psalms address the issues of trust and divine protection dealt with thus far. They confirm that the narrator's trust in God shields him from the malevolent plans of the impious. The first stanza of Psalm 3L remarks on the many people who have gathered against the faithful and against God himself. The opening four verses of 1K provides a direct answer to this statement, revealing how happy those people are who do not side with the impious ones mentioned in the first stanza of

⁹⁸ *PNKD*, folio A8r. In Polish, "Powstań, Panie, a broń mię w mej niewinności."

Psalm 3L. Likewise, the third stanza of Psalm 3L reveals a first-person voice who is unafraid of his enemies due to God's protection, while the same stanza in Psalm 1K adds to one's confidence in God by affirming that even bad circumstances happen for a good reason according to God's plans. The closing stanza of 3L summarizes the Psalm, stating that those who are faithful will always be under the Lord's protection. The last stanza of Psalm 1K complements this idea by claiming that as God protects the pious, so does he punish the impious.

The second and fourth stanzas reveal more clearly how Psalm 1K poetically justifies the demands posed to God in Psalm 3L. While the second stanza of Psalm 3L calls upon God to "accept" the writer of the Psalm and to show him His powers, the respective stanza in Psalm 1K reveals that the same protagonist has but one objective in life, which is to fulfill the Lord's commandments.⁹⁹ Psalm 1K furthermore confirms that the writer is a "humble" and "miserable" person by acknowledging that he devotes day and night to reflect upon the laws of God. The intertextual path between Psalms 3L and 1K therefore validates the first-person lyric (that is, the members of the Polish Brethren) as one who is worthy of requesting God for protection due to their diligence to the Lord's commandments. The same happens in the fourth stanza, which in Psalm 3L demands God to punish those who are against the faithful. The same stanza in Psalm 1K justifies this demand by metaphorically comparing those who are unfaithful with decaying debris on the ground, thus symbolizing the ungodly as one who is at the mercy of God.

⁹⁹ The word "power" (in Polish, *możność*, which could also be translated to "ability") forecasts God's ability to provide protection as it is revealed in the remainder of this Psalm.

Pieśń Na Psalm 131

Communal-spiritual issues such as the Brethren's relationship with God are found in many Psalms and Pious Songs within *PNKD*, as will be discussed in this section. Philosophical issues related to the Brethren's core principles, such as their philosophies on tolerance towards other denominations, are also featured in these texts. Some of these incidentally make use of the intertextual path of Psalms 3L and 1K, thus providing opportunities for case studies on the possible added spiritual and philosophical meanings of each text. While my research will explore only one of the Pious Songs, I would like to highlight the fact that more than 100 other songs are available in the Pious Songs of *PNKD*, thus representing a large body of works that still need further research. Refer to Appendix 3 for a list of all Pious Songs containing details of their respective melodic settings.

We can see from the analyses of Psalms 3L and 1K that the dialogue between them mostly concerns itself with individual earthly issues. These involve sinners *versus* the pious protagonist, metaphors of earthly things, divine protection on Earth against enemies, and historical-political matters. In fact, Seybold classifies psalms 1-119 as the "Wisdom Psalter." He argues that this group of psalms is more pertinent for meditative and private use than it is for liturgical purposes. This in turn means that the "Wisdom Psalms" might have been understood by the leaders of the Polish Brethren more as a political tool than as a liturgical one. That is, these psalms were likely regarded as well-suited for encouraging congregation members to think critically about the political context in which they lived.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ See Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms*, 27. See also *ibid.*, 23 and 155 for a discussion about how Psalm 1 specifically serves as a "Wisdom Psalm" by highlighting questions related to earthly ethics and human choices.

Of all the Pious Songs that are found in *PNKD*, *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* [a Song for Psalm 131] deserves special attention due to its unique status in the Polish Brethren's psalter. It is the only Song in the book that is named after a specific Psalm. Consequently, the leaders of the movement likely deemed the message contained in Psalm 131, such as its concepts of communal spiritual humility and divine trust, to be especially relevant to their cause alongside psalms 3L and 1K. Seybold emphasizes that the character of psalms 120-150 shifts from meditative (1-119) to a more praiseful one.¹⁰¹ That is, the character of Psalm 131 is less about the individual and more about God Himself. In terms of how Psalm 131 might have been read historically and politically, Kratz argues that the doxology of psalms 107-150 "returns in another form to what at one time had been the case with Psalms 3–72 [a period of prosperity in the context of the establishment of the Davidic kingship] and had been lost within Psalms 73–106." In other words, the series of psalms in which Psalm 131 is included might have been understood as yearning to recreate a "kingdom of God."¹⁰²

Pieśń Na Psalm 131 plays a major role in further adding meaning to the dialogue between Psalms 3L and 1K, since it essentially utilizes the intertextual path created by these two Psalms. In terms of its melodic setting, *PNKD* instructs the congregation to set the text of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* to the melody of Psalm 131 (either 131U or 131K), which does not have a melody of its own. Instead, Psalm 131 is to be set to the intertextual path of Psalms 3L and 1K.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, 27.

¹⁰² See Reinhard G. Kratz, "Die Tora Davids. Psalm 1 und die doxologische Fünfteilung des Psalters," *Zeitschrift Für Theologie Und Kirche* 93, no. 1 (1996): 1–34. Translation found in Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Till Magnus Steiner, "Problems and Prospects in Psalter Studies," in *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms : Conflict and Convergence*, ed. Susan Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 245.

¹⁰³ In sum, *Pieśń na Psalm 131* generates the path *Pieśń na Psalm 131* → 131U/K → 3L → 1K.

Pieśń Na Psalm 131 develops the idea that the narrator of Psalms 3L and 1K represented the Polish Brethren as a whole and not necessarily one single individual. In order to comprehend how this happens, we need to first understand the poetic structure of Psalms 131U, 131K, and of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* (see Table 9 for translations of Psalms 131U, 131K and the Pious Song *Pieśń Na Psalm 131*). While both translations of the Psalm have 3 stanzas each, *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* contains 8 stanzas. Despite this difference in length, the texts of the Psalm and the Song have direct correlations with each other, as seen by the color coding on Table 9. However, there are three stanzas in *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* that do not have a connotative parallel with any of the stanzas or strophes in either 131U or 131K (marked in grey on Table 8). These three stanzas deal in detail with the idea of communal unity as a fundamental requirement for salvation and protection.

The difference between the mundane character of Psalms 3L and 1K and the communal-spiritual character of Psalm 131U/K can be noted already in the opening stanzas of these Psalms. While the former Psalms begin by addressing human interaction on Earth, both translations of Psalm 131 begin by addressing the heavenly and God Himself. They figuratively place the protagonist in a position below God (i.e., “lift my eyes,” “elevate my wretched soul,” and “I am not above human reason”) while also proclaiming him as one who is not tempted by worldly things. The narrators of Psalm 131K and of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* furthermore emphasize the collective aspect of his community by mentioning their neighbors and by talking about human reason as a whole as opposed to their own individual thoughts.

Table 9 - Translations of psalms 131U, 131K, and *Pieśń Na Psalm 131*. Stanzas are color-coded to show common themes that are repeated in different texts.¹⁰⁴

Psalm 131U	
Panie, kiedy cię o swej potrzebie proszę	Lord, when I ask for my needs
Wiesz żeć serca i oczu hardzie nie podnoszę	You know I do not lift my eyes and heart in an imposing way
O rzeczy się wysokie na świecie nie kuszę	I am not highly tempted by the mundane things
Lecz ku tobie pokornie dzwigam nędzną duszę	But I humbly elevate my wretched soul to You
Jako dziecina licha świeżo zostawiona	Like a wicked child who's just been left behind
Założnie do matki swej wzdycha opuszczona	Abandoned, it regretfully sighs to her mother
Tak ja twoje dzieciątko wzdycham też do ciebie	Like Your child, I also sigh to You
Ojczy mój miłosierny, który mieszkasz w niebie	My merciful father, who lives in heaven
A ty z dawna obrany, wierny Izraelu	And you, for long the chosen one, faithful of Israel
Dufaj w Bogu prawdziwym, twoim zbawicielu	Trust in the true God, your savior
Dufaj z serca szczerego, a twojej dufności	Trust from a sincere heart and from your own confidence
Niech nie ma wątlą żadne czasów odminności	Let there be no weakness in times of change
Psalm 131K	
Wieczny Boże, nie najdziesz pychy w sercu moim,	Eternal God, you will not find proud in my heart
Anim ja zwykł przenosić bliźnich okiem swoim,	Nor do I look down on my neighbors
Ani się ja na wielkie nazbyt kuszę rzeczy,	Nor am I too tempted by the great things
Ani się ja nad rozum wysadzam człowieczy.	Neither am I above human reason
Ty, któryś mię od siebie dotąd nie odpychał	You, who have thus far not pushed me away from You
Ty wiesz, jakom do ciebie w pokorze swej wzdychał	You know how humbly I have sighed for you
Wzdychałem żałościwy: równie więc tak licha	I sighed painfully: just like a
Dziecina zostawiona do matki swej wzdycha.	Wicked child weeps to its mother

¹⁰⁴ PNKD, folios G7r-v, G7v-G8r, and D10v-D12r, respectively.

Table 9 (cont'd)

(Psalm 131K cont'd)	
To jest kształt myśli moich, ani ja mam sobie	This is the shape of my thought,
Pewniejszego ratunku, jeno ufać Tobie.	And I have no salvation, except to trust You
U Pana ma pociechy szukać i obrony,	Those who do not want to be deceived in their hopes
Kto nie chce być w nadziei swojej omylony.	Find comfort and protection in the Lord
<i>Pieśń Na Psalm 131 [a Song for Psalm 131]</i>	
Któż lepiej wiedzieć może	Who knows better
Nad cię, o mój Boże	Than You, my God
Co się w człowieka wlewa	What is poured into a man
Co za myśli miewa?	What thoughts come to his mind?
Które jego staranie?	What are his efforts?
Które przed się branie?	What are his struggles?
Co rozumie o sobie	What he understands about himself
Co przyczyta tobie	What will he read about You?
Ty sam lepiej wiesz Panie:	You know it Yourself better, Lord
Ja wneć me wyzwanie	So, my challenges,
Przed tobą stworzyłem	I have created them before You,
Moim zbawicielem.	My savior.
Zem ia serca mojego	For I have never had
Serca wyniosłego	An arrogant heart
I oczu przeciw tobie	And eyes against You
Nie miał nigdy w sobie	---
Nie miałem ku żadnemu	I have [also] never had these [feelings]
Bliźnieniu swojemu	Towards any of my neighbors
Kochałem się wprostości	I am fond of the straightforwardness
I w uniżoności	And humility

Table 9 (cont'd)

(Pieśń Na Psalm 131 cont'd)	
Przed każdym strzegąc wiary	Of all those who keep faith
Bym nie przebrał miary	I would never measure You[r greatness]
Na ty me rad przestawał	In You, I have found joy
Coś ty mnie sam dawał	Which is something that you gave me Yourself
Jako dziecinna licha	Like a wicked child
Co do matki wzdycha	Who weeps to his mother
Nie myśląc nic pysznego	Who thinks of nothing great
Ani spaniałego.	Nor wonderful
Takem się ja sprawował	I have behaved as such
Takem postępował	I have acted as such
Świadkiem ty jest tego	To celebrate you [?]
Postępuku mojego	Is my deed
A jeśli bym, Boże mój	If I were, my God,
Ia podły sługa twój	To become a servant of Yours
Cokolwiek pokrył w sobie	I would bring to You
Ja wnoćby to tobie.	Whatever covered me
Jeślim w każdej potrzebie	And if while I was in need
Ja nędznik do ciebie	You thought of me as a beggar:
Gwałtem się nie napierał	I did not insist aggressively
I w ławkę nie wdzierał	And did not encroach at the pew
Do twych nog przypadając	Falling to Your feet
Do ciebie wzdychając	Sighing to You
Niechbym niósł zawstydzenie	Let me carry the shame
Od sług twych wzgardzenie.	And the contempt of Your servants
Lecz iżem ufał w Tobie	Because I trusted in You
Zwątpiwszy o sobie	[even] Having doubted myself

Table 9 (cont'd)

(Pieśń Na Psalm 131 cont'd)	
Uzczę łaski swojej	Use your grace
Nędznej duszy mojej	Towards my wretched soul
Aby i inszy wierni	So that the other faithful
Zawždy byli mierni	May also always be modest
W tym mizernym żywocie	In this poor life
W każdym swym kłopotcie.	In each and all of their troubles
Patrząc jako miłujesz	Seeing how You love
Do siebie przyjmujesz	How you accept to Yourself
Każdego pokornego	All of those who are humble
Tobie posłusznego	And who obey You
A ty też Izraelu	And you as well, Israel,
Ulubiony zwielu	Favorite among many,
Dufaj Bogy swojemu	Trust your God
Bogu prawdziwemu	Your true God
Dufaj mu uprzeiomości	Trust his kindness
A trwaj w tej dufności	And remain in this trust
Nie spuści cię z opieki	He will not let you out of His protection
Pan Bóg twój nawicki	Your Lord, [???

Both Psalm 131 and *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* expound on the ideas put forth in these opening stanzas by making use of three metaphors. All of these have both earthly and heavenly implications as well as philosophical connections with the Polish Brethren's main theological thoughts. These metaphors include: the metaphor of the neighbor (131K and *Pieśń Na Psalm 131*), the metaphor of the wicked child (131U, 131K, and *Pieśń Na Psalm 131*), and the metaphor of God's servant (*Pieśń Na Psalm 131*). These play a two-fold role of establishing the first-person lyric of these texts as the Polish Brethren as a whole, while also defining itself as the one and only righteous community of God.

The metaphor of the neighbor, besides establishing a sense of commonality, serves to corroborate the protagonist's fulfillment of God's commandments, thus justifying his worthiness of God's protection. It also alludes to the Polish Brethren's acceptance of other denominations into their community without the necessity of a conversion as in their acceptance of Catholics into the Racovian Academy.¹⁰⁵ It appears in the opening stanza of Psalm 131K and in the third stanza of the Song (marked in blue in Table 9). In a biblical and spiritual sense, this metaphor exemplifies the actions of the persona of Psalm 1K and their claims of obeying "God's commandments in all things." It alludes to the great commandments by proclaiming the narrator as one who loves his neighbors as he loves himself (Matthew 22:37–39). This latter utterance has a direct connection with the Racovian philosophy that members of all denominations were welcomed in their community.

The metaphor of the wicked child similarly expands on the justifications as to why God should provide one with protection, as it places the narrator in a position of humility and

¹⁰⁵ The presence of Catholics in the Racovian Academy was discussed by Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 359–360; and Tworek, "Education: The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," 379.

dependency. It symbolically compares one's relationship with God to that of an infant with its mother. It appears in both 131U and 131K (second stanzas) and in the Song (fourth stanza, see stanzas marked in green in Table 8). This metaphor has three implications that are relevant to the writer's justifications for protection. First, it places him in a position of someone who is completely dependent on God, just as an infant fully depends on its mother to live. Second, it implies that he has no mundane preoccupations, since an infant thinks of nothing material, but only of its mother and how she provides for it. Third, it places God in a position of someone who protects his "child." It is also important to mention that this metaphor emphasizes the hierarchical relationship between a mother and her progenies, thus suggesting that one must be respectful of one's parents. While this is an issue with earthly implications, it also reflects another one of God's commandments, thus once again spiritually connecting *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* and Psalm 131 with the juxtaposition of Psalms 3L and 1K.

Lastly, the metaphor of God's servant is unique to *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* (marked in grey on Table 9) and it serves the purpose of further adding a sense of brotherhood to the message being conveyed by this intertextual path. It portrays an almost-Jesus-like protagonist who is willing to "carry the shame and contempt" of other servants of God just so that they can also live in humility and faithfulness. More importantly, it implies a sense of community and mutual support in which individual wrongdoings and troubles are embraced by the congregation as a whole. This idea of collective unity is significant because the texts of Psalm 3L and 1K contain a protagonist that represents a single individual. The inclusion of these stanzas in *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* consequently helps the narrator of this Song, and thus of the Psalms included in its intertextual path, to speak on behalf of the Polish Brethren as a whole.

The Musical Setting of “Pieśń Na Psalm 131”

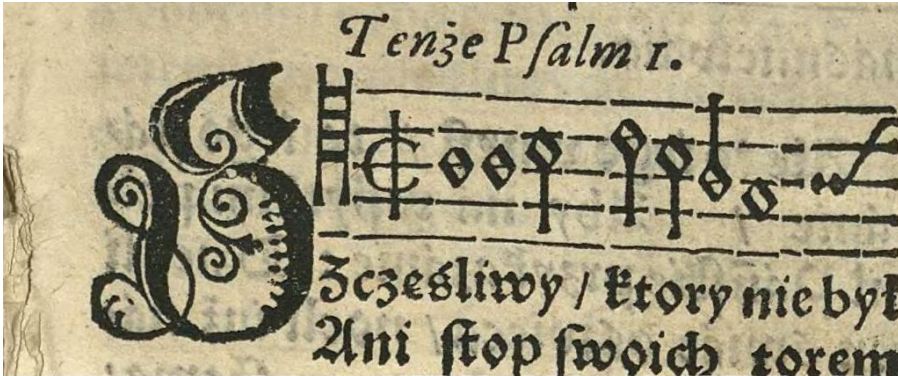
Protestant and humanist thought of contemporaries of the Polish Brethren deemed the setting of texts to music as an effective device to bring these texts to life, as this process was seen to enhance both meaning and affections.¹⁰⁶ As has been discussed, the intertextual path of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* ultimately rests on the melody of Psalm 1K, which can be seen in Figure 10. However, the former has twice as many verses per stanza as the latter, and the verses of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* contain a different number of poetic syllables than that of Psalm 1K. Therefore, its musical setting causes an interesting formal overlap, as shown in Tables 10 and 11.¹⁰⁷ This implies that these two texts receive different harmonic-melodic emphasis according to their structure, which in turn means that we should read these poems differently from each other.

¹⁰⁶ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 8-22.

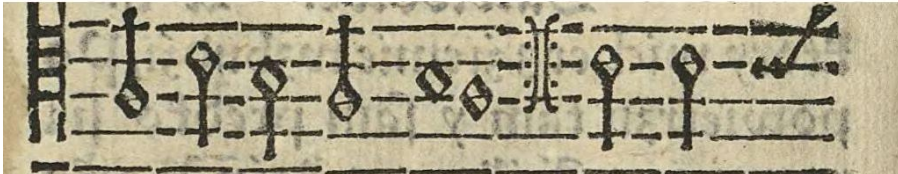
¹⁰⁷ We can be sure that *Pieśń na Psalm 131* has eight verses instead of four for two main reasons. First, because *PNKD* separates each verse with a forward slash (i.e., “Któż lepiej wiedzieć może/ Nad cię, o mój Boże”). And second, because each verse ends in a rhyme, which is the case of every Psalm and Song in *PNKD*. In fact, this style of translating psalms into Polish while incorporating poetic liberties (by including features such as rhymes, metaphors that do not appear in original texts, paraphrases, etc.) was a trend in Reformation Polish and other psalters at the time. The same happens in all of Lubelczyk’s and Kochanowski’s translations, as well as in the Genevan Psalter and in *HS*. The earliest translation of the psalms into Polish, those featured in the *Psalterz Floriański* (ca 1395-ca 1405), do not contain rhymes and seem to have been done with a more literal translation from Latin in mind. See Rajmund Pietkiewicz, “Pismo Święte w języku polskim w latach 1518-1638. Sytuacja wyznaniowa w Polsce a rozwój edytorstwa biblijnego” (PhD diss., Uniwersytet Wrocławski Wydział Filologiczny Instytut Bibliotekoznawstwa, 2003), 147-165.

Figure 10 - The melody of Psalm 1K as it appears in *PNKD* (folios A2r and A2v were combined in one Figure).¹⁰⁸

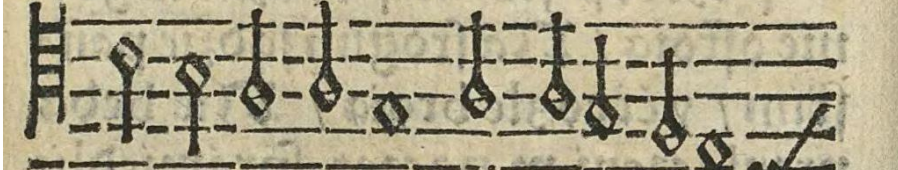
Tenże Psalm 1.




Bżczęśliwy / który nie był
Ani stop swoich torem




miedzy zlemi w radzie/
grzesznych ludzi kładzie : Ani



siadł na stolicy / gdzie tacy siadają



ia / Co sie z nauki zdrowey radzi



nasmiewają.

¹⁰⁸ *PNKD*, folios A2r-v.

Table 10 - An analysis of how the text and music of Psalm 1K fit with each other.

Poetic-musical analysis of Psalm 1K															
Musical analysis	# of poetic syllables /verse #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
	verse 1	Szczęś-	li-	wy	któ-	ry	nie	był//	mię-	dzy	zły-	mi-w	ra-	dzie	
Harmony		a minor: i							V//	i				V	i
Form		antecedent (a)							consequent (b)						
		A													
	verse 2	A-	ni	stóp	swo-	ich	tor-	rem//	grzesz-	nnych	lu-	dzi	kła	dzie	
Harmony		a minor: i							V//	i				V	i
Form		antecedent (a)							consequent (b)						
		A													
	verse 3	A-	ni	siadł	na	sto-	li-	cy//	gdzie	ta-	cy	sia-	da-	ją	
Harmony		a minor: i							V//	i				V/iv	iv
Form		antecedent (c)							consequent (d)						
		B													
	verse 4	Co	się-z	na-	u-	ki	zdro-	wej//	ra-	dzi	naś-	mie-	wa-	ją	
Harmony		a minor: i							V//	i				V	i
Form		antecedent (a')							consequent (b)						
		A'													

Table 11 - An analysis of how the text of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* fits with the melody of Psalm 1K.

Poetic-musical analysis of <i>Pieśń Na Psalm 131</i>															
How does it fit onto the melody of 1K?	# of poetic syllables /verse #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
	verses 1 2	Któż	le-	piej	wie-	dzieć	mo-	że	Nad	cię	o	mój	Bo-	że	
Harmony		a minor: i							V//	i				V	i
Form		antecedent (a)							consequent (b)						
		A													
	verses 3 4	Co	się	w-człó-	wie-	ka	wle-	wa	Co	za	myś-	li	mie-	wa?	
Harmony		a minor: i							V//	i				V	i
Form		antecedent (a)							consequent (b)						
		A													
	verses 5 6	Któ-	re	je-	go	sta-	ra-	nie?	Któ-	re	przed	się-	bra	nie?	
Harmony		a minor: i							V//	i				V/iv	iv
Form		antecedent (c)							consequent (d)						
		B													
	verses 7 8	Co	ro-	zu-	mie	o	so-	bie	Co	przy-	czy-	ta	to-	bie	
Harmony		a minor: i							V//	i				V	i
Form		antecedent (a')							consequent (b)						
		A'													

An important aspect of the juxtaposition of the text of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* and that of Psalm 1K is that every odd-numbered verse in the Song ends in a musical comma, thus bringing the attention of its singers to the upcoming content of the next line. As can be seen from my analysis in Table 10, the harmonic implications of the melody of Psalm 1K divide each verse into two unequal parts (labelled as antecedents and consequents): one containing seven poetic syllables that end in a musical comma in the dominant, and another containing six poetic syllables that end in a cadence. In the case of the Psalm (same Table), the text of each verse fits perfectly with each complete phrase (antecedent with its consequent), and thus follows the overall AABA' form of the strophe. However, Table 11 shows that the text of each line of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* fits only half a phrase of the melody (that is, each line covers either an antecedent or a consequent). This in turn implies that, after singing these lines, the singer is left in expectation as to what the next phrase will bring musically and poetically.

Because of its melodic structure, the singing of Psalm 1K with its own text will induce the congregation to focus their attention on each line independently. The singing of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131*, on the other hand, will bring the congregation's attention to the connection between each odd- and even-numbered verse, or each antecedent and consequent (that is, verses 1 and 2; 3 and 4, and so on). In the specific case of the first strophe of text displayed in Table 11, the melodic-harmonic structure of the melody causes the singer to reflect upon the theme of each rhyme pairing (refer to Table 9 for translations).¹⁰⁹ This is interesting because these pairings are the defining feature that makes this text have eight lines per stanza as opposed to four. As my

¹⁰⁹ Namely, what God knows about a man (verses 1-2); what a man knows about himself (3-4); what are this man's efforts and struggles (5-6); and how his understanding of himself changes how he understands God (7-8).

analysis has shown, these pairings are broken by the melodic structure in which they are inserted, which forces this text to be read as if it had four verses.

Conclusion

The most common intertextual path in *PNKD*, that connecting the texts of Psalms 3L and 1K, served as a means to enhance the Polish Brethren's cause in two ways. First, it justified their own harsh political context by defining it as a bad moment within a larger, much more fortunate and righteous fate; and second, it validated their devotion to God as a truthful one, which is to be rewarded with divine protection and vengeance against enemies. While many Psalms and Songs in *PNKD* add further meaning to the intertextual juxtaposition of psalms 3L and 1K, the Song *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* undoubtedly provides the most significant connotative addition. This is because it confirms, via the use of different metaphors, that its first-person lyric—and by extension the voice of all the psalms included in its intertextual path—can be understood as representing the Polish Brethren as a whole.

Conclusion

This thesis has shown that *PNKD* was the main liturgical book of the Polish Brethren, a short-lived antitrinitarian movement that reached its peak at the turn of the 17th century. I have provided numerous examples in *PNKD* and in the literature that show how the intertextuality present in this book was intentionally planned and used as a rhetorical tool to conceive not only spiritual messages, but also political, social, and philosophical ones. These complex messages could not have been achieved by Psalms and Songs alone, but only via the textual juxtaposition created by the frequent melodic borrowings that happen in *PNKD*. The fact that the Polish Brethren's psalter contains too few melodies in comparison to the number of its texts is therefore not related to a lack of melodic creativity by the writers of the movement. Instead, it only shows how these authors dominated the liberal art devices available to them at the time. This thesis therefore represents only the first steps towards understanding how *PNKD* played a role in reinforcing spiritual and philosophical aspects of the antitrinitarian life of the 16th and 17th centuries.

My work has provided a basis for further interpretation of the intertextual paths contained in *PNKD*. By extension, the approaches established in my thesis can also be applicable to the music and textual juxtaposition present in *HS*. I have demonstrated that the multilayered borrowings that happen within these books did in practice form a web of meanings that went beyond the spiritual realm, and further studies might reveal other philosophical and musical implications of these borrowings. Previous works written on *contrafacta*, humanism, and musical rhetoric will be invaluable sources of information in the continuation of this study. While my research has shown connections between the Polish Brethren's music and that of the Calvinist

movement, connections can still be made between the Brethren's liturgy and that of the Catholic Church. More specifically, in what ways have centuries of *contrafacta* tradition shaped the way in which intertextual juxtapositions are used in *PNKD* and *HS*? To answer this question, aforementioned works by Fassler, Long, and Bradley will be invaluable sources.¹¹⁰ Another question to be asked is how is the Catholic use of *contrafacta* as it relates to political themes reminiscent of the Brethren's use of intertextuality as a political tool? Works by Hankeln and Bartel can serve as a starting point to answer this question.¹¹¹ Hankeln's publication provides studies that deal with the issue of music and politics in the Middle Ages. Bartel's *Musica Poetica*, which has already served as an important starting source of information for present research, can still help future studies on the music of the Polish Brethren, more specifically in terms of its borrowing of melodies from other movements. His discussion on *loci topici* in Baroque instrumental music might prove fruitful when applied to the music of the liturgy of the Polish Brethren that has been imported from the Genevan Psalter, *Katechizm*, and *PDOŚ*.¹¹² Bartel's work can provide a further basis of study of the rhetoric contained within the music found in *PNKD* and *HS*.

Since we have concrete proof that the antitrinitarian group that published *HS* has directly inherited the musical traditions of the Polish Brethren, it is likely that other movements have done the same. Therefore, there is still a large area of study open for research on the musical traditions of antitrinitarian movements that were contemporary to the Polish Brethren, and that

¹¹⁰ Fassler, *Gothic Song*; Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai*; and Catherine Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris: The Art of Composing with Plainchant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

¹¹¹ Roman Hankeln, *Political Plainchant? Music, Text and Historical Context of Medieval Saints' Offices*, ed. Hankeln, Roman (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2009); and Bartel, *Musica Poetica*.

¹¹² Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 78-80.

came after its dissolution. For instance, Wilbur's *A History of Unitarianism* might contain clues regarding the music and publications of antitrinitarian groups in Transylvania and Holland.¹¹³

There is still much to be uncovered in terms of the meanings established by the textual dialogues contained in both *PNKD* and *HS*, as well as in terms of their social and political implications. Since these two publications are historically and philosophically connected, much of what could be uncovered in one publication might be applicable to issues related to both communities. The present work has only tackled one intertextual path out of the hundreds that are contained in *PNKD*. These paths will likely provide answers to issues regarding the origins of melodies, the use of musical-rhetorical tools, and philosophical connections to other movements.

A substantial part of *PNKD*, its Pious Songs, still deserves much attention, especially in terms of how they relate to the philosophies and history of the Polish Brethren. While the case study in Chapter 3 has tackled the Song *Pieśń Na Psalm 131*, there are still 104 other songs to be analyzed in the Pious Songs of *PNKD*. Some of these are subjected to intertextual borrowings, while others have their own melodies. How this intertextuality played a role in the lives of the congregation members is still an issue that needs to be studied. Furthermore, I have not tried to find the origins of the melodies present in the Pious Songs during my research. While these could be original compositions, it is probable that at least some of these were also borrowed from other movements of the time (most likely from Calvinist hymnals). The unraveling of all this information is essential to the publication of modern editions of the music contained in these Pious Songs, as well as the music contained in the Psalms of *PNKD*.

¹¹³ Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*.

My work sheds light on the important issue of how the melodic-harmonic structure of melodies modify the interpretation of texts. While the formal structure of a lot of texts in *PNKD* match those of many of its melodies, there are also cases of poems that have a different structure than that of the melody to which they are set, like with the example of *Pieśń Na Psalm 131* studied in Chapter 3. Another example includes the setting of the text of Psalm 34U to the melody of Psalm 1L (which is what *PNKD* asks for), which creates a mismatch between the accented syllables of the text and the strong beats of the music. In the opening phrase, the words “chwalił” and “zawsze” (both of which are paroxytone words) get accented by the melodic metric scheme on their respective first syllables (“-lił” and “-sze,” as opposed to “chwa” and “zaw,” which is what would have been correct). This problem could have been avoided entirely, for example, by setting the text of Psalm 34U to the melody of Psalm 29K. As we have seen, these formal mismatches and overlaps deserve detailed case studies, as the musical setting of texts often offers a different interpretation of them than that of them read alone without music.

Although my research provides many answers regarding the liturgical musical practices of the Polish Brethren, much remains to be uncovered. Issues related to the origins of melodies and of texts of Pious Songs, the origins of translations of Psalms, as well as the implications of the intertextuality present in *PNKD* remain a mystery. This thesis lays the groundwork for such output to be produced in the future.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1a – The Melodies of the Psalms Re-used In *PNKD*.

Table 12 - The Melodies of the Psalms Re-used In *PNKD*.

Psalm # or Song page #	<i>PNKD (1625) Psalm # and translation</i> #K = Psalm translated into Polish by Jan Kochanowski #L = Psalm translated into Polish by Jakub Lubelczyk #U = Translation does not match Kochanowki's nor Lubelczyk's; unkown	<i>PNKD (1625) - is this Psalm's own melody directly used elsewhere in the book? (P = in a Psalm; S = in a Song; X = not re-used)</i>
1	1L	P and S
	1K	P and S
2	2L	X
	2K	P
3	3K	P
5	5K	P and S
8	8K	P and S
14	14K	P and S
15	15K	X
16	16K	P and S
17	17K	X
23	23K	S
	23Ua	X
	23Ub	X
25	25K	P
26	26K	P
29	29K	X
30	30K	X
34	34K	X
39	39K	S
42	42U	S
43	43K	S
	43U	P and S
46	46K	P and S
50	50K	S
	50U	S

Table 12 (cont'd)

Psalm # or Song page #	<i>PNKD (1625) Psalm # and translation</i> #K = Psalm translated into Polish by Jan Kochanowski #L = Psalm translated into Polish by Jakub Lubelczyk #U = Translation does not match Kochanowki's nor Lubelczyk's; unkown	<i>PNKD (1625) - is this Psalm's own melody directly used elsewhere in the book? (P = in a Psalm; S = in a Song; X = not re-used)</i>
62	62K	X
67	67L	P and S
69	69U	P
70	70K	S
71	71U	P and S
84	84Ub	X
86	86Ub	X
	86K	X
90	90K	P and S
91	91K	X
92	92K	X
93	93K	X
95	95K	S
	95U	X
96	96K	P and S
97	97K	X
99	99K	X
100	100K	S
	100U	P and S
102	102K	X
111	111K	X
113	113K	X
115	115K	X
117	117K	S
121	121U	S
123	123K	X
124	124U	X
	124K	X
134	134U	X

Table 12 (cont'd)

Psalm # or Song page #	<i>PNKD (1625) Psalm # and translation</i> <i>#K = Psalm translated into Polish by Jan Kochanowski</i> <i>#L = Psalm translated into Polish by Jakub Lubelczyk</i> <i>#U = Translation does not match Kochanowki's nor Lubelczyk's; unkown</i>	<i>PNKD (1625) - is this Psalm's own melody directly used elsewhere in the book? (P = in a Psalm; S = in a Song; X = not re-used)</i>
139	139K	X
142	142U	X
145	145K	S
146	146U	S
147	147U	X
	147K	X
150	150K	S

APPENDIX 1b – The Melodies of the Pious Songs Re-used In *PNKD*.

Table 13 - The Melodies of the Pious Songs Re-used In *PNKD*.

Song folio #	<i>PNKD (1625) Song name as it appears in PNKD's index</i>	<i>PNKD (1625) - is this Song's own melody directly used elsewhere in the book? (P = in a Psalm; S = in a Song; X = not re-used)</i>
A3v	Song <i>Twoja Chwała</i>	S
A6r	Song <i>Dziękować Czynimy Serdeczne, Boże</i>	X
A7r	Song <i>Ochotnym Sercem Ciebie Panie Wysławiamy</i>	X
A17r	Song <i>Krzyczym Ku Tobie, Wieczny Miły Panie</i>	X
A20r	Song <i>Święte Jest Wieczny</i>	S
B1v	Song <i>Czemu Się Duszo Frasujesz</i>	X
B3r	Song <i>Czego Chcesz Po Nas Panie Za Twe Hojne Dary</i>	X
B5v	Song <i>Chwalcie Pana Jezusa Z Mocy I Litości</i>	X
C3v	Song <i>Godzieneś Jezu Nasz Panie</i>	X
C8r	Song <i>Niech Słucha Kto Ma Uszy Ku Słuchaniu</i>	X
C10r	Song <i>Weselcie Się, Weselcie W Panu Swoim Wszyscy</i>	X
C16r	Song <i>Kto Pragnie Bogu Służyć Żywiąc W Pobożności</i>	X
D2r	Song <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [a]</i>	S
D3v	Song <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [b]</i>	S
D6v	Song <i>Modlimy Się Ojcu Swemu W Pokorze I W Cichości</i>	X
D9r	Song <i>Zaśpiewaymy Społecznie Panu Bogu Swemu</i>	X

Table 13 (cont'd)

Song folio #	<i>PNKD (1625) Song name as it appears in PNKD's index</i>	PNKD (1625) - is this Song's own melody directly used elsewhere in the book? (P = in a Psalm; S = in a Song; X = not re-used)
D20r	<i>Song Panu Bogu Wszemnocnemu Dziękuymy W Radości</i>	X
E1v	<i>Song Boże Co Żywisz Kruki</i>	S
E7v	<i>Song Daj Nam Panie Miłościwy</i>	X
E8r	<i>Song Królowi Nad Wszemi Króli A Panu Nad Pany</i>	X
E8v	<i>Song Panu Bogu Najwyższego Jakże Jego Barankowi</i>	X

APPENDIX 2 – The Origins of the Melodies Featured in the Psalms of *PNKD* and How they Relate to Each Other.

Figure 11 - Legend for Appendix 2 (Appendix 2 proper starts on next page).

<p>Nomenclature of Psalms:</p> <p>#K = Psalm translated to Polish by Jan Kochanowski</p> <p>#L = Psalm translated to Polish by Jakub Lubelczyk</p> <p>#U = Translation does not match Kochanowki's nor Lubelczyk's; unkown</p>	<p>Boxes in green:</p> <p>Text in green = melody found in another source;</p> <p>Text in black = melody found in another source, but already accounted for</p>	<p>Boxes in blue:</p> <p>Melody is not found in <i>PNKD</i>, but matches a melody found in <i>HS</i> or <i>PDOŚ</i></p>	<p>Boxes in grey with orange text:</p> <p>There is a possibility that the melody found in <i>Katechizm</i> matches the melody that is displayed in <i>PNKD</i>, due to the language that is used in <i>Katechizm</i> to describe the melodic setting</p>	<p>Boxes in red:</p> <p>Melody does not have a match with any of these sources</p>	<p>Boxes in yellow:</p> <p>Source does not contain this particular Psalm</p>
--	--	---	--	--	--

Table 14 - The Origins of the Melodies Featured in the Psalms of *PNKD* and How they Relate to Each Other.

Psalm #	<i>PNKD</i> (1625) - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter</i> (1562)?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel</i> (1657)?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm</i> (1603)?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ</i> (1558)?
1	<p>OM (x2: 1L; and 1K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1L: <i>Błogosławiony Człowiek Co Się Tak Sprawuje</i> • 1K: <i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i> (melody appears in <i>PDOŚ</i> #3) 	<p>No (<i>GP = HS*</i>) *GP = HS means that the melody in the <i>Genevan Psalter</i> is the same as in <i>HS</i>, but not found in <i>PNKD</i>.</p>	<p>No (<i>GP = HS</i>, p.1)</p>	<p>Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i>. Can also be set to Song <i>Krzyściani Prawde Boża</i></p>	<p>Yes. Not as Psalm 1, but as Psalm 3 (<i>PDOŚ = PNKD</i>, 1K)</p>
2	<p>OM (x2: 2L; and 2K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2L: <i>Przecze Się Poganie Zaburzyli</i> • 2K: <i>Co Za Przyczyna Tego Zamieszania</i> 	<p>Yes (<i>GP = PNKD</i>, 2a)</p>	<p>***melody not found in <i>HS</i>***</p>	<p>*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***</p>	<p>No</p>

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
3	<p>BM (3L = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5); OM (3K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3L: <i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i> = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>) • 3K: <i>Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało</i> 	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.216-217)	Possibly (asks for "the old melody")? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 1	Yes (<i>PDOŚ = PNKD</i> , 1K)
4	<p>BM (4K = 3L, which = 1K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4K: <i>Wzywam Cię, Boże, Świadku Mojej Niewinności</i> = 3L (<i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i>) = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>) 	No	No (p.286-287, but uses melody of Psalm 69, which also appears in <i>PNKD</i>)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 3	No
5	<p>OM (5K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5K: <i>Przypuść, Panie, W Uszy Swoje</i> 	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Yes (<i>Katechizm = PNKD</i> , 5K)	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
6	<p>BM (2x: 6U = 3L, which = 1K; and 6K = 3L, which = 1K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6U: <i>W Popedliwy Gniewie Twym O Mój Panie Proszę = 3L (Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest) = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> • 6K: <i>Czasu Gniewu I Czasu Swej Zapalczywości = 3L (Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest) = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> 	No (GP = HS**)	No (GP = HS, p.441-442)	Possibly? Like in <i>PNKD, Katechizm</i> asks for the melody of Psalm 3, and it can also be set to Psalm 1	No
7	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
8	<p>OM (8K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 8K: <i>Wszchemocny Panie, Wiekuisty Boże</i> 	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.16-17)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
9	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.3-4)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
10	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
11	*** <i>(not in PNKD)</i> ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** <i>(not in Katechizm)</i> ***	No
12	BM (12K = 3L, which = 1K) • 12K: <i>Zachowaj Mię, O Sprawco Niebieskiego Domu</i> = 3L (<i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i>) = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>)	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Yes. Also to be set to the melody of <i>Panie jak ich wiele jest</i>	No
13	BM (13K = 3L, which = 1K) • 13K: <i>Dokąd Mię Chcesz Zapomnieć? Dokąd Świętą Twoje</i> = 3L (<i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i>) = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>)	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Yes. Also to be set to the melody of <i>Panie jak ich wiele jest</i>	No
14	OM (14K) • 14K: <i>Głupi Mówi W Sercu Swoim</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Possibly (asks for "the old melody")? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i>	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
15	BM (15L = 3L, which = 1K); OM (15K) • 15L: <i>Panie Któż W Przybytku Twoim = 3L (Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest) = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> • 15K: <i>Kto Będzie W Twoim Mieszkanu Przebywał?</i>	No	No (p.143-144, uses melody of Psalm 19)	No	No
16	OM (16K) • 16K: <i>O, Który Mieszkasz Na Wysokim Niebie</i>	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.115-117)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
17	OM (17K) • 17K: <i>Placz Sprawiedliwy I Prośbę Moją</i>	No	***melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
18	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
19	BM (19K = 2K) • 19K: <i>Głupia Mądrości, Rozumie Szalony</i> = 2K (<i>Co Za Przyczyna Tego Zamieszania</i>)	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.143-144)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
20	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
21	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
22	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
23	OM (x3: 23Ua; 23K; 23Ub) • 23Ua: <i>Pan Mój Wszchemocny</i> • 23K: <i>Pan Mię Mój Żywi, Pan Mię Mój Pasie</i> • 23Ub: <i>Pan Mój Pasterz, Czegoż Mi Nie Dostawa</i>	Yes (GP = <i>PNKD</i> , 23Ub)	Yes (p.293-295; HS = <i>PNKD</i> , 23Ub)	Yes (<i>Katechizm</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 23Ua)	No
24	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.35, but listed there as Psalm 95)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
25	OM (25K) • 25K: <i>Do Ciebie, Panie, Wzdycha Serce Moje</i>	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.239-240)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
26	BM (26U = 3K); OM (26K) • 26U: <i>Sądź Mię A Uzysz Mię Niewinność Moją = 3K (Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało)</i> • 26K: <i>Panie, Uczyń Sąd O Mnie</i>	No	***melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
27	BM (27K = 14K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 12) • 27K: <i>Pan Ogniem Swojej Światłości = 14K (Głupi Mówi W Sercu Swoim)</i>	No	No (p.124-125)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
28	BM (28K = 16K) • 28K: <i>Królu Niebieski, Zdrowie Dusze Mojej</i> = 16K (<i>O, Który Mieszkaśz Na Wysokim Niebie</i>)	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
29	OM (29K) • 29K: <i>Nieście Chwałę, Mocarze, Panu Mocniejszemu</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
30	OM (30K) • 30K: <i>Będę Cię Wielbił, Mój Panie</i>	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	Yes (p.355, <i>HS = PNKD</i> , 30K); (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.192-193)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i>	No
31	BM (31K = 3L, which = 1K) • 31K: <i>W Tobie Ufność Swą Kładę, Boże Niezmierzony</i> = 3L (<i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i>) = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>)	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
32	<p>BM (x2: 32U = 25K; and 32K = 25K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 32U: <i>Komu Przesłstwo Przepuszczone Bywa = 25K (Do Ciebie, Panie, Wzdycha Serce Moje)</i> • 32K: <i>Szczęśliwy, Komu Grzechy Odpuszczono = 25K (Do Ciebie, Panie, Wzdycha Serce Moje)</i> 	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.171-173)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
33	<p>BM (33K = 26K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 33K: <i>Pana Sercem Wesołym Wspomienie, Cnotliwi = 26K (Panie, Uczyn Sąd O Mnie)</i> 	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.31)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
34	<p>BM (34U = 1L); OM (34K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 34U: <i>Będę Ja Chwalił Zawsze Imię Boga Mego = 1L (Błogosławiony Człowiek Co Się Tak Sprawuje)</i> • 34K: <i>Jakokolwiek Szczęście Ku Mnie Się Postawi</i> 	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.344)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 1	No
35	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	*** melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
36	<p>BM (36K = 1L)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 36K: <i>Żywot Niepobożnego Za Świadka Mi Stoi = 1L (Błogosławiony Człowiek Co Się Tak Sprawuje)</i> 	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.57-58)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
37	BM (37K = 19K, which = 2K; or 25K) • 37K: <i>Nie Obruszaj Się, Że Kto Niewstydliwie = 19K (Głupia Mądrości, Rozumie Szalony = 2K (Co Za Przyczyna Tego Zamieszania);</i> • or = 25K (<i>Do Ciebie, Panie, Wzdycha Serce Moje</i>)	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
38	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.438-439)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
39	OM (39K) • 39K: <i>Do Tegom Był Myśl Swą Skłonił</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
40	BM (40K = 26K) • 40K: <i>Czekałem Z Cierpliwością, A Pan Mię Obaczył = 26K (Panie, Uczyn Sąd O Mnie)</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
41	BM (41K = 1K) • 14K: <i>Szczęśliwy, Który Ludzi Upadłych Ratuje</i> = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i> ; melody appears in <i>PDOŚ #3</i>)	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
42	BM (42K = 8K; or = 16K); OM (42U) • 42K: <i>Jako Na Puszczy Prędkimi Psy Szczwana</i> = 8K (<i>Wszchemocny Panie, Wiekuisty Boże</i>); • or 16K (<i>O, Który Mieszkasz Na Wysokim Niebie</i>) • 42U: <i>Równie Jak Bujna</i>	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.133)	Possibly (asks for "the old melody")? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 8 or 16	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i>?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i>?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i>?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i>?
43	OM (x2: 43U; and 43K) • 43U: <i>Na Twój Się Ja Rozsądek Dawam O Mój Boże</i> • 43K: <i>Niewinność, Panie, Moję</i>	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.112-113)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
44	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 35)
45	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 17)
46	OM (46K) • 46K: <i>Bóg Wszechmocny, Bóg Prawdziwy</i>	No	No (p.137-138)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 16)
47	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
48	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 24)

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
49	BM (49U = 43U) • 49U: <i>Wszech Stanów Ludzie Którzy Mieszkacie Na Ziemi = 43U (Na Twój Się Ja Rozsądek Dawam O Mój Boże)</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
50	OM (x2: 50U; and 50K) • 50U: <i>Bóg Wszchemocny, Pan Wieczni Nad Bogi Ziemskimi</i> • 50K: <i>Bóg Wieczny, Który Wszystkim Rozkazuje</i>	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.221-222)	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 18)
51	***(not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	No (p.166-167)	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
52	***(not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 1)
53	***(not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
54	***(not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 23)

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
55	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	No. To be set to the melody of "Krześciani prawde Boża"	No
56	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 39)
57	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 5)
58	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 8)
59	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
60	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 34)
61	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.412)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
62	OM (62K) • 62K: <i>Bogu Dusza Ufa Moja</i>	No	No (p.288-289)	No	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
63	BM (63K = 25K) • 63K: <i>Ku Służbie Twojej, Boże, Mój Obrońca = 25K (Do Ciebie, Panie, Wzdycha Serce Moje)</i>	No	No (p.277, uses melody of Psalm 77, which uses melody of Psalm 86)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
64	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	No (p.279-280)	No	No
65	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
66	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	No (p.37-38)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
67	BM (67K = 3L, which = 1K); OM (67L) • 67K: <i>Pokryj Swym Miłosierdzim, Panie, Nasze Złości = 3L (Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest) = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> • 67L: <i>Błogosław Nam Nasz Panie Z Miłosierdzią Twego</i>	No	No (p.313)	Yes (<i>Katechizm</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 67L)	Yes (<i>PDOŚ</i> = <i>PNKD</i> 67L)
68	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
69	OM (69U) • 69U: <i>Panie Mój Przyszły Na Mię Srogie Wały</i>	No	Yes (p.286-287, appears as Psalm 4, but contains melody of Psalm 69; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 69U)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 14)
70	OM (70K) • 70K: <i>Boże wiecznej mocy</i>	No	No (p.253-254, uses melody of Psalm 130)	No	No
71	BM (71K = 3L, which = 1K); OM (71U) • 71K: <i>W Tobie Ufność Swą Kładę, Boże Niezmierzony</i> = 3L (<i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i>) = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>) • 71U: <i>W Tobie Mój Wszchemocny Panie</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Yes (<i>Katechizm</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 71a)	No
72	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 68)

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
73	BM (73K = 69U; or = 19K, which = 2K) • 73K: <i>Niech Będzie Co Chce, Żyw Pan Ludu Swemu = 69U (Panie Mój Przyszły Na Mię Srogie Wały)</i> • or = 19K (<i>Głupia Mądrości, Rozumie Szalony</i>) = 2K (<i>Co Za Przyczyna Tego Zamieszania</i>)	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.272-273)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
74	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.174-175)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 12)
75	BM (75K = 8K) • 75K: <i>Ciebie My Wiecznie Wyznawać Będziemy = 8K (Wszchemocny Panie, Wiekuisty Boże)</i>	No	Yes (p.107; HS = <i>PNKD</i> 8K)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
76	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	*** melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
77	BM (77K = 26U, which = 3K, also incorrectly labelled as Psalm 27) + a "petition" • 77K: <i>Pana Ja Wzywać Będę, Dokądem Żywy = 26U (Sądź Mię A Użysz Mię Niewinność Moją = 3K Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało)</i>	No	No (p.243-244, uses melody of Psalm 86)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
78	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 68)
79	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 61)
80	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
81	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
82	BM (82K = 14K) • 82K: <i>Królowie Sądzą Poddane = 14K (Głupi Mówi W Sercu Swoim)</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
83	*** <i>(not in PNKD)</i> ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** <i>(not in Katechizm)</i> ***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 28)
84	BM (84Ua = 26K); OM (Ub) • 84Ua: <i>Boże Niezwyciężony, Wszech Zastępów Panie = 26K (Panie, Uczyń Sąd O Mnie)</i> • 84Ub: <i>Jak Są Mile Twe Przybytki, Panie (similar translation to Lubelczyk, but not the same)</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** <i>(not in Katechizm)</i> ***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 62)
85	BM (85K = 16K) • 85K: <i>Owa Czas, Panie, Przyszedł Pożądany = 16K (O, Który Mieszkasz Na Wysokim Niebie)</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** <i>(not in Katechizm)</i> ***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
86	BM (86Ua = 1K); OM (x2 = 86Ub; and 86K) • 86Ua: <i>Nakłoń Ku Mnie Łaskawe Panie</i> = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i> ; melody appears in <i>PDOŚ #3</i>) • 86Ub: <i>Nakłoń, Panie, Ku Mnie Ucho Twoje</i> • 86K: <i>Nakłoń, O Panie, Uszu Swoich</i>	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.243-244)	Yes (<i>Katechizm</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 86Ub)	No
87	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
88	BM (88K = 26K) • 88K: <i>Boże, Moja Nadziejo I Moja Pomocy</i> = 26K (<i>Panie, Uczyń Sąd O Mnie</i>)	No	No (p.151-152)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
89	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.9-10)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
90	OM (90K) • 90K: <i>Królu Na Wysokim Niebie</i>	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.148-149); p.93, uses Psalm 135	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
91	BM (91U = 3L, which = 1K; or = 43U); OM (91K) • 91U: <i>Który Mieszka W Zasłonie Boga Najwyższego = 3L (Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest) = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> • or = 43U (<i>Na Twój Się Ja Rozsądek Dawam O Mój Boże</i>) • 91K: <i>Kto Się W Opiekę Poda Panu Swemu</i>	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.178-179); p.118-119	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
92	OM (92K) • 92K: <i>Śluszna Rzecz, Panie, Tobie Chwałę Dawać</i>	No	***melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
93	OM (93K) • 93K: <i>Pan Chce Królować: Odział Się Zacnością</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
94	BM (94K = 26U, which = 3K, also incorrectly labelled as Psalm 27) • 94K: <i>Boże, Któremu Pomsta Należy Sprawnie = 26U (Sądź Mię A Użysz Mię Niewinność Moją) = 3K (Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało)</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 33)
95	OM (x2 = 95U; 95K) • 95?: <i>Pójdźmy, Bracia, Panu Zaśpiewajmy</i> • 95K: <i>Pójdźmy Z Ochotą, Panu Chwałę Dajmy</i>	No	No (p.35, but melody matches Psalm 24 in <i>HS</i>)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
96	OM (96K) • 96K: <i>Zacznicie Nową Moźnemu</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
97	OM (97K) • 97K: <i>Pan Nasz, Bóg Nasz Panuje</i>	No	Yes (p. 27; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 97K)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
98	BM (98K = 96K) • 98K: <i>Nową Monarsze Moźnemu</i> = 96K (<i>Zacznicie Nową Moźnemu</i>)	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 36)
99	OM (99K) • 99K: <i>Pan Króluje, Który Włada Anioły Lotnemi</i>	No	No (p.37, same melody as Psalm 66)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
100	OM (x2 = 100U; 100K) • 100U: <i>Krzyknicie Ludzkie Pokolenia</i> • 100K: <i>Wszyscy, Którzy Po Ziemi Chodzą</i>	No	No (p.136. Same melody as Psalm 131)	Yes (<i>Katechizm</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 100U)	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
101	BM (101K = 100U) • 101K: <i>Ciebie, O Boże Miłosierny = 100U (Krzyknice Ludzkie Pokolenia)</i>	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.122)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
102	OM (102K) • 102K: <i>Ułysz Prośby Moje, Boże Litościwy</i>	Yes, with some variation (GP = <i>PNKD</i> , 102K)	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Yes, indirectly. It is to be set to the melody of <i>Chwalcie Pana Godno Dać</i> , whose text appears as Psalm 147K in <i>PNKD</i> , but whose melody appears on Psalm 102K in <i>PNKD</i>	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
103	BM (2x: 103U = 8K; and 103K = 26U, which = 3K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 103U: <i>Błogosław', Duszo Moja, Panu Swego</i> = 8K (<i>Wszchemocny Panie, Wiekuisty Boże</i>) • 103K: <i>Błogosław', Duszo Moja, Panu Swojemu</i> = 26U (<i>Sądź Mię A Użysz Mię Niewinność Moją</i>) = 3K (<i>Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało</i>) 	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.39-40)	No	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 10)
104	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
105	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 32)
106	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
107	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
108	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 16)

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
109	***(not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 32)
110	***(not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
111	OM (111K) • 111K: <i>Pana Ja Zawždy Między Pobożnymi</i>	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 88)
112	BM (112K = 46K; or = 90K) • 112K: <i>Szczęśliwy Człowiek Prawdziwie = 46K (Bóg Wszechmocny, Bóg Prawdziwy)</i> • or = 90K (<i>Królu Na Wysokim Niebie</i>)	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
113	OM (113K) • 113K: <i>Chwalcie, O Słudzy Boży</i>	No	No (p.29-30)	Possibly (to be set to its "ordinary melody")? Also can be set to melody of Psalm 70	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 112)
114	***(not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
115	OM (115K) • 115K: <i>Nie Nam, Nasz Panie, Stworzeniu Podłemu</i>	No	Yes (p.282-283; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 115K)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 28)
116	BM (116K = 33K, which = 26K) • 116K: <i>Mam Przecz Pana Miłować, Który Z Łaski Swojej</i> = 33K (<i>Pana Sercem Wesołym Wspomienście, Cnotliwi</i>) = 26K (<i>Panie, Uczyn Sąd O Mnie</i>)	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
117	OM (117K) • 117K: <i>Wszelki Naród, Wszelkie Plemię</i>	No	Yes (p. 34; <i>HS</i> = <i>PNKD</i> , 117K)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
118	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	No	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 11)

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
119	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.130-131)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 38)/No/(= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 7)/(= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 32)No/No
120	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	No	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
121	BM (121K = 26U, which = 3K); OM (121U) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 121K: <i>Człowiek Ja Nieszczęśliwy, Człowiek Strapiony = 26U (Sądź Mię A Użyysz Mię Niewinność Moją) = 3K (Mocny Boże, Jakoż Ich Wiele Powstało)</i> • 121U: <i>Na Wysokość Gór</i> 	Yes (<i>GP = PNKD</i> , 121U)	Yes (p.296; <i>HS = PNKD</i> , 121U)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 26. Can also be set to <i>Wzdawaymysz Wierni Chwale</i>	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 12)
122	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	*** melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
123	BM (123U = Song <i>Wieczny Boże Z Wysokości</i>); OM (123K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 123U: <i>Panie Który Mieszkaś Na Niebie = Song Wieczny Boże Z Wysokości</i> • 123K: <i>Boże, Który Mieszkaś Nad Wszystkimi Nieby</i> 	No	No (p.268, uses melody of Psalm 77, which uses melody of Psalm 86)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
124	OM (x2 = 124U; and 124K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 124U: <i>Czasu Tej Naszej Przygody</i> • 124K: <i>By Był Pan Nie Tak Łaskaw Na Nasze Zdrowie</i> 	No	Yes (p.247, as referenced on page 337; <i>HS = PNKD</i> , 124U)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	Yes (<i>PDOŚ = PNKD 124U</i>)
125	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.199-200)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 12)
126	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
127	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	No (p.204-205, melodic contour is similar to that of <i>HS</i> , but melodies are not identical)	Possibly (asks for "the old melody")? Version missing in <i>PNKD (1625)</i>	Yes (127 = <i>PDOŚ</i> 3, which = <i>PNKD</i> , 1K)
128	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.182-183)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 17)
129	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 16)
130	BM (130K = 100?) • 130K: <i>W Troskach Głębokich Ponurzony</i> = 100U (<i>Krzyknice Ludzkie Pokolenia</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.253-254, but listed there as Psalm 70; also p.364)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
131	<p>BM (2x: 131U = 3L, which =1K; and 131K = 3L, which =1K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 131U: <i>Wieczny Boże, Nie Najdziesz Pychy W Sercu Moim</i> = 3L (<i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i>) = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>) • 131K: <i>Panie Kiedy Cię O W Swej Potrzebie Proszę</i> = 3L (<i>Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest</i>) = 1K (<i>Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był</i>) 	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.136, but listed there as Psalm 100; referenced on page 226)	Yes (<i>Katechizm = PNKD = Psalm 3</i>)	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 1)
132	***(<i>not in PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	***(<i>not in Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
133	<p>BM (2x: 133U = 1L; and 133K = 8K)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 133U: <i>Otoć Pięknie Gdzie Bracia We Zgodzie Mieszkają</i> = 1L (<i>Błogosławiony Człowiek Co Się Tak Sprawuje</i>) • 133K: <i>Jako Rzecz Piękna, Jako Rzecz Przyjemna</i> = 8K (<i>Wszchemocny Panie, Wiekuisty Boże</i>) 	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 8	No
134	<p>BM (134K = 25K); OM (134U)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 134U: <i>Teraz Pana Wysławiajcie</i> • 134K: <i>Teraz, O Wierni Pańscy Służebnicy</i> = 25K (<i>Do Ciebie, Panie, Wzdycha Serce Moje</i>) 	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.13)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
135	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.93-94)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 18)

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
136	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	No (mentioned on page 27 and 187, but melody not found in HS)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 34)
137	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	*** melody not found in HS ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
138	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.89-90)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
139	BM (139U = 3L, which = 1K); OM (139K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 139K: <i>Tobie, Rządźca Niebieski, Tobie, Mój Boże</i> • 139U: <i>Panie Któryś Sam Jedyny Błogosławy = 3L (Panie Jak Ich Wiele Jest) = 1K (Szczęśliwy Który Nie Był)</i> 	No	*** melody not found in HS ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 33)
140	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	*** melody not found in HS ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No
141	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>) ***	No	*** melody not found in HS ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>) ***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
142	BM (142K = 5K); OM (142U) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 142U: <i>Głos Mój Do Pana Swego Wznoszę</i> • 142K: <i>Pana Wołam, Pana Proszę = 5K (Przypuść, Panie, W Uszy Swoje)</i> 	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	Possibly. <i>Katechizm</i> does have its own melody for this Psalm, but it also gives the option of it being set to the "old melody"	No
143	BM (143K = 25K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 143K: <i>Wysłuchaj, Wieczny Boże, Prośby Moje = 25K (Do Ciebie, Panie, Wzdycha Serce Moje)</i> 	No (<i>GP = HS</i>)	No (<i>GP = HS</i> , p.158-159)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
144	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 92)
145	OM (145K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 145K: <i>Ciebie Chwałę, Boże Mój, Imieniowi Twemu</i> 	No	***melody not found in <i>HS</i> ***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

Table 14 (cont'd)

Psalm #	<i>PNKD (1625)</i> - own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both	Melody found in the <i>Genevan Psalter (1562)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Herzliches Saytenspiel (1657)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>Katechizm (1603)</i> ?	Melody found in <i>PDOŚ (1558)</i> ?
146	BM (146K = 71U); OM (146U) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 146U: <i>Chwał Duszo Moja, Pana</i> • 146K: <i>Ciebie, Nieśmiertelny Panie = 71U (W Tobie Mój Wszchemocny Panie)</i> 	Yes, with some variation (GP = <i>PNKD</i> , 146U)	No (p.43, uses melody of 103)	Possibly? Text matches version in <i>PNKD</i> that asks for the melody of Psalm 71. Can also be set to Song <i>Bog Gdy Niebo Zmieni</i>	No (= <i>PDOŚ</i> Psalm 92)
147	OM (x2 = 147U; 147K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 147U: <i>Dawajcie Chwałę Panu Naszemu</i> • 147K: <i>Chwalcie Pana! Godno Dać Cześć Panu Temu</i> 	No	No (p.21-22)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
148	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No (GP = HS)	No (GP = HS, p.24-25)	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
149	*** (not in <i>PNKD</i>)***	No	***melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No
150	OM (150K) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 150K: <i>Chwalcie Pana Z Jego Świątobliwości</i> 	No	***melody not found in HS***	*** (not in <i>Katechizm</i>)***	No

APPENDIX 3 – Details Regarding the Melodic Settings of the Texts of the Pious Songs in *PNKD*.

Table 15 - Details Regarding the Melodic Settings of the Texts of the Pious Songs in *PNKD*.

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
<i>Songs about the Word of God and his blessings</i>	
Pieśń o dobrodziejstwach Bożych duchownych [A Song about the blessings of God's spirit], A1r • <i>Ku Czci Bogu Naszemu Wszyscy Zaśpiewajmy</i>	BM (= 146U)
I. Prośba do Boga sposobność do chwalenia jego [A petition to God for an opportunity to praise him], A2v • <i>Boże Święty I Łaskawy Któryś Dla Swej Wiecznej Sławy</i>	BM (= 90K)
II. Prośba do Boga sposobność do chwalenia jego [A petition to God for an opportunity to praise him], A3v • <i>Twoja Chwała Święty Boże</i>	OM (<i>Twoja Chwała Święty Boże</i>)
I. Dziękowanie Bogu za objawienie prawdy jego [Thanking God for revealing his truth], A4r • <i>Owa Czas, Boże, Przyszedł Požadany</i>	BM (= 85K, which = 16K)
II. Dziękowanie Bogu za objawienie prawdy jego [Thanking God for revealing his truth], A6r • <i>Dziękic Czynimy Serdeczne, Boże</i>	OM (<i>Dziękic Czynimy Serdeczne, Boże</i>)
III. Dziękowanie Bogu za objawienie prawdy jego [Thanking God for revealing his truth], A7r • <i>Ochotnym Sercem Ciebie Panie Wysławiamy</i>	OM (<i>Ochotnym Sercem Ciebie Panie Wysławiamy</i>)
I. Prośba o stateczność przy prawdzie [A request for stability through the truth], A8v • <i>Boże Któryś Nas Lud Swój Z Łaski Umiłował</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
II. Prośba o stateczność przy prawdzie [A request for stability through the truth], A10r • <i>Panie Boże Wszechmogący</i>	BM (= Song <i>Kto Żywi Powietrzne Ptaki</i> , which = <i>Twoja Chwała</i> ; incorrectly labelled as Psalm 81)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
I. Prośba do Boga o pomnożenie chwały jego [A plea to God to multiply his glory], A11r • <i>Boże Nasz, Któryś Jest W Niebie</i>	BM (= 90K)
II. Prośba do Boga o pomnożenie chwały jego [A plea to God to multiply his glory], A12r • <i>Codziennieś Jest Tego Panie</i>	BM (= 39K)
Pobudka do chwaleń Boga [A wake up call to praise God], A13r • <i>Zgotujmy Serca, Boży Miłośnicy</i>	BM (= 95K)
Prośba do Boga o sposobność słuchania słowa jego [A plea to God for an opportunity to hear his word], A15r • <i>Ojczy Nasz, Któryś Z Łaski Swej Nas Umiłował</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
Prośba do Boga o sposobność słuchania słowa jego [A plea to God for an opportunity to hear his word], A16v • <i>Oto My Ludy Twój, Ojczy</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
Prośba do Boga o bron czasu wszelkiej przygody [A plea to God for protection at the time of any adventure], A17r • <i>Krzyczym Ku Tobie, Wieczny Miły Panie</i>	OM (<i>Krzyczym Ku Tobie, Wieczny Miły Panie</i>)
Prośba do Boga o ratunek czasu przygody [A plea to God for salvation at the time of adventure], A19r • <i>Boże Który Wiesz Wszystkę Myśl Serca Naszego</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
Dziękowanie Bogu za dary jego docześnie prośba o dalsze ich użyczenie [Thanking God for his mundane/material/worldly gifts, asking for their further bestowing], A20r • <i>Święte Jest, Wieczny Boże, Twoje Miano</i>	OM (<i>Święte Jest, Wieczny Boże, Twoje Miano</i>)
Pieśń nabożna/jako człowiek Chrystiański światem ma pogardzać [Pious Song / as a Christian man, one has to despise the world], B1v • <i>Czemu Się Duszo Frasujesz</i>	OM (<i>Czemu Się Duszo Frasujesz</i>)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
Pieśń z podziękowaniem za dobrodziejstwa Pańskie [A Song of thanks for the blessings of the Lord], B3r • <i>Czego Chcesz Po Nas Panie Za Twe Hojne Dary</i>	OM (<i>Czego Chcesz Po Nas Panie Za Twe Hojne Dary</i>)
Dziękczynienie/za dobrodziejstwa Boże/z uważeniem naszej powinności ku niemu [Thanksgiving / for God's blessings / with attention to our duty to him], B4v • <i>Ciebie Wiekuisty Boże</i>	BM (= 14K)
<i>Songs about Christ</i>	
Pieśń o dobroci Boskiej pana Chrystusowej [Song of the Divine Goodness of the Lord [Jesus] Christ], B5v • <i>Chwalcie Pana Jezusa Z Mocy I Litości</i>	OM (<i>Chwalcie Pana Jezusa Z Mocy I Litości</i>)
Pieśń o zacności Pana Chrystusowej [A Song about the honor of the Lord Christ], B8v • <i>Zacznicie Nową Królowi</i>	BM (= Psalm 96K)
Wychwalanie Pana Chrystusa za jego dobrodziejstwa [Praise the Lord Christ for His blessings], B11r • <i>Nową Pieśń, Panie Jezu, Tobie Gotujemy</i>	BM (= 146U)
I. Pobudka ku chwaleniu Pana Chrystusa [A wake up call to praise the Lord Christ], B11v • <i>Serca Nam Każą Śpiewać Panu Naszemu</i>	BM (= 26U, which = 3K)
II. Pobudka ku chwaleniu Pana Chrystusa [A wake up call to praise the Lord Christ], B12r • <i>Chwalmyśz Wszyscy Pana Swojego</i>	BM (= 100U)
III. Pobudka ku chwaleniu Pana Chrystusa [A wake up call to praise the Lord Christ], B12v • <i>Teraz, Wszyscy Pańscy Służebnicy</i>	BM (= 100K)
Pieśń o opatrności Pana Chrystusowej nad zborem ich [A Song about the providence of the Lord Christ over His congregation], B13v • <i>O, Wierny Boży Ukochani</i>	BM (100U)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
Piosenka o staraniu Pana Chrystusowym o lud swój [A Song about the Lord Christ's efforts for his people], B15r • <i>Jak Nas Pan Woła Do Siebie</i>	BM (= 71U)
I. Pobudka do uważenia śmierci Pana Chrystusowej [A wake-up call to “give importance/take note of” the death of the Lord Christ], B16v • <i>Wszystkich Narodów Ziemi Do Siebie Wzywamy</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5; or 50U; or 43U, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 63)
II. Pobudka do uważenia śmierci Pana Chrystusowej [A wake-up call to “give importance/take note of” the death of the Lord Christ], B19r • <i>Oddalmy Myśli Nasze Od Wszelkiej Proźności</i>	BM (= 1L; or = 145K)
I. Piosenka o wieczerzy Pańskiej [A Song about the Lord's Supper], B20r • <i>Dziwne Są Sprawy Boże I Pełne Mądrości</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
II. Piosenka o wieczerzy Pańskiej [A Song about the Lord's Supper], C1r • <i>Dziś Za Stół Pański Społecznie Zasiadać</i>	BM (= 16K)
III. Piosenka o wieczerzy Pańskiej [A Song about the Lord's Supper], C2r • <i>Nuż Teraz Wszyscy Społecznie Z Dziękami Przypomniemy</i>	BM (= 42U)
I. Piosenka po wieczerzy Pańskiej [A Song after tge Lord's Supper], C3v • <i>Godzienieś Jezu Nasz Panie</i>	OM (<i>Godzienieś Jezu Nasz Panie</i>)
II. Piosenka po wieczerzy Pańskiej [A Song after tge Lord's Supper], C5r • <i>O, Panie Jezu, Pasterzu Prawdziwy</i>	BM (= 16K)
<i>Songs about Christian life</i>	
I. Pieśń o zmartwychwstaniu Pana Chrystusowym [Song about the resurrection of the Lord Christ], C5r • <i>O Swej Poczecie Prawej Zaśpiewajmy</i>	BM (= 50K)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
II. Pieśń o zmartwychwstaniu Pana Chrystusowym [Song about the resurrection of the Lord Christ], C7r • <i>Śluchajcie, Wierna To Mowa</i>	BM (= 71U)
O przyjsciu Pana Chrystusowym [About the coming of the Lord Christ], C8r • <i>Niech Słucha Kto Ma Uszy Ku Słuchaniu</i>	OM (<i>Niech Słucha Kto Ma Uszy Ku Słuchaniu</i>)
Pieśń o przyszłym Królestwie Bożym [Song about the future Kingdom of God], C10r • <i>Weselcie Się, Weselcie W Panu Swoim Wszyscy</i>	BM (= 146U); or OM (<i>Weselcie Się, Weselcie W Panu Swoim Wszyscy</i>)
I. Pieśń o żywocie Chrystiańskim [A Song about the Christian Life], C12r • <i>Pan Bóg, Który Się Z Nieba Tak Łaskawym Stawił</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
II. Pieśń o żywocie Chrystiańskim [A Song about the Christian Life], C15r • <i>Wszyscy Którzy Do Tego Jedynie Zmierzamy</i>	BM (= 1L)
III. Pieśń o żywocie Chrystiańskim [A Song about the Christian Life], C16r • <i>Kto Pragnie Bogu Służyć Żywiąc W Pobożności</i>	OM (<i>Kto Pragnie Bogu Służyć Żywiąc W Pobożności</i>)
O drodze ciasnej do zbawienia [About the narrow road to salvation], C18v • <i>Ktokolwiek Bogu Swemu Służyć Się Gotuje</i>	BM (= 1L)
Pieśń z której się zamyka napominanie ku cierpliwości w krzyżu [A Song which closes with an exhortation about endurance on the cross], C19v • <i>O Wierny Prawdę Bożą Z Serca Miłujący</i>	BM (= 1L)
<i>Daily Prayers (Lord's Prayer, morning and evening prayers)</i>	
I. Pieśń na Modlitwę Pańską [Song for the Lord's Prayer], D2r • <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [a]</i>	OM (<i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [a]</i>)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
II. Pieśń na Modlitwę Pańską [Song for the Lord's Prayer], D3v • <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [b]</i>	BM (= Song <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [a]</i>); or OM (<i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [b]</i>)
III. Pieśń na Modlitwę Pańską [Song for the Lord's Prayer], D4v • <i>Ojcze Nasz Który Mieszka Na Niebie Wysokim</i>	BM (= Song <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [a]</i>)
IV. Pieśń na Modlitwę Pańską [Song for the Lord's Prayer], D5v • <i>Prosim Cię Który Mieszka Na Wysokim Niebie</i>	BM (= Song <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [a]</i>)
V. Pieśń na Modlitwę Pańską [Song for the Lord's Prayer], D6v • <i>Modlimy Się Ojcu Swemu W Pokorze I W Cichość</i>	OM (<i>Modlimy Się Ojcu Swemu W Pokorze I W Cichości</i>)
Pieśń z rozdziału piątego proroka Izajasza/o pomście Bożej nad upornymi [Song from chapter five of the prophet Isaiah / about divine avenger on the abusive], D9r • <i>Zaśpiewamy Społecznie Panu Bogu Swemu</i>	OM (<i>Zaśpiewamy Społecznie Panu Bogu Swemu</i>)
<i>Pieśń Na Psalm 131</i> [Song for Psalm 131], D10v • <i>Ktoż Lepiej Wiedzieć Może</i>	BM (= 131U and 131K, both of which = 3L, which = 1K)
I. Pieśń poranna [Morning Song], D12r • <i>Tobie, Boże Łaskawy, Spólnie Się Klaniamy</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
II. Pieśń poranna [Morning Song], D13r • <i>Ciebie, Ojcze, Wystawiamy</i>	BM (= Song <i>Ojcze Nasz Któryś W Niebie [b]</i>); or Song <i>Wieczny Boże</i>)
III. Pieśń poranna [Morning Song], D13v • <i>Boże Nasz, Ciebie Sławimy</i>	BM (= 121U)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
IV. Pieśń poranna [Morning Song], D14r • <i>Wieczny Boże</i>	BM (= Song <i>Ojciec Nasz Któryś W Niebie [b]</i>)
I. Pieśń wieczorna [Evening Song], D15r • <i>Boże Się Który Wszystkim Stawiasz Miłosiernym</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
II. Pieśń wieczorna [Evening Song], D16r • <i>Już Dzień Dzisiejszy Mija</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
III. Pieśń wieczorna [Evening Song], D16v • <i>Boże, Który Zawsze Czujesz</i>	BM (= 71U, incorrectly labelled as Song <i>W Tobie Mój Wszech</i>)
IV. Pieśń wieczorna [Evening Song], D17r • <i>Już Znowu Noc Zastępuje</i>	BM (= Song <i>Wieczny Boże</i>)
V. Pieśń wieczorna [Evening Song], D17v • <i>Już Się Wieczór Przybliżył</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
I. Dziękowanie po jedzeniu [Thanking after eating/thanking for the food], D18r [labelled as D17r in <i>PNKD</i>] • <i>Na Cię, Boże Łaskawych, Wszech Oczy Patrząc</i>	BM (= 146U; or Song <i>Boże Co Żywisz Kruki</i>)
II. Dziękowanie po jedzeniu [Thanking after eating/thanking for the food], D18v [labelled as D17v in <i>PNKD</i>] • <i>Dziękuję, Ojciec Nasz, Czynimy</i>	BM (= Song <i>Kto Żywi Powietrzne Ptaki</i> , which = <i>Twoja Chwała</i>)
III. Dziękowanie po jedzeniu [Thanking after eating/thanking for the food], D19r • <i>Chwalcie Pana, Bo On Jest Dobrotliwy</i>	BM (= Song <i>Święte Jest Wieczny</i>)
IV. Dziękowanie po jedzeniu [Thanking after eating/thanking for the food], D19v • <i>Kto Żywi Powietrzne Ptaki</i>	BM (= Song <i>Twoja Chwała</i>)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
V. Dziękowanie po jedzeniu [Thanking after eating/thanking for the food], D20r • <i>Panu Bogu Wszemocnemu Dziękujemy W Radości</i>	OM (<i>Panu Bogu Wszemocnemu Dziękujemy W Radości</i>)
VI. Dziękowanie po jedzeniu [Thanking after eating/thanking for the food], D20v • <i>Daleś Chleba Z Potrzebę</i>	BM (= Song <i>Boże Co Żywisz Kruki</i> ; or = Psalm 146U)
VII. Dziękowanie po jedzeniu [Thanking after eating/thanking for the food], E1r • <i>Tobie Cześć, Tobie Chwała</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 5)
<i>Songs for the end of the service</i>	
Prośba do Boga o pożywienie [Asking God for food/nourishment], E1v • <i>Boże Co Żywisz Kruki</i>	OM (<i>Boże Co Żywisz Kruki</i>)
I. Piosenka po słuchaniu Słowa Bożego [A Song for after listening to the Word of God], E2v • <i>Tobie, O Boże Świąty Chwałę Oddawamy</i>	BM (= 67L)
II. Piosenka po słuchaniu Słowa Bożego [A Song for after listening to the Word of God], E3r • <i>Błogosław, Boże Świąty, Miłosierny Panie</i>	BM (= 67L)
III. Piosenka po słuchaniu Słowa Bożego [A Song for after listening to the Word of God], E3r • <i>Chwalimy Cię Świąty Panie</i>	BM (= 90K)
IV. Piosenka po słuchaniu Słowa Bożego [A Song for after listening to the Word of God], E3v • <i>Boże Który Nam Nieba Życzy</i>	BM (= 100U)
V. Piosenka po słuchaniu Słowa Bożego [A Song for after listening to the Word of God], E3v • <i>Tobie Dziękę Czynimy</i>	BM (= 67L)
VI. Piosenka po słuchaniu Słowa Bożego [A Song for after listening to the Word of God], E4r • <i>Ciebie, Boże, Wysławiamy</i>	BM (= 117K)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
VII. Piosenka po słuchaniu Słowa Bożego [A Song for after listening to the Word of God], E4r • <i>Bogu Chwała Bądź Za Tę Godzinę</i>	BM (= 100K)
VIII. Piosenka po słuchaniu Słowa Bożego [A Song for after listening to the Word of God], E4v • <i>Królu Wieczny, Zbawicielu Prawy</i>	BM (= 100K)
XI. Piosenka po słuchaniu Słowa Bożego [A Song for after listening to the Word of God], E4v • <i>Błogosławieństwa Świętego</i>	BM (= Song <i>Kto Żywi Powietrzne Ptaki</i> , which = <i>Twoja Chwała</i>)
I. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E5r • <i>Bogu Wszchemocnemu Panu Wszystkich Rzeczy Monarze Wielkiemu</i>	OM (<i>Bogu Wszchemocnemu Panu Wszystkich Rzeczy Monarze Wielkiemu</i>)
II. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E5v • <i>Tobie, Ojczy Nasz, Bogu Nad Wsze Bogi</i>	BM (= 8K; or 16K)
III. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E6r • <i>Ciebie, Boże Nasz, Chwalimy Za Twe Święte Dary</i>	BM (= 121U)
IV. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E6r • <i>Jezu Panie Miłościwy</i>	BM (= 121U)
V. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E6v • <i>Bądź Pochwalony Na Wieki Boże</i>	BM (= 23K)
VI. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E6v • <i>Tobie Jezu Chryste Panie</i>	BM (= Song <i>Kto Żywi Powietrzne Ptaki</i> , which = <i>Twoja Chwała</i>)
VII. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E7r • <i>Wysłuchaj Nas, Prosimy</i>	BM (= 1L)
VIII. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E7v • <i>Daj Nam Panie Miłościwy</i>	OM (<i>Daj Nam Panie Miłościwy</i>)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
IX. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E8r • <i>Królowi Nad Wszemi Króli A Panu Nad Pany</i>	OM (<i>Królowi Nad Wszemi Króli A Panu Nad Pany</i>)
X. Na zamknięcie [For the closure of the service], E8v • <i>Panu Bogu Najwyższego Jakże Jego Barankowi</i>	OM (<i>Panu Bogu Najwyższego Jakże Jego Barankowi</i>)
Dziękowanie Bogu za objawienie zbawienia [Thanking God for the revelation of salvation], E9r • <i>Chwalmy Boga Nabożnie Z Serca Prawego</i>	BM (= 26U, which = 3K)
Dziękowanie Panu Jezusowi [Thanking the Lord Christ], E9v • <i>Jezu, Panie Drogi</i>	BM (= 70K)
Piosenka o szczęśliwości ludzi pobożnych [A Song about the happiness of pious/devout people], E10v • <i>Szczęśliwy Człowiek Prawdziwie</i>	BM (= 112K, which = 46K or = 90K)
Prośba do Pana Jezusa czasu utrapienia [A plea to the Lord Jesus in the time of trouble], E11v • <i>Panie Jezu, Święty Panie</i>	BM (= 112K, which = 46K or = 90K)
Pobudka ku wychwalaniu [A wake-up call to praise], E12r • <i>Chwalcie Pana Z Jego Ku Nam Miłości</i>	BM (= 150K)
Na zamknięcie (XI) [For the closure of the service], E12v • <i>Chwała Niech Będzie Bogu</i>	BM (= 1K or 1L, since authors do not specify which version ought to be used)
Prośba do Boga czasu trwog [A plea to God in times of trouble/fear], E13r • <i>Twój To Głos, Boże Święty</i>	BM (= 1K or 1L, since authors do not specify which version ought to be used)
Prośba druga do P. Jezusa [A second plea to the Lord Jesus], E13v • <i>Jezu, Panie Nasz Łaskawy</i>	BM (= 5K)

Table 15 (cont'd)

Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #	Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both
Prośba do Boga za wszystkie ludzi [A petition to God for all people], E14r • <i>Ku Tobie, Boże, Głosy Swe Dzwigami</i>	BM (= 16K)
I. Na zamknięcie (XII) [For the closure of the service], E15r • <i>Ciebie Lud Twój, Ojczy Nasz, Serdecznie Wzywamy</i>	BM (= 1K or 1L, since authors do not specify which version ought to be used)
II. Na zamknięcie (XIII) [For the closure of the service], E15r • <i>Ozów Się Nam, Jezu Panie</i>	BM (= 121K, which = 26U, which = 3K; or 121?, since authors do not specify which version ought to be used)
III. Na zamknięcie (XIV) [For the closure of the service], E15r • <i>Ciebie, Boże, Za Wszystko Pochwalamy</i>	BM (= Song <i>Święte Jest Wieczny</i>)
IV. Na zamknięcie (XV) [For the closure of the service], E15 • <i>Okaż Nad Nami, Boże, Znak Twojej Litości</i>	BM (= 67K, which = 3L, which = 1K; or 67L, since authors do not specify which version ought to be used)
Dziękowanie pierwszy. Bogu za uspokojenie trwog [First thanking. to God for silencing fear/calming troubles], E15v • <i>Mamy Przecz Boga Chwalić</i>	BM (= 116K, which = 33K, which = 26K)
Dziękowanie drugi Panu Jezusowi [Second thanking. to the Lord Jesus], E16v • <i>Z Wdzięcznością, Panie</i>	BM (= 43U or 43K, since authors do not specify which version ought to be used)

Table 15 (cont'd)

<p>Pious Song in <i>PNKD</i> (1625) [translation], page #</p>	<p>Own melody (OM); borrowed melody (BM); or both</p>
<p>Dziękowanie trzeci. Panu Jezusowi [Third thanking. to the Lord Jesus], E17r • <i>Pan Wielmożny, Bóg Prawdziwy</i></p>	<p>BM (= 46K)</p>
<p>I. Na zamknięcie (XVI) [For the closure of the service], E18r • <i>Dzięka Bogu Za Opatrzność Jego</i></p>	<p>BM (= 100U or 100K, since authors do not specify which version ought to be used)</p>

APPENDIX 4 – Where and How is Psalm 3L Quoted in *PNKD*.

Table 16 - Where and How is Psalm 3L Quoted in *PNKD*.

Psalm # or Song [page #]	How is Psalm 3L quoted? Directly or Indirectly	Psalm # or Song [page #] <i>(continued)</i>	How is Psalm 3L quoted? Directly or Indirectly <i>(continued)</i>
Psalm 4	BM (4K = 3L, which = 1K)	Prośba do Boga o sposobność słuchania słowa jego [A plea to God for an opportunity to hear his word], A16v • <i>Oto My Ludy Twój, Ojczy</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)
Psalm 6	BM (2x: 6? = 3L, which = 1K; and 6K = 3L, which = 1K)	Prośba do Boga o ratunek czasu przygody [A plea to God for salvation at the time of adventure], A19r • <i>Boże Który Wiesz Wszystkę Myśl Serca Naszego</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)
Psalm 12	BM (12K = 3L, which = 1K)	I. Pobudka do uważenia śmierci Pana Chrystusowej [A wake-up call to “give importance/take note of” the death of the Lord Christ], B16v • <i>Wszystkich Narodów Ziemskich Do Siebie Wzywamy</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K; or 50?; or 43?, incorrectly labelled as Psalm 63)

Table 16 (cont'd)

Psalm # or Song [page #]	How is Psalm 3L quoted? Directly or Indirectly	Psalm # or Song [page #] (continued)	How is Psalm 3L quoted? Directly or Indirectly (continued)
Psalm 13	BM (13K = 3L, which = 1K)	I. Piosenka o wieczerzy Pańskiej [A Song about the Lord's Supper], B20r • <i>Dziwne Są Sprawy Boże I Pełne Mądrości</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)
Psalm 15	BM (15L = 3L, which = 1K)	I. Pieśń o żywocie Chrystiańskim [A Song about the Christian Life], C12r • <i>Pan Bóg, Który Się Z Nieba Tak Łaskawym Stawił</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)
Psalm 31	BM (31K = 3L, which = 1K)	<i>Pieśń Na Psalm 131</i> [Song for Psalm 131], D10v • <i>Ktoż Lepiej Wiedzieć Może</i>	BM (= 131U and 131K, both of which = 3L, which = 1K)
Psalm 67	BM (67K = 3L, which = 1K)	I. Pieśń poranna [Morning Song], D12r • <i>Tobie, Boże Łaskawy, Spólnie Się Kłaniamy</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)
Psalm 71	BM (71K = 3L, which = 1K)	I. Pieśń wieczorna [Evening Song], D15r • <i>Boże Się Który Wszystkim Stawiasz Miłosiernym</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)
Psalm 91	BM (91? = 3L, which = 1K)	II. Pieśń wieczorna [Evening Song], D16r • <i>Już Dzień Dzisiejszy Mija</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)

Table 16 (cont'd)

Psalm # or Song [page #]	How is Psalm 3L quoted? Directly or Indirectly	Psalm # or Song [page #] <i>(continued)</i>	How is Psalm 3L quoted? Directly or Indirectly <i>(continued)</i>
Psalm 131	BM (2x: 131U = 3L, which =1K; and 131K = 3L, which =1K)	V. Pieśń wieczorna [Evening Song], D17v • <i>Już Się Wieczór Przybliżył</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)
Psalm 139	BM (139? = 3L, which = 1K)	VII. Dziękowanie po jedzeniu [Thanking after eating/thanking for the food], E1r • <i>Tobie Cześć, Tobie Chwała</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)
I. Prośba o stateczność przy prawdzie [A request for stability through the truth], A8v • <i>Boże Któryś Nas Lud Swój Z Łaski Umiłował</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)	IV. Na zamknięcie (XV) [For the closure of the service], E15 • <i>Okaż Nad Nami, Boże, Znak Twojej Litości</i>	BM (= 67K, which = 3L, which = 1K; or 67L, since authors do not specify which version ought to be used)
Prośba do Boga o sposobność słuchania słowa jego [A plea to God for an opportunity to hear his word], A15r • <i>Ojcze Nasz, Któryś Z Łaski Swej Nas Umiłował</i>	BM (= 3L, which = 1K)	III. Na zamknięcie (XVIII) [For the closure of the service], E18r • <i>Tobie, Ojcze Nasz Święty, Bogu Wszelkiej Zgody</i>	BM (= 67K, which = 3L, which = 1K; or 67L, since authors do not specify which version ought to be used)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

Bock, Friedrich Samuel. *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum quorum auctores, promotores, cœtus, templa, ministri, praeceptores, officinae typographicae, bibliothecae, colloquia, synodi, sectae, pacificationes, studia irenica, indoles, disputationes, fata prospera et adversa, scripta typis expressa pariter atque inedita, nec non opera illis opposita, ex fontibus, magnamque partem monumentis et documentis mssctis recesentur. Tomi Primi, Pars I.* Regiomonti et Lipsiae, Impresis Gott. Lebr. Hartungii, 1774. *Google Books*. Accessed January 22, 2022.
https://www.google.com/books/edition/Friderici_Samuelis_Bock_Historia_antitri/pXY9AAAAAJ.

_____. *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum quorum auctores, promotores, cœtus, templa, ministri, praeceptores, officinae typographicae, bibliothecae, colloquia, synodi, sectae, pacificationes, studia irenica, indoles, disputationes, fata prospera et adversa, scripta typis expressa pariter atque inedita, nec non opera illis opposita, ex fontibus, magnamque partem monumentis et documentis mssctis recesentur. Tomi Primi, Pars II.* Regiomonti et Lipsiae, Impresis Gott. Lebr. Hartungii, 1776. *Google Books*. Accessed January 22, 2022.
https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/3spbAAAacAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0.

_____. *Historia Antitrinitariorum et Socinianorum ex fontibus magnamque partem documentis mssctis. Tomus Secundus.* Regiomonti et Lipsiae, Impresis Gott. Lebr. Hartungii, 1784. *Google Books*. Accessed January 22, 2022.
https://www.google.com/books/edition/Historia_antitrinitariorum_maxime_socini/Moex1DvuQN0C?hl.

Kochanowski, Jan. *Psalterz Dawidow. Przekładania Jana Kochanowskiego.* W Krakowie: w drukarni Lazarzowey, roku Pańskiego 1601.

Kraiński, Krzysztof. *Katechizm: to iest Nauka krotka Wiary Krześciańskiej.* Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1609. *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021.
<https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/38411/edition/55440>.

_____. *Katechizm z naukami y z pieśniami y z modlitwami Kościoła powszechnego [...] przez Krzysztofa Kraińskiego [...]. powtórę spisany y wydany, ktemu na wielu mieyscach rozszerzony y poprawiony [...] za rewidowaniem Superintendentow w mat. synodów prowincjalnych Włodzisławskiego y Ożarówskiego wydany na iawię.* Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1603. *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021.
<https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/515888/edition/481804>.

- _____. *Katechizm z naukami z pieśniami z modlitwami kościoła powszechnego apostołskiego [...] przez X. Krzysztofa Kraińskiego*. Raków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1624. *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/419435/edition/334780>.
- Lubieniecki, Stanisław, and George Huntston Williams. *History of the Polish Reformation: and nine related documents*. Translated by George Huntston Williams. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995.
- Marot, Clément, and Théodore de Bèze. *Les pseumes de David, mis en rime françoise par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze*. Par Iean Riury, 1565. Accessed April 10, 2022. https://publications.cedarville.edu/bhg/sing_to_the_lord/genevan_psalter/.
- Oleśnicka, Zofia. *Pieśń nowa w ktorey iest dziękowanie Panu Bogu wssechmogącemu, że malutkim a prostakom raczył obiawić tajemnice krolestwa swego*. W Krakowie : Matheusz Syebeneicher, 1558. Accessed March 28, 2022. <https://polona.pl/item/piesn-nowa-w-ktorey-iest-dziekowanie-panu-bogu-wssechmogacemu-ze-malutkim-a-prostakom,MTE3MDM3NA/3/#info:metadata>.
- Preuss, Johann. *Herzliches Saytenspiel oder Geistreiche und Schriftmassige Lieder*. Druckte es Erasmus Roßner zu Franckfurt an der Oder, 1657. *Bibliotheca Strahoviensis*.
- Psalmy Dawidowe z Ewngelią Pana Christusovwą zgodne, do których są przyłączone Piesni pobożne, z pism svwiętych wzięte*. Vv Rakowie, druk: Sebastyan Sternacki, roku 1620. *Polona*. Accessed December 20, 2021. <https://polona.pl/item/psalmy-dawidowe-z-ewngelia-pana-christusovva-zgodne-do-ktorych-sa-przylaczone-piesni,NTc0NzUwOA/5/#info:metadata>.
- Psalmy niektóre króla Dawida, Proroka Bożego, z Ewanielią Pana Christusową Zgodne. Do których są przyłączone pieśni pobożne, z pism świętych wzięte*. Drukował Seb. Sternacki/1625. *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/188838/edition/180364>.
- Psalterz Dawida onego Świętego, a wiecznej pamięci godnego Króla y Proroka: teraz nowo na piosneczki po Polsku przełożony, a według żydowskiego rozdziału na pieczoro ksiąg rozdzylony*. W Krakowie: drukowano u Mathysa Wirzbięty. Roku od wcielenia Syna Bożego, 1558. *Polona*. Accessed May 25, 2022. <https://polona.pl/item/psalterz-dawida-onego-swietego-a-wieczney-pamieci-godnego-krola-i-proroka-teraz-nowo-na,MTE2MzU0MDM/>.
- Rybiński, Maciej. *Psalterz Dawidow, przekładania X. Macieia Rybinskiego, na melodie psalmow francuskich, z argumentami X. Iana Turnowskiego [...] uczyniony. ; Teraz znowu [...] poprawiony y przedrukowany, z przydaniem na końcu kilku pieśni nabożnych*. W Rakowie, roku pańskiego 1624. *Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa*. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/534093/edition/447879>.

Sandius, Christopher. *Bibliotheca antitrinitariorum, sive Catalogus scriptorum et succincta narratio de vita eorum auctorum, qui praeterito & hoc seculo, vugo receptum dogma de tribus in unico Deo per omnia aequalibus personis vel impugnarunt, vel docuerunt solum Patrem D. N. J. Christi esse illum verum seu altissimum Deum*. Freistadii Apud Johannem Aconium, 1684. *Google Books*. Accessed January 18, 2022. <https://books.google.com/books?id=PHAlixttUkIC&pg=PP3#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

Books and Articles

Balázs, Mihály. "Antitrinitarianism". In *Reformation in Central Europe*, edited by Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock, 171-194. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Bellinger, Jr., W. H. "The Psalter as Theodicy Writ Large". In *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms : Conflict and Convergence*, edited by Susan Gillingham, 147-160. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Bradley, Catherine. *Polyphony in Medieval Paris: The Art of Composing with Plainchant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Bryćko, Dariusz M. *The Irenic Calvinism of Daniel Kalaj (d.1681)*. Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012.

Chmaj, Ludwik. *Studia Nad Arianizmem*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959.

Chomiński, Józef M., and Zofia Lissa. *Music of the Polish Renaissance*. Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1955.

Cynarski, Stanisław. *Ognisko arianizmu. Pod redakcją Stanisława Cynarskiego*. W Krakowie: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1968.

deClaissé-Walford, Nancy L. "On Translating the Poetry of the Psalms". In *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms : Conflict and Convergence*, edited by Susan Gillingham, 190-203. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Dürr-Durski, Jan. *Arianie polscy w świetle własnej poezji : zarys ideologii i wybór wierszy*. Warszawa: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictwo Szkolnych, 1948.

Fassler, Margot Elsbeth. *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Halecki, Oskar, and Tadeusz Gromada. *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East Central Europe*. Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1991.

Hewett, Phillip. *Racovia: an Early Liberal Religious Community*. Providence, Rhode Island: Blackstone Editions, 2004.

- Hossfeld Frank-Lothar, and Till Magnus Steiner. "Problems and Prospects in Psalter Studies." In *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms : Conflict and Convergence*. Edited by Susan Gillingham, 240-258. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Jędruch, Jacek. *Constitutions, Elections, and Legislatures of Poland, 1493-1993: A Guide to Their History*. New York: EJJ Books, 1998.
- Kawecka-Gryczowa, Alodia. *Ariańskie oficyny wydawnicze Rodeckiego i Sternackiego: dzieje i bibliografia * Les imprimeurs des antitrinitaires polonais Rodecki et Sternacki : histoire et bibliographie*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1974.
- _____. *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku. Zeszyt 6: Małopolska - Ziemie Ruskie*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1970.
- Knoll, Paul. W. "Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland: Political Realities and Social Constraints". In *Diversity and Dissent : Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500-1800*, edited by Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz A. J. Szabo, 30-52. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011.
- Kociumbas, Piotr. *Kancjonały luteranckiego Gdańska 1587-1810. Studium nad źródłami lokalnej niemieckiej pieśni kościelnej*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2017.
- Kratz, Reinhard G. "Die Tora Davids. Psalm 1 und die doxologische Fünfteilung des Psalters." *Zeitschrift Für Theologie Und Kirche* 93, no. 1 (1996): 1-34.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23585588>.
- Lakó, Elemér. *The Manuscripts of the Unitarian College of Cluj/Kolozsvár in the Library of the Academy in Cluj-Napoca: Indices*. Szeged: 1997.
- Leszczyński, Rafał Marcin. "The Brest Bible: trinitarian and Christological issues." *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 17, no.1 (May 2015): 82-96.
- Long, Sarah Ann. *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai, 1300-1550*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2021.
- Louthan, Howard, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz A. J. Szabo, eds. *Diversity and Dissent : Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500-1800*. Vol. 1st ed. Austrian and Habsburg Studies. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011.
- Louthan, Howard, and Graeme Murdock, eds. *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Nowakowska, Natalia. "Reform before Reform? Religious Currents in Central Europe, c. 1500". In *Reformation in Central Europe*, edited by Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock, 121-143. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

- Pietkiewicz, Rajmund. "Pismo Święte w języku polskim w latach 1518-1638. Sytuacja wyznaniowa w Polsce a rozwój edytorstwa biblijnego." PhD diss., Uniwersytet Wrocławski Wydział Filologiczny Instytut Bibliotekoznawstwa, 2003.
- Pluciennik, Jarosław. "Dyskurs reformacyjny w parafrazie Psalmu 110 Jana Kochanowskiego." In *Spadkobiercy Reformacji. Ewangelicy w Lublinie i na Lubelszczyźnie (Historia, kultura, ekonomia, literatura)*, edited by Grzegorz Brudny, Witold Matwiejczyk, Małgorzata Willaume, and Sławomir Jacek Żurek, 343-356. Lublin: owarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2017.
- Ptaszyński, Maciej. "The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth". In *Reformation in Central Europe*, edited by Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock, 40-67. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Seybold, Klaus. *Introducing the Psalms*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990.
- Siess-Krzyszowski, Stanisław. "Kalwiński Katechizm krakowski z kancjonałem – rekonstrukcja edycji." *Toruńskie studia bibliologiczne* 21, issue 2 (October 2018): 137-154.
- Trybulec, Ireneusz. "Bracia Poiscy i muzyka". *Ruch Muzyczny* 53, issue 8 (2009): 10-13.
- Tworek, Michael. "Education: The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth". In *Reformation in Central Europe*, edited by Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock, 359-389. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Wilbur, Earl Morse. *A History of Unitarianism. Socinianism and its Antecedents*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1945.
- _____. "Erasmianism in Poland: An Account of a Major, though Ever Diminishing, Current in Sixteenth-Century Polish Humanism and Religion, 1518-1605". *Polish Review* 22 (1977), 3-50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25777498>.
- Williams, George Huntston. *The Polish Brethren: Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora 1601-1685*. Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1980.
- Wiszniewski, Michał. *Historia literatury polskiej, tom 6*. W Krakowie: w drukarni uniwersyteckiej, 1844.

Videos

- Atkinson, Jay. "Polish Brethren & Unitarian Origins with Dr Jay Atkinson". September 6, 2019. Produced by Gateway to Archeology, video, 40:12. Accessed February 1, 2022. https://youtu.be/7Fs-F_viZzo

Grusiecki, Tomasz. “Tomasz Grusiecki, Ottomanisation as Europeanisation: Poland-Lithuania + the Search for a Shared Past”. February 27, 2020. Polish Studies Center, Indiana University, video of lecture, 01:27:56. Accessed February 1, 2022. https://youtu.be/D1PU1Mc_YxU

Obirek, Stanisław. “Teologia dla młodzieży - Herezja, czyli wolność wyboru cz. 2 - Bracia Polscy”. August 3, 2018. Theology for the Youth – Heresy, or Freedom of Choice, part 2, video, 10:16. Accessed February 1, 2022. <https://youtu.be/kEqHcTQxAml>

Websites

Polish Freedom. “The Legal Path of Polish Freedom - Akt konfederacji generalnej warszawskiej”. Polish Freedom. Accessed March 19, 2022. <https://polishfreedom.pl/dokument/konstytucja-nihil-novi>.

_____. “The Legal Path of Polish Freedom - Konstytucja nihil novi”. Polish Freedom. Accessed March 18, 2022. <https://polishfreedom.pl/dokument/konstytucja-nihil-novi>.

Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych. “III. Sejm |AGAD”. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych. Accessed March 18, 2022. https://agad.gov.pl/?page_id=1078.