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**Polish equivalents of Greek *ἐκκλησία* 'a (religious) congregation',  
*μετάνοια* 'repentance', *μετανοέω* 'to repent', *βάπτισμα* 'a dipping  
or sinking', *βαπτίζω* 'to dip, sink' in Renaissance Nontrinitarian  
renderings of the New Testament as lexical determinants  
of the confessional community of the Polish Brethren**

**Summary.** The presented distributional and contextual analysis of Polish equivalents of Greek lexemes, recognized in religious polemics of the Reformation era as doctrinally significant words, i.e. *ἐκκλησία* 'a (religious) congregation', *μετάνοια* 'repentance', *μετανοέω* 'to repent', *βάπτισμα* 'a dipping or sinking', *βαπτίζω* 'to dip, sink' in Renaissance renderings of the New Testament aims to assess lexical distinctiveness of Nontrinitarian renderings – the Szymon Budny's *Bible* (1572), the Szymon Budny's *New Testament* (1574), the Marcin Czechowicz's *New Testament* (1577), *The New Testament of Rakow* (1606).

The lexemes *zbor*, *zborowiy* (for Greek *ἐκκλησία*), *pokajanie*, *kajanie się* (for Greek *μετάνοια*), *kajać się*, *pokajać się* (for Greek *μετανοέω*), *ponurzenie*, *nurzenie* (for Greek *βάπτισμα*), *ponurzyć*, *nurzać* (for Greek *βαπτίζω*) should be considered as particular lexemes to the Renaissance Nontrinitarian renderings of the New Testament. Juxtaposing them with the equivalents introduced into the Renaissance renderings of both Catholic and Evangelical provenance allows to consider them as lexical exponents of the Nontrinitarian Unitarian, Anabaptist and Congregational doctrinal community.

These lexemes, as a result of the philological and exegetical investigations of the translators of the Greek New Testament, gain the status of nontitrinitarian religious terms.

**Keywords:** the community of the Polish Brethren, Renaissance Nontrinitarian renderings of the New Testament, lexical exponents of a doctrinal community, confessionalization of the biblical lexis

**Polskie ekwiwalenty greckich leksemów *ἐκκλησία* ‘społeczność wezwanych’,  
*μετάνοια* ‘nawrócenie’, *μετανοέω* ‘nawracać się’, *βάπτισμα* ‘obmycie’,  
*βαπτίζω* ‘obmywać’ w renesansowych antytrynitarских  
przekładach Nowego Testamentu jako leksykalne wyznaczniki  
wspólnoty konfesyjnej**

**Streszczenie.** Prezentowana analiza dystrybucyjno-kontekstowa polskich ekwiwalentów greckich leksemów, uznanych w polemikach religijnych doby reformacji za leksemy istotne doktrynalnie: *ἐκκλησία* ‘społeczność wezwanych’, *μετανοέω* ‘nawracać się’, *μετάνοια* ‘nawrócenie’, *βαπτίζω* ‘obmywać’, *βάπτισμα* ‘obmycie’ w renesansowych przekładach Nowego Testamentu, które powstały w kręgu antytrynitarской wspólnoty braci polskich – *Biblia* Szymona Budnego (1572), *Nowy Testament* Szymona Budnego (1574), *Nowy Testament* Marcina Czechowica (1577), *Nowy Testament rakowiecki* (1606) ma na celu ocenę ich odrębności leksykalnej na tle renesansowych przekładów dokonanych we wspólnotach trynitarских – katolickiej i ewangelickiej.

Leksemy *zbor*, *zborowy*, *pokajanie*, *kajanie się*, *kajać się*, *pokajać się*, *ponurzenie*, *nurzanie*, *ponurzyć*, *nurzać się* partykularnymi dla renesansowych translacji antytrynitarских polskimi ekwiwalentami tych greckich leksemów. Zestawienie ich z podstawieniami wprowadzonymi do renesansowych przekładów zarówno kręgu katolickiego, jak i kręgu ewangelickiego, pozwala widzieć w nich leksykalne wykładniki antytrynitarской wspólnoty doktrynalnej – unitarnej, anabaptystycznej i kongregacjonistycznej.

Leksemy te jako efekt dociekań filologiczno-egzegetycznych tłumaczy Nowego Testamentu z języka oryginalnego (greckiego) ostatecznie zyskują status antytrynitarских terminów religijnych.

**Słowa kluczowe:** wspólnota braci polskich, renesansowe przekłady antytrynitarские, nowotestamentowe, leksykalne wykładniki wspólnoty doktrynalnej, konfesjonalizacja leksyki biblijnej

Polish Nontrinitarians, also known as the Polish Brethren, Arians, and Socinians, were a confessional community rooted in the concept of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century European reformation. Genetically, they evolved from the community of the Polish Calvinists, where, until becoming fully independent, they formed the so-called Ecclesia Minor in relation to the Ecclesia Maior, bringing together the followers of Helvetian teachings (Gołaszewski 2005: 60).

Due to their radical social views, including social egalitarianism, abandonment of the hierarchy of authority, and irenicism, as a community, they were isolated, if not fought against (cf. Tazbir 1967; Tazbir 1987). The same could be said about their religious views. While the religious doctrine of the Polish Brethren is rooted in the same principles, which formed other confessional congregations of Protestantism, that is, rejection of the tradition and authority of the pope and bishops of the Roman Catholic Church and recognition of the message contained in the Bible as the only, infallible source of faith. Nevertheless, the *sola Scriptura* principle, common to all protestants, which encouraged

philological and exegetical studies of the Biblical text in its original languages – Hebrew for the Old Testament and Greek for the New Testament, led the Polish Brethren to the negation of the Trinity dogma, as it is not confirmed by the words of the Bible (Frick 2018: 96–99, 128–131, 232–234). According to the Polish Brethren, God is the one person; Jesus Christ is a human being, although perfect, as God chose him to be His Son (Gołaszewski 2005: 52, 56–57). Among others, a lecture on these teachings can be found in the dialog of Marcin Czechowic, entitled *Christian Conversations* of 1575 (Czechowic: online). We read there, e.g.:

Prawda to, iż wiara chrystiańska jednego tylko, samego jeszcze i prawdziwego Boga wyznawa [...] (k. 11 v.), [...] który towarzysza, pomocnika i poradnika ani ma, ani potrzebuje, jakoby sam tego wszystkiego wykonać nie mógł albo nie umiał, co sam sobie przed stworzeniem świata uradził i postanowił (k. 3 r.). O Jezusie tak wierzę prawdziwie i wyznawam szczerze, iż on jest mężem człowiekiem abo synem człowieczym [...]. Ktorego potym Bog synem swym obwołał, synem umiłowanym, własnym, jedynym, pierworodnym, namilejszym. (k. 3 v.) Wiara chrystiańska takiego jednego Boga ze trzech złożonego nie zna [...]. A iż tego w Piśmie Świętym nie masz, żeby także bogiem był jako i Ociec Duch Święty, bo by też także Ojcem i Synem za raz być musiał, jako i Ociec Synem i Syn Ojcem i Duchem. (k. 13 r.)<sup>1</sup>

The Trinitarian religious communities could not accept such doctrinal unitarianism declared by the Polish Brethren. The concepts of the Brethren were opposed by the Roman Catholic Church and – equally or more eagerly – by representatives of the Protestant communities. A spectacular example was the ex-communication and exclusion of the Polish Brethren from the Protestant community, proclaimed by Calvinists, Lutherans, and the Czech Brethren, signatories of the universalist treaty of Sandomierz of 1570 (Gołaszewski 2005: 96–101, 116, 140).

As a result of these conditions, after 1570, the Nontrinitarians became a hermetic confessional congregation. In the first phase of the emergence of the unitarist doctrine, the Polish Brethren, searching for arguments to support it, read the Brest Bible (1563), a collective translation made by Calvinists as declared on the title page from the original languages and Latin<sup>2</sup>. The translation was distinguished by a modern technique, which first emphasized the

<sup>1</sup> It is true that the Christian faith only believes in the one, only and true God [...] (c. 11 v.), [...] who neither has neither needs a companion, a helper or an advisor as if He Himself could not do everything that He had planned and decided before creating the world (c. 3 r.). As for Jesus, I believe genuinely and confess sincerely that He is a man, a human being, or a son of man [...]. Who was later appointed by God as his Son, his beloved, only, firstborn, dearest Son (c. 3 v.). The Christian faith knows not such one God made of three [...]. And you shall not find it written in the Sacred Scriptures that the Holy Spirit is also God, like the Father, as He would have to be both the Father and the Son, and the Father would have to be the Son, and the Son would have to be the Father and the Spirit (c. 13 r.).

<sup>2</sup> The studies of Rajmund Pietkiewicz prove that in the translation work on the Old Testament, translators of the *Brest Bible* made more use of the translation to Latin of this part of the *Bible* than one could expect on the basis of the statement made on the title page, which point to the original

conformity of the sense and not of the words (Kwilecka 2001: 1522–1524). However, in the Nontrinitarian community, this innovative solution was perceived as a defect of the *Brest Bible* (Górski 1949: 147; Frick 2018: 97; Łuczak 2016: 27–28). The congregation was convinced of the need for an urgent verification of the text from Brest, which would consist of its comparison with the source texts. However, Szymon Budny, who was involved in the undertaking, discouraged by the excessive differences between the Brest translation and the Greek and Hebrew texts (Pietkiewicz 2016: 422), finally prepared a new translation from the original languages. The philological and doctrinal beliefs of Szymon Budny resulted in the *New Testament* edition of 1570 and the entire *Bible* of 1572. The translator had no influence on the final form of the text to be printed. He was openly disappointed by the fact that without his consent or knowledge, the publisher, Maciej Kawiecznyński (a.k.a. Kawęczyński), interfered with the final text, which, in the opinion of Szymon Budny, led to a distortion of the content of the Bible (Frick 2018: 97), of which he wrote as follows:

Bo acz był przez mię przelożon, ale od niektórych przyjaciół mych na wielu miejscach, nad moję wolą przetworzon. Co aczbym był na on czas barzo rad dał znać, ale iż drukarnia nie w moich rękę była, przeto mi i to było nie wolno. A tak proszę, on to przekład miej, za czyj chcesz, jednoby nie za mój. Ten, któryć tu oto podawam, za mój znam, bo nie jednom one cudze odmiany z miego wyrzucił, alem też i swego onego przekładu pociosał<sup>3</sup>. (cyt. za: Pietkiewicz 2016: 424)

Due to this reason, in 1574, Szymon Budny published *The New Testament* in a version free from any external influence.

The fierce polemics of the Nontrinitarians with their external opponents, as well as their fellow brothers, resulted in two more translations of the Bible, which emerged in their community (Frick 2018: 127–128, 193–202). They aimed to reflect most faithfully the sense of the Biblical original in Polish, serving as a reliable source for doctrinal arguments used in discussions. These are *The New Testament* of Marcin Czechowic of 1577 and *The New Testament* of Raków of 1606, prepared by Hieronim Moskorzowski, Jan Licinius Namysłowski under the direction of Walenty Smalcus (Frick 2018: 128–129; Pietkiewicz 2016: 482–483).

To depict as faithfully as possible in Polish the message of the Bible, in their work, Nontrinitarian translators used the literal translation technique, introducing Polish equivalents in the text, which, in their opinion, reflected most accurately the etymological meaning of the lexemes of the original text.

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sources of the biblical text – in fact, they used the philological translation from Hebrew by Santes Pagnini (Pietkiewicz 2015).

<sup>3</sup> While I translated it, some of my friends, in many places, changed it against my will. I would have been most glad at the time to acknowledge this; as the print shop, however, was not in my hand, I was not even allowed to do that. As it is, take this translation as anyone's, as you prefer, but not as mine. I know the one I serve here as mine, as I have not only ejected many a strange variation; but also carved this translation of mine.

This fact determines the unique lexical character of these translations in comparison with other Renaissance versions of the Bible (Górski 1962: 233–279; Kossowska 1968: 254–283, 295–298; Kossowska 1969: 41–51; Czerniatowicz 1969: 50–56, 65–69; Moszyński 1994: 351–414; Moszyński 1997: 187–196; Frick 2018: 104–105, 114–121, 137–141; Hawrysz 2011: 19–75; Hawrysz 2012: 207–279; Zarebski 2017: 41–53).

The presented distribution-contextual analysis is aimed at assessing the lexical distinction of the Nontrinitarian translations of the New Testament in relation to Polish equivalents of Greek lexemes, recognized in the religious polemics of the reformation times as doctrinally significant lexemes. The analysis is to take into account all of the Polish equivalents of Greek lexemes appearing in all fragments of the New Testament: *ἐκκλησία* 'community of the called-out ones', *μετάνοια* 'repentance,' *μετανοέω* 'to be converted,' *βάπτισμα* 'a dipping or sinking' *βαπτίζω* 'to dip, sink', which have been introduced in the following texts: *The New Testament* by Szymon Budny of 1572 (hereafter abbreviated as *Bud72*), *The New Testament* by Szymon Budny of 1574 (hereafter abbreviated as *Bud74*), *The New Testament* by Marcin Czechowic of 1577 (hereafter abbreviated as *Czech77*) and *The Racovian New Testament* of 1606 (hereafter abbreviated as *Rak06*). The comparative background is to consist of equivalents of these Greek lexemes, emerging in two Catholic translations – *The New Testament of the Bible* by Jan Leopolita of 1561 (hereafter abbreviated as *Leop61*) and *The New Testament of the Bible* by Jakub Wujek of 1599 (hereafter abbreviated as *Wuj99*) and in two Protestant translations – *The New Testament of the Brest Bible* of 1563 (hereafter abbreviated as *Brz63*) and *The New Testament of the Gdańsk Bible* of 1632 (hereafter abbreviated as *Gd32*)<sup>4</sup>. The Bible of Jan Leopolita and the Brest Bible are translations printed before the period of the dispute on the Nontrinitarian doctrine. The Bible of Jakub Wujek and the Gdańsk Bible are canonical translations of their respective religious communities, which established the version of the Biblical message for some 350 years. The translators – Jakub Wujek and Daniel Mikołajewski – had access to the translational work of their predecessors, including the Polish Brethren, rejected by them due to doctrinal reasons. They were familiar with their theological and philological arguments.

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<sup>4</sup> In excerption of lexical data from the New Testament *Gospel* translations of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, I used the Web browser developed by Izabela Winiarska-Górska and her team (Winiarska-Górska on-line).

### Equivalents of the Greek *ἐκκλησία*<sup>5</sup>

The Greek lexeme *ἐκκλησία* present in the New Testament, meaning 'on the Christian community: a gathering, a congregation; the Church', 'the universal Church' has 109 confirmations (Popowski 1995: 183–184). In Nontrinitarian translations and the Catholic and Protestant translations used as the comparative background, *ἐκκλησία* has the following Polish equivalents (table 1).

**Table 1.** Contextual distribution of Polish equivalents of the Greek *ἐκκλησία* (Latin *ecclesia*) w in the selected Renaissance translations of the New Testament of the Catholic, Protestant, and Nontrinitarian communities

Semantic concept	Equivalents of the Greek <i>ἐκκλησία</i>	Catholic translations		Protestant translations		Nontrinitarian translations			
		<i>Leop 61</i>	<i>Wuj 99</i>	<i>Brz 63</i>	<i>Gd 32</i>	<i>Bud 72</i>	<i>Bud 74</i>	<i>Czech 77</i>	<i>Rak 06</i>
<i>zgromadzenie</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>zgromadzenie</i>		5	7	1				
<i>cerkiew</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>cerkiew</i>	1					3		
<i>kościół</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>kościół</i>	104	104	90	14				
<i>zbor</i> <sup>9</sup>	<i>zbor</i>	4		12	94	107	104	104	106
	<i>zborowy</i> <sup>10</sup>						1	5	3
<i>gromada</i> <sup>11</sup>	<i>gromada</i>					1	1		
<i>kupa</i> <sup>12</sup>	<i>kupa</i>					1			

Source: own study

None of the Nontrinitarian translations refers in this doctrinally loaded meaning of the lexeme *ἐκκλησία* the traditional equivalent *kościół*, replacing it with the noun *zbor* (or, exceptionally, due to stylistic reasons, in some of the verses, the adjective *zborowy* derived from it). Marcin Czechowicz justifies this choice *expressis verbis* in the introduction to *Czech77*:

<sup>5</sup> The characteristics of doctrinal and philological conditions, which influenced the selection of Polish equivalents of the Greek *ἐκκλησία* (Latin *ecclesia*) in the selected Renaissance translations of the New Testament (of the Catholic community – *Leop61*, *Wuj93*, *Wuj99*; of the Protestant community – *Brz63*, *Nowy Testament gdański* of 1606, *Gd32*; of the Nontrinitarian community – *Bud72*) have been presented by Tomasz Lisowski (Lisowski 2008).

<sup>6</sup> 'gathering'

<sup>7</sup> In 16<sup>th</sup> century – old Polish or East Slavic 'church'

<sup>8</sup> 'church'

<sup>9</sup> 'congregation'

<sup>10</sup> 'of congregation'

<sup>11</sup> 'assembly'

<sup>12</sup> 'crowd'

Because the word *kościół* could, for instance, be used by the pagan and papist idolaters, and mostly, I say, the papists, as they bury many dead people there, putting their bodies underneath every altar and speak of them every time during the mass [...] but the word cannot be used to refer to the congregation of people called to appear in a single place. (Czechowicz online: k††1 r)

The lexeme *kościół*, which is burdened with the odium of the papist tradition, cannot express the sense of the New Testament *ἐκκλησία*. Introducing *zbor* as the equivalent of the Greek *ἐκκλησία*, Nontrinitarian philologists wished to update the etymological meaning of the Greek noun in their translations. Martin Luther was probably driven by a similar motivation, translating the lexeme *ἐκκλησία* in all contexts exclusively as *Gemeinde* (Luth34).

The translators of *Brz63*, in general, used the noun *zbor* interchangeably with the noun *kościół* as the equivalents of the Greek *ἐκκλησία*, and the calculation shows that the traditional lexeme – *kościół* – was dominant. On the other hand, in *Gd32*, *zbor* is a much more frequently used lexeme (*zbor* 94 : *kościół* 14). A thorough contextual analysis, however, reveals that the lexeme *kościół* is quoted more often in the verses, in which the Greek *ἐκκλησία* can be understood as the mythical body of Christ, for instance, in verse Mt 16, 18<sup>13</sup>, which is momentous from the doctrinal (theological and ecclesiological) perspective (Lisowski 2008: 295–296). On the other hand, in verses in which *ἐκκλησία* may refer to the ‘local church or congregation’ Daniel Mikołajewski gives an unconditional advantage to the lexeme *zbor* (Lisowski 2008: 292). Thus, the *novum* of the *Gd32* in comparison with the previous New Testament translations lies in the fact that through a well-thought-out selection of Polish equivalents of the Greek *ἐκκλησία*, Daniel Mikołajewski distinguished between the meanings of ‘a congregation of the faithful, a community of Christians’ and ‘the mystic body of Christ’. The former is expressed with the lexeme *zbor*, the latter – with the lexeme *kościół* (Lisowski 2008: 297).

In the analyzed translations from the Catholic tradition (*Leop61*, *Wuj99*), for the meaning of the Greek *ἐκκλησία* (and Latin *ecclesia*) ‘on the Christian community: a gathering, a congregation; the Church; ‘the universal Church’, the lexeme *kościół* is used much more frequently. In *Leop61*, the noun *cerkiew* was used once to signify ‘the community of believers, Christians’:

I do **cerkwie** pierwszych [świętych], którzy popisani są w niebie, i do Boga, wszystkich rzeczy sędziego, i do duchow doskonałych, sprawiedliwych. (Heb 12, 23)<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Gd32* – A Ja ci też powiadam, żeś ty jest Piotr; a na tej opoce zbuduję **kościół** moj, a bramy piekielne nie przemogą go. [And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I shall build my church, and the gates of Hell shall not overcome it.]

<sup>14</sup> The literal Polish translation from Greek: Ale podeszliście do [...] (**społeczności**) **wywołanych** pierworodnych, spisanych w niebiosach [...]. [But you approached [...] (the community) of the called-out firstborn, whose names are written in heaven [...]] (Popowski, Wojciechowski 1995: 1076). On the other hand, the noun *cerkiew* confirmed 3 times in *Bud74* in the meaning being discussed should be recognized not as much as an archaism as a dialectism of the Eastern Borderlands,



It was already a lexical archaism in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>. The lexeme *zbor* was also identified three times in the *Leop61*. In this translation, however, it still lacks a doctrinal feature, like the lexemes *zgromadzenie* (*Brz63*, *Wuj99*, *Gd32*), *gromada* (*Bud72*, *Bud74*), *kupa* (*Bud72*).

It is worth noting that Jakub Wujek eliminated the lexeme *zbor*<sup>16</sup>. It cannot be ruled out that the translator's decision was due to doctrinal reasons – his willingness to avoid a lexeme, which could be identified with the Non-trinitarian doctrine. On the title page of edition *W99*, we read that the translation was prepared [...] *z wykładaniem katolickim trudniejszych miejsc do obrony wiary świętej powszechnej przeciw kacerztwom tych czasow należących*<sup>17</sup>. As a result, the repertoire of equivalents of the Greek *ἐκκλησία* in the translation of Jakub Wujek is limited to the nouns *zeście*<sup>18</sup>, *zgromadzenie*, and most importantly – *kościół*.

### Equivalents of the Greek *μετάνοια* and *μετανοέω*<sup>19</sup>

Since the medieval times, the Polish equivalents of the Greek *μετάνοια* and *μετανοέω* (or Latin *poenitentia* and *poenitentiam agere*) have been *pokuta*<sup>20</sup>, *czynić pokutę*<sup>21</sup>, *pokutować*<sup>22</sup> (Lisowski 2021: 97–98). They were theological terms related strictly to the Catholic sacrament of penance, which consisted of atoning for one's sins with charitable deeds. Martin Luther fully accepted the concept of reconciliation between a sinful man and God. Nevertheless, based on the dogmatic *sola fide* principle, he perceived the core of forgiveness for one's sins in the personal relationship of a human being with God, based on faith and

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a lexeme popular in the land of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This lexeme, as the equivalent of the Greek *ἐκκλησία* in *Bud74* is also confirmed by translations of the Sacred Scripture to the Old Church Slavonic language, used by Szymon Budny in his translation work as auxiliary texts (Frick 2018: 106).

<sup>15</sup> More on the subject: Lisowski 1993: 131–144.

<sup>16</sup> This lexeme is also not present in the translation of the New Testament by Jakub Wujek of 1593 (Lisowski 2008: 208).

<sup>17</sup> [...] to include a Catholic clarification of the most challenging parts for defending the universal sacred faith against the heresies of the present times.

<sup>18</sup> 'meeting'; 'gathering'

<sup>19</sup> An attempt to provide a philological explanation of the reasons, which motivated Daniel Mikołajewski, the translator of the *Gdańsk Bible* of 1632 to restore in his translation the traditional Polish equivalents of the Greek *μετάνοια* and *μετανοέω* have been presented by Tomasz Lisowski (Lisowski 2021: 101–102). The comparative background in the distributive-contextual analysis consists of the Catholic tradition texts – The Jakub Wujek New Testament (1593) and *W99* as well as the Protestant tradition texts – *Brz63* and *The Gdańsk New Testament* of 1606.

<sup>20</sup> 'penance'

<sup>21</sup> 'to do penance'

<sup>22</sup> 'to do penance'



confidence in God's grace, not charitable deeds<sup>23</sup>. The same concept of reconciliation of a sinful human with God was shared by Calvinists (Cottret 2000: 332–337) and, ultimately, by the Polish Brethren.

In the Greek text of the New Testament, the noun *μετάνοια* was identified 32 times, and the noun *μετανοέω* – 34 times (Popowski 1995: 391). In Greek of the New Testament, these lexemes had the following meaning: *μετάνοια* 'etym.: consideration (after the fact), a change of thought, reversal of thought', thus 'regret, repentance'; 'conversion (in the religious-ethical sense) to something, towards something' (Popowski 1995: headword *μετάνοια*); *μετανοέω* 'etym.: consider (after the fact); change one's thoughts; redirect one's thoughts from something'; thus the latter 'regret something, feel remorse; convert (in the religious-ethical sense) from something'; 'change one's mind'; ,repent, feel remorse' (Popowski 1995, headword *μετανοέω*).

In *The Vulgate*, the Latin equivalents that reflect the etymological meaning of these Greek lexemes are *poenitentia* (after *μετάνοια*) and *poenitentiam agere* (after *μετανοέω*)<sup>24</sup>. In liturgical Latin, *poenitentia* was defined as 'regret for sins'; 'penance, the act of penance' (Plezia 2007: headword *paenitentia*).

The Polish Protestants, as the reflection on the new approach to the concept of a reconciliation between a sinful human being and God was born, could decide that the traditional lexemes *pokuta* and *pokutować* were semantically burdened with their traditional sense, referring too obviously to the Catholic doctrine, which they rejected<sup>25</sup>, with its sacrament, referred to in Latin as *poenitentia*<sup>26</sup>, and in Polish – as *pokuta*.

<sup>23</sup> Our Churches teach us about penance that those, who fell after their baptism, may be absolved of their sins any time, as soon as they convert, and that the Church should absolve those converted and ready to do penance. Penance, in fact, consists of two parts, one of them being repentance, or fear that tortures the conscience with the awareness of sin, the other being faith, born from the Gospel or absolution, which trusts that sins have been absolved for Christ, which consoles the conscience and sets it free from the fear. This should be followed by charitable deeds, which result from penance (Uglorz, Wantuła, Jackowski 1999: 53–54).

<sup>24</sup> The noun *poenitentia* (*paenitentia*) assumed the following meanings: 'regret for one's action, etc.,' 'in a weakened sense: change of mind or attitude' (Glare 2012: 631); 'regret, repentance'; the new liturgical Latin 'repentance for sins'; 'penance, the act of penance' (Plezia 2007: 215).

<sup>25</sup> In texts documenting the Polish language of the Old Polish period, the noun *pokuta* meant a 'willingly assumed mortification or punishment, imposed as a moral compensation for a sin; poenitentia sua sponte suscepta vel peccatorum luendorum causa imposita' – in this sense, it emerges in *Kazania świętokrzyskie* (Urbańczyk 1976: 217). The verb *pokutować* meant 'to do penance, lead a mortified life as a moral compensation for one's sins; poenitentiam peccatorum agere' (Urbańczyk 1976: 222).

<sup>26</sup> In the Polish medieval Latin texts, the following meanings of the lexeme *poenitentia* (*paenitentia*) have been confirmed: 'regret, repentance; paenitudo, actus paenitendi'; liturgical 'sacrament of penance, confession'; sacramentum paenitentiae, peccatorum confessio'; liturgical 'remorse for sins, repentance; animi dolor de peccatis conceptus, paenitudo'; liturgical 'penance; paenitudo';

The contextual distribution of the equivalents of the Greek *μετάνοια* (Latin *poenitentia*) and *μετανοέω* (Latin *poenitentiam agere*) has been depicted in Tables 2 and 3.

**Table 2.** Contextual distribution of Polish equivalents of the Greek *μετάνοια* in the selected Renaissance translations of the New Testament of the Catholic, Protestant, and Nontrinitarian communities

Semantic concept	Equivalents of the Greek <i>μετάνοια</i>	Catholic translations		Protestant translations		Nontrinitarian translations			
		Leop 61	Wuj 99	Brz 63	Gd 32	Bud 72	Bud 74	Czech 77	Rak 06
<i>pokuta</i>	<i>pokuta</i>	22	21	2	22				
	<i>pokutowanie</i> <sup>27</sup>		1	1					
<i>kajać się</i> <sup>28</sup>	<i>kajanie</i> <sup>29</sup>					4	4		
	<i>pokajanie</i> <sup>30</sup>					18	18	16	22
<i>upamiętać się</i> <sup>31</sup>	<i>upamiętanie</i> <sup>32</sup>			6				4	
	<i>opamiętanie</i> <sup>33</sup>			1					
<i>uznać się</i> <sup>34</sup>	<i>uznanie</i> <sup>35</sup>			11				2	
	<i>uznać się</i>			1					

Source: own study

liturgical (ordo) de paenitentia ‘a penance order obliging its members to engage in penance practices’; ‘punishment, penance, payment, poena, satisfactio’ (Plezia 1992: 311).

<sup>27</sup> ‘doing penance’

<sup>28</sup> ‘to repent’

<sup>29</sup> ‘repentance’

<sup>30</sup> ‘repentance’

<sup>31</sup> ‘to change one’s mind’

<sup>32</sup> ‘changing one’s mind’

<sup>33</sup> ‘coming to one’s senses’

<sup>34</sup> ‘to compose oneself’

<sup>35</sup> ‘composing oneself’

**Table 3.** Contextual distribution of Polish equivalents of the Greek *μετανοέω* in the selected Renaissance translations of the New Testament of the Catholic, Protestant, and Nontrinitarian communities

Semantic concept	Equivalents of the Greek <i>μετάνοια</i>	Catholic translations		Protestant translations		Nontrinitarian translations			
		<i>Leop 61</i>	<i>Wuj 99</i>	<i>Brz 63</i>	<i>Gd 32</i>	<i>Bud 72</i>	<i>Bud 74</i>	<i>Czech 77</i>	<i>Rak 06</i>
<i>pokuta</i>	<i>czynić pokutę</i>	22	18						
	<i>stroić pokutę</i> <sup>36</sup>	2							
	<i>pokutować</i>	8	14	5	32				
<i>żał</i> <sup>37</sup>	<i>żał</i>	1	1		1			1	
	<i>żałować</i> <sup>38</sup>	1	1						
<i>kajać się</i> <sup>39</sup>	<i>kajać się</i>					5	5	11	28
	<i>pokajać się</i> <sup>40</sup>					26	27	5	6
	<i>pokajanie</i>					2	2		
<i>upamiętać się</i> <sup>41</sup>	<i>upamiętać się</i>			15	1			11	
	<i>upamiętawiać się</i> <sup>42</sup>							1	
<i>uznać się</i> <sup>43</sup>	<i>uznać się</i>			14				4	
<i>kazić się</i> <sup>44</sup>	<i>pokazić się</i> <sup>45</sup>					1			
<i>powołać się</i> <sup>46</sup>	<i>powołać się</i>							1	

Source: own study

The equivalents *pokuta* and *czynić pokutę*, *pokutować* appear in both preconciliar *Leop61* and in the postconciliar *Wuj99* Catholic translations. As Konrad Górski, in *Leop61*, pointed out, we observe a certain regularity with no exceptions – Latin *poenitentia* is translated as *pokuta*, while *poenitentiam agere* – as

<sup>36</sup> 'to make penance'

<sup>37</sup> 'regret'

<sup>38</sup> 'to regret'

<sup>39</sup> 'to repent'

<sup>40</sup> 'to repent'

<sup>41</sup> 'to change one's mind'

<sup>42</sup> 'to change one's mind'

<sup>43</sup> 'to compose oneself'

<sup>44</sup> 'to reject'

<sup>45</sup> 'to reject'

<sup>46</sup> 'to invoke'

*pokutować* (Górski 1962: 248). A similar tendency has been observed in *Wuj99* – the equivalents of Greek *μετάνοια* and *μετανοέω*, or, rather, Latin *poenitentia* and *poenitentiam agere* here are *pokuta* and *czynić pokutę*, less frequently – *pokutować*.

The lexeme *pokuta* burdened with the theological senses developed in Polish of the Medieval Ages, as well as its predicative forms – *czynić pokutę* and *pokutować* are viewed by the translators of *Brz63*, as well as all of the Nontrinitarian translators, fail to reflect the sense of the Greek *μετάνοια* and *μετανοέω* properly.

A departure from the lexemes *pokuta*, *pokutować*, marked by the Roman doctrine, is well visible in *Brz63*. In this translation, originating from the Calvin community, the group of translators introduces Polish lexemes, which – as we can suppose – are in line with the etymological sense of the Greek lexemes, describing the essence of reconciliation of the sinner with God and justifying the Protestant concept of justification by faith (Górski 1962: 247). The following equivalents have been introduced in the text of this translation: *μετάνοια* – *upamiętanie*, *opamiętanie*, *uznanie*, *uznać się*; *μετανοέω* – *upamiętać się*, *upamiętawać się*, *uznać się*. In exceptional cases, the text also contains the traditional *pokuta*, *pokutowanie*, and *pokutować*.

Similarly, translators representing the Nontrinitarian community – *Bud72*, *Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06* do their best to express in Polish the original, etymological meaning of the Greek *μετάνοια* and *μετανοέω*. As their equivalents, they introduce lexemes, which, from the associative perspective, refer to the sense contained in the verb *kajać się* ‘regret something (usually the sins committed), express regret, show repentance’ (Mayenowa 1998: 22), that is *pokajanie*, *kajanie* and *kajać się*, *pokajając się*. Only in *Czech77*, apart from these lexemes, we also get *upamiętanie*, *uznanie* and *upamiętać się*, *uznać się* known from *Brz63*. Translators of *Rak06* were most consistent in this regard. In this case, we only have the lexemes *pokajanie* (*μετάνοια*) and *kajać się*, *pokajając się* (*μετανοέω*). This harmonization of Polish equivalents of the Greek *μετάνοια* and *μετανοέω* may indicate an attempt to assign to the Polish lexemes a status of religious terms, expressing doctrinal beliefs recognized by the Polish Brethren, which at the same time are decisive for its unique character. We should also note that Nontrinitarian translators, apart from exceptional examples in *Czech77*, avoid the substitutes proposed in *Brz63*.

In *Gd32*, the Protestant translation rooted in the Brest tradition, we observe restitution of the traditional lexemes: *μετάνοια* in this version is always translated as *pokuta*, *μετανοέω* is in most cases *pokutować* – just once it is translated as *upamiętać się* – Lk 17,3<sup>47</sup> and *żal (mi)*. This approach of Daniel

<sup>47</sup> In the verse Lk 17,3, a contextual meaning of the Greek *μετανοέω* appears, which is not associated with the relationship between man and God. In this case, the translator decided that the most fitting Polish equivalent would be the lexeme *upamiętać się*: *Gd32* – *Miejcież się na pieczy. A jeźliby zgrzeszył przeciwko tobie brat twój, strofuj go, a jeźliby się upamiętał, odpuść mu.*

Mikołajewski can be interpreted as a rejection of the Nontrinitarian doctrine, which, nevertheless, is not necessarily an expression of his approval of the Catholic doctrine – in *Leop61* and *Wuj99*, we get the traditional *pokuta* and *pokutować*. Possibly, the translation of Daniel Mikołajewski followed the pattern of the *Bible of Kralice* (1579–1593), in which the equivalents of the Greek lexemes *μετάνοια* and *μετανοέω* were the traditional church terms of the pre-Reformation period – *pokáni*<sup>48</sup> and *činiti pokáni*<sup>49</sup> (Lisowski 2021: 101–102). Therefore, this translation motivated Daniel Mikołajewski to select the traditional Polish lexemes *pokuta* and *pokutować*.

### Equivalents of the Greek *βάπτισμα, βαπτίζω*

The Polish Brethren rejected the baptism of children, distinguishing themselves from other religious communities in the Republic of Poland. They only practiced baptism of adults through immersion. They justified this fact by referring to the etymological meaning of the Greek lexemes *βάπτισμα* and *βαπτίζω*, present in the New Testament to signify purging from sins and acceptance of the teachings of Jesus<sup>50</sup>. In Greek, when the New Testament was written, these lexemes meant: *βάπτισμα* – etym. ‘immersion’ (Popowski 1995: 91); *βαπτίζω* – ‘to wash, to immerse’ (Popowski 1995: 90) – this verb is in an etymological and semantic relation with *βάπτω* ‘soak, dip’ (Popowski 1995: 91). The lexemes *βάπτισμα* and *βαπτίζω* as the initially religiously neutral Greek words, in the context of events presented in the Bible, became Christian terms signifying ‘baptism’ and ‘to baptize, to give baptism’ (Popowski 1995: 90). Their traditional Polish equivalents,

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[Pay attention to yourselves! If your brother sins, rebuke him, and if he changes his mind, forgive him]. The same semantic nuance is taken into account by Jakub Wujek in his translation of 1599, in which he uses the verb *żałować* ‘to regret’ and not *czynić pokutę, pokutować*: *Wuj99* – *Miejcież się na pieczy. Jeśliby twój brat zgrzeszył przeciw tobie, strofuj go: a jeśliby **żałował**, odpuść mu.* [Pay attention to yourselves! If your brother sins, rebuke him, and if he regrets, forgive him]. In the Jakub Wujek New Testament of 1593 it is used the verb *upamiętać się*: *Wuj93* – *Miejcież się na pieczy. Jeśliby twój brat zgrzeszył przeciw tobie, strofuj go: a jeśliby **się upamiętał**, odpuść mu.* [Pay attention to yourselves! If your brother sins, rebuke him, and if he changes his mind, forgive him.] (Lisowski 2021: 98).

<sup>48</sup> ‘penance’

<sup>49</sup> ‘to do penance’

<sup>50</sup> The issue of doctrinal marking of the lexeme *ponurzać* ‘plunge’ and its word-formative derivatives in polemical writings of Marcin Czechowic, addressed against the Roman Catholic doctrine, has been discussed by Magdalena Hawrysz (Hawrysz 2010: 125–135; 2011: 207–279). The doctrinal sense of the Greek lexemes *βάπτισμα, βαπτίζω*, revealed in the polemical writings of Marcin Czechowic is characterized by Magdalena Hawrysz using a syllogism: “[...] Pol. *chrzcze* = Lat. *baptiso*; Lat. *baptiso* originates from Gr. *βαπτω*; Gr. *βαπτω* = Lat. *immergo*; Lat. *immergo* = Pol. *ponurzam* ‘I plunge’; *chrzcze* ‘I baptize’ = *ponurzam* ‘I plunge’]. The new term [*ponurzam* – note by T.L.] was thus not only more accurate philologically, but also – due to its immanent, specific meaning – more accurate ideologically, as it referred directly to the Biblical form of the ritual [...]” (Hawrysz 2010: 127).

confirmed in the oldest known Polish texts, are *krzest* and *krzić* respectively (after the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, mistakenly relatinized phonetically to the forms known today *chrzest* and *chrzcić*). The contextual distribution of the Polish equivalents of the Greek lexemes *βάπτισμα* and *βαπτίζω* in the analyzed translations of the New Testament have been shown in Tables 4 and 5.

**Table 4.** Contextual distribution of Polish equivalents of the Greek *βάπτισμα* in the selected Renaissance translations of the New Testament of the Catholic, Protestant, and Nontrinitarian communities

Semantic concept	Equivalents of the Greek <i>βάπτισμα</i>	Catholic translations		Protestant translations		Nontrinitarian translations			
		<i>Leop</i> 61	<i>Wuj</i> 99	<i>Brz</i> 63	<i>Gd</i> 32	<i>Bud</i> 72	<i>Bud</i> 74	<i>Czech</i> 77	<i>Rak</i> 06
<i>krzest</i> <sup>51</sup>	<i>krzest</i>	20	20	22	22	13			
	<i>krzczenie</i> <sup>52</sup>					8			
<i>nurzać</i> <sup>53</sup>	<i>nurzenie</i> <sup>54</sup>						14		
	<i>ponurzenie</i> <sup>55</sup>						7	22	22
<i>grążyć</i> <sup>56</sup>	<i>grążanie</i> <sup>57</sup>						1 <sup>58</sup>		
	<i>pogrążenie</i> <sup>59</sup>					1 <sup>60</sup>			

Source: own study

<sup>51</sup> 'baptism'

<sup>52</sup> 'baptizing'

<sup>53</sup> 'to plunge'

<sup>54</sup> 'plunging'

<sup>55</sup> 'plunging'

<sup>56</sup> 'to immerse'

<sup>57</sup> 'immersing'

<sup>58</sup> Mt 3,7 *Bud74* – A widząc wiele Faryzeuszow i Saduceuszow przychodzących do **grążania** jego, rzekł im: wyrodkowie źmijewi, kto ukazał wam uciekać od przyszłego gniewu? [But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to where he was immersing, he said to them: "You brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the coming wrath?]

<sup>59</sup> 'immersing'

<sup>60</sup> Rm 6,4 *Bud72* – Pogrzebienismy przeto pospołu z nim przez **pogrążenie** w śmierć, aby jako Krystś wstał z martwych przez sławę ojca, tak i my w nowości żywota chodzilibyśmy [We were therefore buried with him through immersion into death in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, we too may live a new life.]

**Table 5.** Contextual distribution of Polish equivalents of the Greek βαπτίζω in the selected Renaissance translations of the New Testament of the Catholic, Protestant, and Nontrinitarian communities

Semantic concept	Equivalents of the Greek βαπτίζω	Catholic translations		Protestant translations		Nontrinitarian translations			
		<i>Leop 61</i>	<i>Wuj 99</i>	<i>Brz 63</i>	<i>Gd 32</i>	<i>Bud 72</i>	<i>Bud 74</i>	<i>Czech 77</i>	<i>Rak 06</i>
<i>krzcić</i> <sup>61</sup>	<i>krzciciel</i> <sup>62</sup>	1	1		1				
	<i>krzcić</i> <sup>63</sup>	26	26	28	28	24			
	<i>krzcić się</i> <sup>64</sup>	8	6	4	5	13			
	<i>krzczony</i> <sup>65</sup>	3	7	7	3	1			
	<i>okrzcić</i> <sup>66</sup>	7	4	3	4	6			
	<i>okrzcić się</i> <sup>67</sup>	6	3	7	5	9			
	<i>okrzczony</i> <sup>68</sup>	19	25	18	25	5			
	<i>pokrzcić</i> <sup>69</sup>				1	3			
	<i>pokrzcić się</i> <sup>70</sup>	1				13			
	<i>pokrzczony</i> <sup>71</sup>	3	1	7	2				
	<i>przyjmować chrzest</i> <sup>72</sup>		1						

<sup>61</sup> 'to baptize'

<sup>62</sup> 'baptist'

<sup>63</sup> 'to baptize'

<sup>64</sup> 'to get baptized'

<sup>65</sup> 'baptized'

<sup>66</sup> 'to baptize'

<sup>67</sup> 'to get baptized'

<sup>68</sup> 'baptized'

<sup>69</sup> 'to baptize'

<sup>70</sup> 'to get baptized'

<sup>71</sup> 'baptized'

<sup>72</sup> 'to receive baptism'



Table 5. (cont.)

nurzać	nurzać						18	16	
	nurzać się <sup>73</sup>						14	1	
	nurzany <sup>74</sup>						2	2	
	ponurzać <sup>75</sup>						8	12	26
	ponurzać się <sup>76</sup>						1		2
	ponurzany <sup>77</sup>							4	6
	ponurzony <sup>78</sup>						14	32	35
	ponurzy- ciel <sup>79</sup>						1		
	ponurzyć <sup>80</sup>						4	5	4
	ponurzyć się <sup>81</sup>						12	2	1

Source: own study

In the introduction to his translation of the New Testament, Marcin Czechowicz disavowed the lexeme *krzest* as a pagan term, having nothing to do with the teachings of Jesus<sup>82</sup>, when he wrote (quotation after Frick 2018: 138):

*Krziciel* też i *krzest* z greckim słowem *baptistis* i *baptizo* nic nie ma spólnego i podobnego, bo *krzest* i *krziciel* abo od *kreślenia*, abo od *krzyża*, który starzy Słowacy *krestem* nazywają, jest nazwany, przeto iż tego dzieciokrzczeńcy przy dziatkach małych, gdy je czarują, używają, abo więc *krzyżma*, którym je smarują, oprócz słowa Bożego i przykładu apostołskiego, co i tak nie k rzeczy. (c. †4r)<sup>83</sup>

In the following part of the text, the translator explained (quotation after Frick 2018: 139):

Abowiem *chrisma* znaczy mazanie wszelakie. A apostołowie mazania żadnego oprócz przy chorych, lecząc je, nigdy nie używali. A *baptisma* zgoła ‘ponurzenie’ znamionuje. (c. †4r)<sup>84</sup>

<sup>73</sup> ‘to plunge oneself’

<sup>74</sup> ‘plunged’

<sup>75</sup> ‘to plunge’

<sup>76</sup> ‘to plunge oneself’

<sup>77</sup> ‘plunged’

<sup>78</sup> ‘plunged’

<sup>79</sup> ‘one who plunges’

<sup>80</sup> ‘to plunge’

<sup>81</sup> ‘to plunge oneself’

<sup>82</sup> This has been pointed out already by Daniel A. Frick (Frick 2018: 138–139).

<sup>83</sup> *Krziciel* and *krzest* are not related to the Greek words *baptistis* and *baptizo*. There are no similarities between these, as *krzest* and *krziciel* originate from *kreślić* [drawing or tracing] or from the word *krzyż* [cross], which old Slavs call the *krest*, so, as the word is used by those who baptize small children when they work charms on them, or it comes from *krzyżmo* [chrism], which they use as an ointment, apart from the word of God and the example of the Apostles, which is still inadequate.

<sup>84</sup> As *chrisma* refers to any anointing. The Apostles, however, used no ointments other than those applied to treat the ill. Meanwhile, *baptisma* refers to ‘immersion’.

This belief that the lexemes *krzest* and *krzcić* are semantically inadequate as the equivalents of the Greek *βάπτισμα* and *βαπτίζω*, and therefore they distort the sense of the Biblical message<sup>85</sup> has been confirmed by three Nontrinitarian translations – in *Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06*. The Polish lexemes of the Greek *βάπτισμα* and *βαπτίζω* are lexemes, which reflect the sense referred to by Marcin Czechowic as ‘immersion’, that is: *βάπτισμα* – *nurzenie* (*Bud74*), *ponurzenie* (*Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06*); *βαπτίζω* – *nurzać* (*Bud74*, *Czech77*), *nurzać się* (*Bud74*, *Czech77*), *nurzany* (*Bud74*, *Czech77*), *ponurzać* (*Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06*) *ponurzać się* (*Bud74*, *Rak06*), *ponurzany* (*Czech77*, *Rak06*), *ponurzony* (*Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06*), *ponurzyciel* (*Bud74*), *ponurzyć* (*Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06*), *ponurzyć się* (*Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06*). To harmonize the terminology used, the editors of *Rak06* follow in the footsteps of Marcin Czechowic, consistently utilizing the lexeme *ponurzenie*, and in the case of predicative forms, they limit their diversity to forms derived only from the verb *ponurzyć*.

On the other hand, both Catholic – *Leop61*, *Wuj99* – and Protestant – *Brz63*, *Gd32* – translations replace the Greek *βάπτισμα* and *βαπτίζω* with the traditional lexemes *krzest* and *krzcić*<sup>86</sup> (with their inflective and morphologic derivatives). These lexical substitutes, which are conservative from the perspective of the Nontrinitarian doctrine, are also found in *Bud72*. It is not easy to interpret this fact. We should be reminded here that Szymon Budny did not identify himself with this edition, which is proven by the fact that in the following translation, authorized by him, the translator did not use the lexemes *krzest* or *krzcić* even once.

The results of the distributional-contextual analysis presented here serve as a basis for several conclusions. Lexemes *pokajanie*, *kajanie się*, *kajac się*, *pokajać się* (*Bud72*, *Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06*), *ponurzenie*, *nurzenie*, *ponurzyć*, *nurzać* (only *Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06*) and lexemes *zbor*, *zborowy* – variantive in Protestant translations and used consistently by Nontrinitarians (*Bud72*, *Bud74*, *Czech77*, *Rak06*) are the Polish equivalents of the Greek lexemes *μετάνοια* ‘repentance’, *μετανοέω* ‘to repent’, *βάπτισμα* ‘a dipping or sinking’, *βαπτίζω* ‘to dip, sink’, *ἐκκλησία* ‘a (religious) congregation’, which are typical for Nontrinitarian translations of the Renaissance period. By comparing them with the substitutes used in the Catholic and Protestant translations of the Renaissance, we can view them as the lexical expressions of the Nontrinitarian doctrinal community, which was unitary, anti-baptist, and congregationalist. It stemmed from the religiously motivated

<sup>85</sup> Magdalena Hawrysz proves that the rejection of the traditional lexemes *chrzest* and *chrzcić* by replacing them with the lexemes *ponurzenie*, *ponurzać* and their derivatives, from the pragmatic point of view, was a result of the Nontrinitarian aim to establish a stronger link between the specialist vocabulary used in religious polemics with the text of the New Testament and to “create a terminology consisting of words-images”, which is revealed in the “reflection on the correlation between a concept and a term” and efforts of the Polish Brethren to mark their distinct religious identity (Hawrysz 2010: 128–130).

<sup>86</sup> In *Wuj99* and *Gd32*, these lexemes are provided in a more contemporary form – *chrzest*, *chrzcić*.

need to read the "szczyry"<sup>87</sup> sense of the Biblical message, undistorted by tradition<sup>88</sup>. While in comparison with the lexicon of the Catholic and Protestant translations of the New Testament, these lexemes are doctrinally exclusive, their introduction in the text of Polish translations of the New Testament results mainly from painstaking and thorough philological investigations (Czerniatowicz 1969: 12) – etymological and semantic – conducted by translators, who were a part of this community – Szymon Budny, Marcin Czechowic and members of the Racovian group under the direction of Walenty Smalcus. The latter wrote in the introduction to *Rak06*:

Lecz jednak, aby tak wielkie pożytki skuteczne były, potrzeba tego jest, żeby Pisma Świète nie tylko pilnie i uczenie, ale też i wiernie przekładane były. I żeby w tych, którzy je przekładają między innymi nawęcej nie była taka wada, żeby chcieli Pisma Ś. według tego jako oni z dawna o rozmaitych częstkach wiary chrystiańskiej rozumieją, przekładać i one według swego rozumienia odmieniać, ale żeby wszystko swoje rozumienie według Pisma Ś. uważać i odmieniać gotowi byli<sup>89</sup>. (*Nowy Testament* 1606: k.\*2)

The analysis has also shown that the equivalents of the Greek *μετάνοια* 'repentance', *μετανοέω* 'to repent', *βάπτισμα* 'a dipping or sinking', *βαπτίζω* 'to dip, sink' in *Bud72* are conservative, traditional, and do not distinguish this translation in terms of its lexicon from the Catholic or Protestant ones. On the other hand, translators of *Rak06* reduced variantivity of the Polish equivalents of *ἐκκλησία* 'a (religious) congregation', *μετάνοια* 'repentance', *μετανοέω* 'to repent', *βάπτισμα* 'a dipping or sinking', *βαπτίζω* 'to dip, sink', assigning the status of Nontrinitarian religious terms to the lexemes *zbor*, *pokajanie*, *pokajając się*, *ponurzenie* and *ponurzać* respectively.

After the treaty of Sandomierz (1570), Nontrinitarians became an isolated community, which worked out some particular patterns of intragroup interactions that strengthened its unity and supported its identity<sup>90</sup>. The ultimate effect of the philological-exegetic analysis, which resulted in introduction in the

<sup>87</sup> 'true'

<sup>88</sup> The following justification has been provided in the introduction to *Rak06*: "Miedzy inszymi dobrodziejstw, ktore Pan czasow w tych ostatecznych czasiech ludziom pokazać raczył, nie jest to pośledniejsze, że na miejsce onej niewolej, ktora od dawnych czasow między tymi, którzy imię Pana Chrystusowe mianują, trwała, taką wolność zjednał i zdarzył, że dzisia każdemu człowiekowi słowo boże wolno czytać i że je każdy w swoim przyrodzonym języku czytać może" (*Nowy Testament* 1606: k.\*2). [Among other blessings, which the Lord has condescended to provide to people in these end times, we should see it as important that in the place of the captivity, which was for so long the fate of those believing in Christ our Lord, God has given us so much freedom that today any man can read the Word of God, and they can read it in their native language.]

<sup>89</sup> However, for such great benefits to bring effect, it is necessary to study and learn the Holy Scriptures and translate them faithfully. Moreover, those who translate should be free from the flaw of desiring to translate the Holy Scriptures as they have understood them on the basis of various parts of the Christian faith and change them according to their understanding; contrarily, they should be ready to amend and correct their knowledge by following the Holy Scriptures.

<sup>90</sup> The linguistic communicative community is constituted by language patterns of social interaction, which distinguish it as exclusive among other social groups (Gumperz 1968: 463; Zabrocki 1972: 17–25).

Nontrinitarian translations of the New Testament of the Polish equivalents *zbor*, *kajanie*, *pokajanie*, *kajać się*, *kajać*, *pokajać się*, *nurzanie*, *ponurzenie*, *nurzać*, *ponurzyć*, is their confessionalization, which strengthened the exclusivism of the Nontrinitarian communicative community.

### Source texts in the chronological order

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- Wuj99* – The Jakub Wujek's Bible – *Biblia Jakuba Wujka (1599) – Biblia, to jest Księgi Starego i Nowego Testamentu, według łacińskiego przekładu starego, w Kościele powszechnym przyjętego, na polski język znowu z pilnością przełożone, z dokładaniem tekstu żydowskiego i greckiego i z wykładaniem katolickim trudniejszych miejsc do obrony wiary świętej powszechnej przeciw kacerztwom tych czasow należących*, translated by Jakub Wujek, Krakow: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1599.
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Received: 15.01.2023. Accepted: 05.03.2023.

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