

Eternal Bonds: Samuel Friedrich Willenberg's Reinforcement of the Reformation Concept of Vocation at the Danzig Academic Gymnasium

Matthew Oseka

Concordia Theological Seminary in Hong Kong
香港路德會協同神學院

In memoriam Professoris Iani Thaddaei Maciuszko

I. Introduction

The Reformation concept of vocation, which was propounded by Luther¹ and Melancthon², impressed upon people from all walks of life that the world of which they were a part, the responsibilities of daily

¹ As encapsulated in his personal confession of faith: Martin Luther, "Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis (1528)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 26 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1909), 504-5 [III (Bekenntnis)].

² Philipp Melancthon, "Loca theologica (Tertia eorum aetas)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 21, ed. Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1854), 984-1015 [XX]. Ibidem, 975-76 [XIX, III-IV]. Idem, "Loca theologica Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 22, ed. Bretschneider and Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1855), 600-26 [Von weltlicher Obrigkeit]. Ibidem, 575 [Vom Gebet, III-IV]. Idem, "Catechesis puerilis (1543)," in *Supplementa Melancthoniana: Werke Phillip Melancthons die im Corpus Reformatorum vermisst werden*, vol. 5/1, ed. Ferdinand Cohrs (Leipzig: Haupt, 1915), 89-336.

life in which they were engaged and all institutions and relationships supporting the life of human beings as individuals and as a community were intended and designed by God for the benefit of humankind. The present paper explores how this concept of vocation was expounded and fortified by Samuel Friedrich Willenberg (胡生芳) who, from 1701 until his death in 1748, served as professor at the Danzig Academic Gymnasium (但澤學院).³ The latter was a Protestant educational institution which combined what is nowadays called a secondary school (中學) with what might be depicted as a post-secondary college (專上學院), and which was located in Danzig (但澤), one of the major Protestant cities in West Prussia (西普魯士).

Although the literature on the history of Danzig,⁴ on the history of the Reformation in Danzig,⁵ on the history of educational institutions

³ Ephraim Praetorius, "Professores am Gymnasio," in *Danziger Lehrer Gedächtnis* (Danzig and Leipzig: Rüdiger, 1760), 78. Theodor Hirsch, *Geschichte des akademischen Gymnasiums in Danzig in ihren Hauptzügen dargestellt* (Danzig: Wedel, 1837), 62 [Beilage IV, B, 9].

⁴ Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig historische Beschreibung (1645)*, ed. Georg Reinhold Curicke (Amsterdam and Danzig: Jansson, 1687). Daniel Gralath, *Versuch einer Geschichte Danzigs aus zuverlässigen Quellen und Handschriften*, vol. 2-3 (Königsberg: Hartung and Maurer, 1790-1791). Gottfried Lengnich, *Geschichte der Preussischen Lande königlich-polnischen Anteils*, vol. 1-9 (Danzig: Stolle and Schreiber, 1722-1755). Gotthilf Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs von der ältesten bis zur neuesten Zeit*, vol. 1-2 (Danzig: Ewert, 1828). Paul Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 2-4 (Danzig: Kafemann, 1918).

⁵ Hermann Freytag, *Wie Danzig evangelisch wurde* (Danzig: Verlag der Evangelischen Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1902). Agathon Harnoch, *Chronik und Statistik der evangelischen Kirchen in den Provinzen Ost- und Westpreussen* (Neidenburg: Nipkow, 1890), 367-404 [C, 1-4]. Hirsch, *Geschichte der Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig*, vol. 2 (Danzig: [s. n.], 1847). Eduard Schnaase, *Gedenket an eure Lehrer: Ein Erinnerungsbüchlein St. Katharinengemeinde in Danzig* (Danzig: Czerwinski, 1854). Idem, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Danzigs aktenmässig dargestellt* (Danzig: Bertling, 1863).

(Academic Gymnasium⁶ and primary schools⁷) in the city as well as on the history of the intellectual life in Danzig⁸ is immense, the dissemination and implementation of the Reformation concept of vocation at Protestant schools in the 17th and 18th centuries await further scrutiny from a theological perspective. Actually, if a positive outlook on human life and on eternal bonds (*vincula aeterna*, 綱常 [literally: 永綱])⁹ underpinning the existence of a community were not taught or practised, the Protestant concept of vocation would

⁶ Michael Christoph Hanov, "Proto-scholarcharum et proto-bibliothecariorum permagnificorum, magnificorum, generosorum maximeque strenuorum Gymnasii Academici Gedanensis meritorum memoria saecularis saeculi eiusdem secundi, paucis adumbrata et exhibita," in *Acta jubilaii secundi Gymnasii Gedanensis*, vol. 1 (Danzig: Schreiber, 1758), 231-63 [XXV]. Hirsch, *Geschichte des akademischen Gymnasiums*. Praetorius, "Origo et institutio Gymnasii Dantiscani," in *Athenae Gedanenses* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1713), 1-15 [I]. Siegfried Rühle, "Das Akademische Gymnasium zu Danzig und seine Bedeutung im Leben der Stadt," *Ostdeutsche Monatshefte* 5 (1929): 345-54. Bernhard Schulz, "Das Danziger Akademische Gymnasium im Zeitalter der Aufklärung," in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 76 (Danzig: Kafemann, 1941), 5-102. Ulrich Wendland, "Aus der Geschichte des Akademischen Gymnasiums in Danzig," in *Festschrift des Städtischen Gymnasiums und Realgymnasiums in Danzig zu seinem 375jährigen Bestehen* (Danzig: Danziger Verlagsdruckerei, 1933), 5-13.

⁷ Heinrich Döring, *Danziger Bilder* (Danzig: Gerhard, 1840), 54-56. Ibidem, 77-78. Walther Faber, *Die Johannisschule in Danzig vom Mittelalter bis zum Jahr 1824* (Danzig: Danziger Verlagsgesellschaft, 1925). Idem, "Die Verschmelzung der Pfarrschule bei St. Marien mit dem Akademischen Gymnasium 1817: Danziger Geistesleben zu Beginn der Preussischen Herrschaft," in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 73 (Danzig: Rosenberg, 1937), 211-23. Schnaase, *Die Schule in Danzig und ihr Verhältnis zur Kirche: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schule* (Danzig: Schroth, 1859). Simson, "Aus der älteren Geschichte des Danziger Schulwesens," in *Festschrift für die XVII. Westpreussische Provinzial-Lehrerversammlung zu Danzig 5.-6.-7. Oktober 1903* (Danzig: Kafemann, 1903), 58-80 [6]. Idem, *Geschichte der Schule zu St. Petri und Pauli in Danzig*, vol. 1 (Danzig: Schroth, 1904). Emil Waschinski, "Geschichte des Evangelischen Danziger Landschulwesens vom Zeitalter der Reformation bis zum Beginn der Preussischen Herrschaft (1793)," in *Das kirchliche Bildungswesen in Ermland, Westpreussen und Posen*, vol. 1, ed. Waschinski (Breslau: Hirt, 1928), 469-558 [Anhang II].

⁸ Andreas Charitius, *Commentatio historico literaria de viris eruditissimis Gedanensibus quibus scriptis inclaruerunt* (Wittenberg: Ludwig, 1715). Hanov and Christian Friedrich Charitius, *Spicilegium ad D. Andreae Charitii Archidiaconi Vitebergensis Commentationem de viris eruditissimis Gedanensibus* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1729). Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs*, vol. 1, 256-307 [IV, Kulturgeschichte]. Ibidem, 350-416 [V, Kulturgeschichte]. Praetorius, *Athenae Gedanenses*. Franz Steffen, *Geschichte der ethnographischen, geschichtlichen, kulturellen, geistigen und künstlerischen Verbundenheit Danzigs mit Deutschland von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Danzig: Westpreussischer Verlag, 1932), 201-36 [Unter der Schutzherrschaft der Könige von Polen, 6-7].

⁹ Melancthon, "Loca theologica (Tertia eorum aetas)," 690 [VI, Expositio decalogi, Decalogus]. Ibidem, 723 [VI, De vindicta]. Ibidem, 730 [VI, De castitate]. Ibidem, 1005 [XX].

never transform the social fabric of the territories which embraced the Reformation. The ability to invest human life with significance (Sinnverleihung), namely, to give meaning to human life proved to be a lasting contribution of the 16th-century Reformation to the modern world and concurred with the Confucian foundations of Chinese culture. Thus, it might be viewed as an interface between Protestant Christianity and the Chinese tradition.

II. Historical Context

A part of the Prussian territories denominated later as West Prussia was incorporated into the Polish Crown in 1454.¹⁰ Previously, this region was controlled by the Teutonic Knights, yet it sought to uphold its independence, or at least, some degree of autonomy, both from the Teutonic Knights and from the Polish Crown. Since this part of the Prussian territories joined the Polish Crown of its own accord (reciproca sponsio), it enjoyed a high degree of autonomy and functioned as a special administrative region of the Polish Commonwealth. Although West Prussia was subordinate to the Polish Crown, it was exempted from the laws passed by the Polish Parliament unless Polish kings would extend and apply them specifically to West Prussia. The Prussian Estates acted as the legislature of West Prussia and represented West Prussia, especially its major cities, which were led by their city councils, before the Polish Crown.

There was no religious privilege for whole West Prussia. Religious privileges granted by the Polish Crown to individual West Prussian cities could be, on the one hand, temporary or permanent, on the other hand, partial or comprehensive. Temporary privileges were to be valid until the ecclesiastical authorities (i. e. a national or "ecumenical" council) or the civil authorities (i. e. Parliament)

¹⁰ "Literae incorporationis recuperatae a Cruciferis et ad corpus Regni sponte redeuntis Prussiae (1454)," in *Volumina legum*, vol. 1 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1859), 78-81.

would solve or decide on theological controversies between Catholics and Protestants. On the contrary, permanent privileges were valid perpetually and did not have to be renewed though they could be confirmed by newly elected kings and some West Prussian cities preferred to seek such confirmation.¹¹ Partial privileges were limited in extent and gave permission to distribute not only bread but also wine to laypeople in the Lord's Supper, whereas comprehensive privileges authorised residents of the cities, which received them, to profess and to practise the Christian religion as defined in the Augsburg Confession freely and publicly within the municipal jurisdiction. Moreover, such comprehensive privileges allowed those Protestant cities to operate their educational, medical and charitable institutions according to their religious beliefs. Nonetheless, West Prussian city councils were not allowed to outlaw or to curtail the religious activity of the Catholic church within their municipal jurisdictions.

Danzig received temporary and partial religious privileges in 1557,¹² while a permanent and comprehensive religious privilege was granted to the city and to the territory under its jurisdiction in 1577.¹³ City councils of those West Prussian cities, which embraced the Reformation, usually passed church ordinances to regulate the institutional operation of the Protestant church and to define its theological profile. In 1570, the Danzig City Council recognised the Augsburg Confession as the theological foundation of Protestant congregations located in the city and in the territory under its

¹¹ A confirmation of a religious privilege could consist in putting the king's signature either to the text of the original privilege or to the paraphrase thereof.

¹² "König Sigismund August gestattet der Stadt Danzig das Abendmahl under beiden Gestalten bis zum nächsten Reichstag (5 Juli 1557)," in *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 4, ed. Simson (Danzig: Kafemann, 1918), 175-76 [No. 164]. "König Sigismund August erlaubt der Stadt Danzig den Genuss des heiligen Abendmahls under beiden Gestalten bis zum nächsten Reichstag (8 Juli 1557)," in *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 4, 176-77 [No. 165].

¹³ "König Stephanus erteilt der Stadt Danzig das Recht des freien Bekenntnisses der Augsburgischen Konfession (16 Dezember 1577)," in *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 4, 216-17 [No. 172].

jurisdiction,¹⁴ and reinforced this recognition in 1586.¹⁵ In the subsequent centuries, the theological profile of the Protestant church in Danzig continued to be defined by *Confessio Augustana*. In the 17th century, the original version of the Augsburg Confession was also expanded and modified¹⁶ in order to resist more vigorously the Radical Reformation¹⁷ and Catholicism.¹⁸ For this purpose, two different paraphrases of the Augsburg Confession were made.

In West Prussian cities and in the territories under their jurisdictions, the system of education was governed by city councils. In principle, city councils operated secondary and post-secondary schools (i. e. academic gymnasia) directly, while primary schools were affiliated with local Protestant congregations. Academic gymnasia¹⁹ and some primary schools²⁰ had their own bylaws (statutes) which were usually drafted by schools and endorsed by a city council. Although statutes would not be prepared apart from a school, for which they were designated, only a city council was in a position to endorse them and to make them legally binding.

The Danzig City Council managed the school system through the Board of Education (Latin: *Collegium Scholarchale*, German: *Scholarchat*) which was selected by the city council from all social strata. Members of the Board (ten altogether) were denominated as

¹⁴ "Die Kirchenordinanz (1570)," in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 4, ed. Emil Sehling (Leipzig: Reisland, 1911), 188 [Von der Lehre].

¹⁵ "Dekret des Senats (23. Oktober 1586)," in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 4, 191.

¹⁶ Schnaase, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Danzigs*, 212-220 [II, A, 2, Die Bekenntnisse und Zeugnisse].

¹⁷ "Brevis declaratio fidei," in *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Danzigs*, ed. Schnaase, 687-735 [Beilage A].

¹⁸ "Repetitio," in *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Danzigs*, 736-63 [Beilage B].

¹⁹ The bylaws of the Danzig Academic Gymnasium: *Constitutio nova Gymnasii Dantiscani* (Danzig: Rhode, 1568). *Leges Gymnasii Gedanensis* (Danzig: Rhete, 1655).

²⁰ For instance, St. Mary's School in Danzig which was a primary school affiliated to St. Mary's Protestant Church (Marienkirche): *Leges officia docentium ad discentium in Schola Mariana Dantisci complectentes: Statuta und Satzung vom Amt der Lehrer und Schüler in der Danziger Pfarrschule zu Sankt Marien* (Danzig: Rhode, 1592).

scholarchs (sing. Greek: σχολάρχης, Latin: scholarcha, German: Scholarch). The Board appointed teachers and principals as well as supervised the operation of all schools in Danzig. The employment of professors at the Academic Gymnasium required approval of the Danzig City Council. In the 17th century, the Board²¹ was chaired by the mayor who in this capacity was called a "proto-scholarch" and it included three representatives of the city council, two representatives of the judiciary and four representatives of the working class coming from four municipal districts of Danzig.²² Thus, the Board consisted of four commoners and six public servants (mayor, three city councillors and two judges).

In 1551, the Danzig City Council introduced compulsory primary education in the city²³ which was carried out through eight parochial primary schools operating since the 17th century²⁴ and through a special school located in the orphanage.²⁵ All these schools were subsidised and governed by the city of Danzig.²⁶ In the rural areas, which came within the jurisdiction of the Danzig City Council, compulsory primary

²¹ "Concordata von Anno 1678," in *Concordata Ordinum Regiae Civitatis Polonicae Gedanensis: Concordata oder Verträge der Ordnungen königlicher polnischer Stadt Danzig* (Danzig: [s. n.], 1678), 9 [§ 2]. Lengnich, "Ius publicum Civitatis Gedanensis oder der Stadt Danzig Verfassung und Rechte (1769)," in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 1, ed. Otto Günther (Danzig: Bertling, 1900), 314-20 [XX]. See the composition of the Board in 1757: "Kirchen- und Schulenstaat der Stadt Danzig vom Jahr 1757," in *Nova acta historico-ecclesiastica oder Sammlung zu den neuesten Kirchengeschichten*, vol. 3 (Weimar: Hoffmann, 1759), 427 [VI, B, 1].

²² Koggenquartier, Hohenquartier, Breitenquartier and Fischerquartier. Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig historische Beschreibung*, 124 [II, XIII].

²³ "Armenordnung für Danzig (1551)," in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 4, 176-181.

²⁴ St. Mary's School, St. John's School, St. Catherine's School, St. Bartholomew's School, St. Peter's and Paul's School, St. Barbara's School, St. Salvator's School and St. Trinity's School.

²⁵ *Die Schulordnung des hiesigen Kinderhauses* (Danzig: Reiniger, 1707). Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig historische Beschreibung*, 342-45 [IV, X]. Schnaase, "Die Schule am Kinderhaus," in *Die Schule in Danzig*, 70-73.

²⁶ Lengnich, "Ius publicum Civitatis Gedanensis oder der Stadt Danzig Verfassung und Rechte (1769)," 314-20 [XX]. Ibidem, 213 [XIII, § 18]. Max Foltz, "Geschichte des Danziger Stadthaushalts," in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 8 (Danzig: Kafemann, 1912), 154-62 [II, III, 3].

education was effectively implemented as early as the first half of the 17th century.²⁷

III. Samuel Friedrich Willenberg's Life and Writings

Samuel Friedrich Willenberg²⁸ was born on 2 November 1663 in the Silesian city of Brieg and died on 2 October 1748 in Danzig.²⁹ He stemmed from a noble Protestant family of public servants and lawyers, while his father, Georg Willenberg, studied law.³⁰ Samuel Friedrich Willenberg was raised in Oels³¹ and received primary and secondary education in Brieg,³² where he attended a local Protestant school, and in Breslau³³ where he studied at the Gymnasium of Mary

²⁷ Waschinski, "Geschichte des Evangelischen Danziger Landschulwesens vom Zeitalter der Reformation bis zum Beginn der Preussischen Herrschaft (1793)," "Memorial des Schulkollegiums aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Das kirchliche Bildungswesen*, vol. 1, 532 [Nachtrag zu Anhang II, 1].

²⁸ *Das gelehrte Preussen*, vol. 1 (Thorn: Nicolai, 1723), 231-236 [XV (16 Januar 1723), § 41]. Praetorius, "Rectores et professores Gymnasii Dantiscani," in *Athenae Gedanenses*, 159-161 [LXXXIII]. "Vom Leben und Absterben wie auch anderen Veränderungen derer Herren Gelehrten," in *Gelehrte Neuigkeiten Schlesiens zum Vergnügen allerhand Liebhaber gesammelt im April 1736* (Schweidnitz: Böhm, 1736), 191-92 [V]. Johann Heinrich Zedler, "Willenberger von Willenberg (Samuel Friedrich)," in *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon*, vol. 57 (Leipzig and Halle: Zedler, 1748), 126-30.

²⁹ Hirsch, *Geschichte des akademischen Gymnasiums*, 62 [Beilage IV, B, 9].

³⁰ Zedler, "Willenberger von Willenberg," in *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon*, vol. 57, 121-26.

³¹ There was also a Protestant school located in Oels (Oelser Gymnasium), yet Willenberg did not attend it. Wilhelm Gotthelf Leissnig, "Versuch einer Geschichte des Herzoglichen Gymnasiums zu Oels (I)," in *Zu der öffentlichen Prüfung aller Klassen des Oelsnischen Gymnasiums*, ed. Eduard Lange (Oels: Ludwig, 1841), 3-24. Idem, "Versuch einer Geschichte des Herzoglichen Gymnasiums zu Oels (II)," in *Zu der öffentlichen Prüfung aller Klassen des Oelsnischen Gymnasiums*, ed. Eduard Lange (Oels: Ludwig, 1842), 3-27. Moritz Rehm, "Fortsetzung des Leissnig'schen Versuchs einer Geschichte des Herzoglichen Gymnasiums zu Oels," in *Programm des Gymnasiums zu Oels*, ed. Ernst Woldemar Silber (Oels: Ludwig, 1860), 1-34.

³² Karl Friedrich Schönwälder and Johannes Julius Guttman, *Geschichte des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Brieg* (Breslau: Nischkowsky, 1869).

³³ Ferdinand Meister, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Gymnasiums zu St. Maria Magdalena," in *Festschrift zur 250jährigen Jubelfeier des Gymnasiums zu St. Maria Magdalena zu Breslau* (Breslau: Breslauer Genossenschafts-Buchdruckerei, 1893), 3-34 [I, 1-2].

Magdalene³⁴ affiliated with the Protestant Church of Mary Magdalene (Magdalenenkirche). Later, Willenberg joined the Danzig Academic Gymnasium from which he graduated on 19 September 1686 based on a thesis on Roman law³⁵ supervised by professor Joachim Hoppe and printed the same year. This thesis might be recognised as equivalent to a contemporary Master's thesis.

On 1 November 1686, Willenberg was admitted to the University of Frankfurt an der Oder (Viadrina)³⁶ where, on 20 August 1691, he defended his doctoral dissertation on civil law³⁷ under the supervision of professor Peter Schultz. In 1693, Willenberg began teaching at Viadrina to be appointed extraordinary (associate) professor of jurisprudence in 1699. In 1700, the Danzig Academic Gymnasium offered the ordinary (tenured) professorship of law and history to Willenberg who accepted that offer and joined the Faculty of the Danzig Gymnasium on 27 January 1701.

Willenberg was a prolific writer and an industrious teacher who himself authored many textbooks and supervised numerous dissertations since his employment at Viadrina in 1693³⁸ until his last years in Danzig. It is difficult to ascertain to which degree students writing academic dissertations contributed to their content. On the level, which would nowadays correspond to Master's studies, a supervisor was to a considerable degree responsible for the substance of a thesis, whereas at doctoral level, a contribution made by a student, who defended his thesis, was more significant. Master's theses bearing the same title and

³⁴ Called in Latin *Magdalenaum*, whereas in German - *Gymnasium zu St. Maria Magdalena*.

³⁵ Joachim Hoppe and Samuel Friedrich Willenberg, *Juris Justiniani explanati disputatio III de servis Romanis atque hodiernis* (Danzig: Rhete, 1686).

³⁶ Ernst Friedländer, Georg Liebe and Emil Theuner, ed., *Ältere Universitätsmatrikeln (I): Universität Frankfurt an der Oder*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1888), 198 [1686 (November 1)].

³⁷ Peter Schultz and Willenberg, *Dissertatio juridica inauguralis de beneficio invito dato* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Köpsel, 1691).

³⁸ Starting from January 1694. Willenberg and Johann Friedrich Neumann, *Disputatio juridica de novatione legali* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Köpsel, 1694).

led by the same professor, yet presented by different students, did not turn out to be identical though their structures and findings largely converged.³⁹

Available lists of Willenberg's writings⁴⁰ are extensive and provide a glimpse into his legacy, yet they cannot be considered complete or exhaustive. Although most of his works were in the field of jurisprudence, Willenberg discussed the concept of vocation in a thesis titled *De divina ad officia civitatis secularia vocatione* which was supervised by him and presented by Konstantin Gottfried Groddeck on 25 May 1730. This dissertation was published twice, namely, in 1730⁴¹ and in 1734⁴². Besides, Willenberg touched upon the issue of vocation in the following dissertations which he supervised at the Danzig Academic Gymnasium: *De exuperantia amoris erga proximum*⁴³ defended by Jakob Maul on 7 December 1702, *De educatione pupillorum matri non deneganda*⁴⁴ – by Benjamin Strauss on 20 April 1720, *De honorario et notitiae causa dato tutore*⁴⁵ – by Johann

³⁹ As exemplified by the two Master's theses (both titled "De natura et constitutione ethices") supervised by Heinrich Nicolai and presented by Joachim Boye in 1637 and by Christian Nifanius in 1649 at the Danzig Academic Gymnasium. Heinrich Nicolai and Joachim Boye, "De natura et constitutione ethices," in *Miscellaneorum decadis tertiae*, vol. 1, ed. Nicolai (Danzig: Rhete, 1637). Nicolai and Christian Nifanius, "De natura et constitutione ethicae," in *Gymnasium ethicum*, vol. 1, ed. Nicolai (Danzig: Rhete, 1649).

⁴⁰ *Das gelehrte Preussen*, vol. 1, 232-236 [XV (16 Januar 1723), § 41]. Praetorius, "Rectores et professores Gymnasii Dantiscani," 159-161 [LXXXIII]. "Vom Leben und Absterben wie auch anderen Veränderungen derer Herren Gelehrten," 192 [V]. Zedler, "Willenberger von Willenberg (Samuel Friedrich)," 126-30.

⁴¹ Willenberg and Konstantin Gottfried Groddeck, *De divina ad officia civitatis secularia vocatione: Vom göttlichen Beruf zu weltlichen Stadtämtern* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1730).

⁴² Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina ad officia civitatis secularia vocatione: Vom göttlichen Beruf zu weltlichen Stadtämtern* (Danzig: [s. n.], 1734).

⁴³ Willenberg and Jakob Maul, *De exuperantia amoris erga proximum* (Danzig: Stolle, 1702).

⁴⁴ Willenberg and Benjamin Strauss, *De educatione pupillorum matri non deneganda* (Danzig: Stolle, 1720). Republished as: Willenberg and Strauss, "De educatione pupillorum matri non deneganda (1720)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, ed. Willenberg (Danzig: Schreiber, 1728), 66-71 [II, IX].

⁴⁵ Willenberg and Johann Konstantin Ferber, *De honorario et notitiae causa dato tutore* (Danzig: Stolle, 1722). Republished as: Willenberg and Ferber, "De honorario et notitiae causa dato tutore (1722)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 370-77 [III, XI].

Konstantin Ferber on 28 March 1722, *De supremo orphanorum tutore*⁴⁶ – by Johann Hieronymus Broen on 18 April 1722 and *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia paternae educationis ad vitam civilem*⁴⁷ – by Friedrich Gottlieb Fraisligh on 17 October 1726.

Willenberg's students mentioned above (Groddeck,⁴⁸ Maul,⁴⁹ Strauss,⁵⁰ Broen,⁵¹ Fraisligh⁵² and Ferber⁵³) produced other contributions

⁴⁶ Willenberg and Johann Hieronymus Broen, *De supremo orphanorum tutore: Vom Ober-Vormund* (Danzig: Stolle, 1722). Republished as: Willenberg and Broen, "De supremo orphanorum tutore: Vom Ober-Vormund (1722)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 378-88 [II, XII].

⁴⁷ Willenberg and Friedrich Gottlieb Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia paternae educationis ad vitam civilem* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1726).

⁴⁸ Willenberg and Groddeck, "De periculo venditoris in re vendita," in *Discursus juris*, ed. Willenberg (Danzig: Schreiber, 1729), 200-204 [XLVIII]. Willenberg and Groddeck, "De leniendi turpis mandati poena," in *Discursus juris*, 229-33 [LIV]. Willenberg and Groddeck, "De praeliminaribus executionis criminalis," in *Discursus juris*, 337-341 [LXXV].

⁴⁹ Willenberg and Maul, *Dissertatio juridica de denunciatione criminum* (Danzig: Stolle, 1703).

⁵⁰ Willenberg and Strauss, *De societate leonina* (Danzig: Stolle, 1720). Republished as: Willenberg and Strauss, "De societate leonina (1720)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 128-134 [I, XIX]. Willenberg and Strauss, *De ambitu officii non vacantis* (Danzig: Stolle, 1720). Republished as: Willenberg and Strauss, "De ambitu officii non vacantis (1720)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 202-12 [I, XXVIII].

⁵¹ Willenberg and Broen, *De nimium justo* (Danzig: Stolle, 1721). Republished as: Willenberg and Broen, "De nimium justo (1721)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 295-302 [II, III].

⁵² Willenberg and Fraisligh, "De legitimatione per rescriptum principis," in *Discursus juris*, 30-34 [VIII]. Willenberg and Fraisligh, "De cautione usufructuaria," in *Discursus juris*, 73-77 [XVIII]. Willenberg and Fraisligh, "De pacto pignorum commissorio," in *Discursus juris*, 169-72 [XL].

⁵³ Willenberg and Ferber, *De herede instituto sub conditione mutandae religionis vel non* (Danzig: Stolle, 1720). Republished as: Willenberg and Ferber, "De herede instituto sub conditione mutandae religionis vel non (1720)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 86-93 [I, XII]. Willenberg and Ferber, *De incerto caedis commissae auctore* (Danzig: Stolle, 1720). Republished as: Willenberg and Ferber, "De incerto caedis commissae auctore (1720)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 174-81 [I, XXV]. Willenberg and Ferber, *De jurisdictione in extraneos competente* (Danzig: Stolle, 1720). Republished as: Willenberg and Ferber, "De jurisdictione in extraneos competente (1720)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 279-84 [I, XXXV]. Willenberg and Ferber, *Dissertatio juris publici Prutenici de muneris thesaurarii in Prussia Occidentali antiquitate iuribus et praerogativis* (Danzig: Stolle, 1721). Willenberg and Ferber, *De concursu sponsaliorum* (Danzig: Stolle, 1722). Republished as: Willenberg and Ferber, "De concursu sponsaliorum (1722)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 320-28 [II, V]. Willenberg and Ferber, *De testamento ad mortem condemnati* (Danzig: Stolle, 1722). Republished as: Willenberg and Ferber, "De testamento ad mortem condemnati (1722)," in *Selecta jurisprudentiae civilis*, 471-79 [II, XXII].

or dissertations on purely legal matters which were also supervised by him. It should be noted that most of the students, who explored the concept of vocation under Willenberg's direction, worked later in their lives as public servants.⁵⁴ This coincided with Willenberg's views on public service as a divine work (聖工), highly commendable and nurturing the community.⁵⁵

IV. Human Beings Created as a Community

Willenberg's and Groddeck's thinking on a divine call to secular offices in the community⁵⁶ rested on the belief that God created human beings to exist as a community. In their opinion, communal life was God's original and perfect design for humankind which preceded the reality of sin and which should not be construed as a result of the fall. Rather, any alienation from the community or damage to social bonds was what arose from the fall and what could make human life miserable. From their perspective, it was not that people themselves started forming social bonds in order to cope with their brokenness, solitude or alienation in the aftermath of original sin. Rather, God originally and intentionally created human beings to live together and to serve one another. God, not any travails or predicaments of human existence, irrevocably bonded people together and thus, defined the human race.

In the writing *De exuperantia amoris erga proximum*, Willenberg and Maul⁵⁷ emphasised that since God was the One who created human beings as a community, the way in which people relate to one another should reflect and honour the Creator's intent. In the Hebrew Scriptures (Lev. 5:21), one's unfaithfulness to the neighbour was recognised as

⁵⁴ On Groddeck: Löschin, *Die Bürgermeister, Ratsherren und Schöppen des Danziger Freistaates und die Patrizierfamilien denen sie angehörten* (Danzig: Wedel, 1868), 45-46 [1739]. On Strauss: Ibidem, 50 [1771]. On Broen: Ibidem, 44 [1722]. On Ferber: Ibidem, 19-20 [1501].

⁵⁵ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1730), passim.

⁵⁶ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, passim.

⁵⁷ Willenberg and Maul, *De exuperantia*, passim.

his or her unfaithfulness to God. Actually, in the light of the Hebrew Scriptures and the Christian Scriptures, God expected human beings not only to tolerate one another but also to love one another to the same degree as they ought to love themselves as God's creatures (Matt. 19:19; 1 John 3:11-24; James).

In view of God's commandment, each person should love himself or herself as God's creature engaged in the service of the neighbour. Therefore, everyone had the right to protect himself or herself physically, mentally and socially.⁵⁸ Without affirming himself or herself as God's creature and without recognising his or her life as God's gift, no-one could affirm or appreciate other human beings because one's failure to value his or her own life implied failure to value the lives of others. In this respect, love for the neighbour was an extension of self-love.

By affirming himself or herself as God's creature, each individual glorified his or her Creator, as Willenberg and Maul⁵⁹ taught. Likewise, by caring for the neighbour, human beings worshipped their Creator who did not call them to keep one another at a safe distance or to treat one another with indifference but rather made them a self-perpetuating community (Gen. 1:26-28). Consequently, shared lives effected mutual obligations which materialised through specific provisions for the disadvantaged. In fact, the commandment to love the neighbour (Lev. 19:18) was a part of the wider social arrangements (harvest and jubilee regulations) enshrined in the Book of Leviticus which prompted the privileged to support the underprivileged in material terms (food, land, housing, property etc.).

From Willenberg's and Maul's⁶⁰ perspective, community-building love for the neighbour was not a sense of abstract, conceptualised affection for an unknown, ideal human being but rather a firm

⁵⁸ Willenberg and Maul, *De exuperantia*, 33 [II, XXIII]. Willenberg and Maul mentioned a dissertation supervised by Samuel Stryk at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder. Samuel Stryk and Casimir von Osten, *Jus hominis in se ipsum* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Ernest, 1675).

⁵⁹ Willenberg and Maul, *De exuperantia*, passim.

⁶⁰ Willenberg and Maul, *De exuperantia*, passim .

commitment to real persons entrusted to one's care. They noticed that in Hebrew (עֵרֵב) and in Greek (ὁ πλησίον), the neighbour was referred to as the one who was next to. In their opinion, one's love for the neighbour accorded with one's station in life. Therefore, no-one should feel responsible for humankind or guilty because of all problems with which humankind was fraught but rather everyone ought to extend his or her care, commitment and compassion to those within his or her reach who could be related to in accordance with his or her station in life. Consequently, a sense of belonging and obligation to the community of one's birth or of one's choice was also a natural expression of one's love for the neighbour.⁶¹

Willenberg and Maul⁶² recognised that the willingness to forgive one another's failures or imperfections would impact positively interpersonal relations because it encouraged people to show generosity and forbearance towards one another so that social bonds would not be torn asunder hastily or recklessly. It could also support the idea of dispensing justice in a public, corporate way, that is, on behalf of the community against private retaliation or arbitrary vengeance. Consequently, Willenberg and Maul acknowledged the social potential of the biblical concept of forgiveness embodied in the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer which was elucidated in the parable of the unforgiving servant (Matt. 18:21-35).⁶³

The concept of debt (ὀφείλημα) or solemn obligation (נדב) indicated that a human being owed his or her love to God and to the neighbour. Whoever failed to deliver this love to God and to the neighbour ran into debt to God and to the neighbour. The Scriptures

⁶¹ Willenberg and Maul, *De exuperantia*, 19 [II, III]. Willenberg and Maul referred to a dissertation supervised by Samuel Pufendorf. Samuel Pufendorf and Andreas Ulcken, "Dissertatio de obligatione erga patriam," in *Dissertationes academicae selectiores*, ed. Pufendorf (Frankfurt an der Oder and Leipzig: Weidmann, 1678), 1-94.

⁶² Willenberg and Maul, *De exuperantia*, passim.

⁶³ In the Jewish tradition, this concept was articulated in the Yom Kippur prayer כל נדב. "Abendgebet für den Versöhnungstag: ערבית ליום כפור," in *Festgebete der Israeliten: מחזור לכל מועדי השנה*, vol. 3, ed. and trans. Michael Sachs (Berlin: Gerschel, 1860), 6-7.

(Matt. 6:12) encouraged a believer to call upon God to cancel his or her debt in the same way as (ὡς καὶ)⁶⁴ he or she would cancel a debt of his or her neighbour who ran into debt to him or her by failing to love him or her. In other words, people should forgive one another because God forgave them. By forgiving one another, human beings could reflect God's forgiveness for them.

While advising Christians how to respond to an epidemic, Luther⁶⁵ articulated the moral principle which proved to be representative of the Wittenberg Reformation as far as ethics is concerned. This moral principle was carried on by Willenberg and Maul.⁶⁶ According to Luther, every decision or action should be evaluated from the viewpoint of one's service to the neighbour. The only thing that mattered to Luther was whether the neighbour was cared for, supported and built up instead of being neglected, suppressed or harmed. Luther claimed that in his or her decisions or actions, not only public servants but also people from all walks of life must ask themselves the same question because each individual was called by God to serve the neighbour in the family context (as a parent, child, spouse or sibling), while adults also in professional and public settings (as employers or employees, as those in authority or those under authority).

In his treatise of 1527, Luther⁶⁷ urged cities to establish and to maintain hospitals as public institutions so that those afflicted by infectious diseases could be looked after. In his opinion, public health was a responsibility of the entire community, not just a private concern. Luther called upon citizens to be responsible for one another's health by avoiding unnecessary exposure to contagion and appealed to those who were infected to isolate themselves not to infect others. These principles

⁶⁴ In the Lukan version of the Lord's Prayer (Luke 11:4), καὶ γὰρ conveyed the same meaning. William J. Slater, ed., *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969), 103 [γὰρ (3, a)].

⁶⁵ Luther, "Ob man vor dem Sterben fliehen möge (1527)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 23 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1901), 323-79.

⁶⁶ Willenberg and Maul, *De exuperantia*, passim.

⁶⁷ Luther, "Ob man vor dem Sterben fliehen möge (1527),".

were furthered and implemented in the West Prussian legislation on infectious diseases.⁶⁸ For Luther, the world was a web of relationships in which people were connected to one another by mutual service in their individual capacities. Thus, everyone had his or her station in life, namely, his or her God-given tasks as a service giver or a service recipient or both at the same time.⁶⁹

Protestant cities of West Prussia solicited for Royal religious privileges which would secure their right not only to worship according to the Reformation tenets embodied in the Augsburg Confession but also to operate social institutions (educational, medical and charitable) because they viewed such institutions as an actualisation of their religious beliefs and as a part of their religious identity.⁷⁰ This community-oriented nature of the Reformation was noted and fostered by Protestant educators in West Prussia⁷¹ and by their students.⁷²

⁶⁸ As exemplified by: "Pestordnung (1602)," in *Das verpestete Thorn oder summarischer Auszug Pestilenzseuchen*, ed. Jakob Heinrich Zerneck (Thorn: Laurer, 1710), 28-29; "Die Verordnung wegen jetzt grassirenden gefährlichen Krankheiten betreffende (1710)," in *Klio* 28, no. 1 (2014): 156-83.

⁶⁹ Parents, for instance, could be, on the one hand, service givers to their minor children, and on the other hand, service recipients as members of the community which would protect them through the rule of law and which would offer public services to them.

⁷⁰ "Armenordnung für Danzig (1551).". "Ordnung derer sich die Vorsteher der Hausarmen, Hinterspitals, Pocken- und Pestilenz- Hauses hinfort nebst der Ordnung Anno 1551 gedruckt werden zu gebrauchen werden (1610)," in *Medicalization Process of the Gdansk Hospitals: Social, Legal and Economic Aspects 1755-1874*, ed. Adam Szarszewski (Danzig: Academia Medica Gedanensis, 2007), 364-372 [18, 1]. "Confirmatio Augustanae Confessionis religionis Sigismundi Tertii (Cracoviae, 11 Januarii 1588)," in *Urkunden und Beiträge zur Preussischen Geschichte*, vol. 1, ed. Wilhelm Crichton (Königsberg and Leipzig: Hartung, 1784), 55-56 [I, V]. Josef Kaufmann, "Über Danzigs Sanitäts- und Medizinalwesen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 1 (1905): 4-17. Idem, "Über Danzigs Sanitäts- und Medizinalwesen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (Schluss)," *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 2 (1905): 26-36.

⁷¹ As exemplified by: Johann Lange, *Oratio (1747)* [Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing, Postbellum catalogue no. 26 (Manuscripts)]. Idem, *Oratio (1760)* [Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing, Postbellum catalogue no. 717/II (Manuscripts)]. Idem, *Oratio (1763)* [Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing, Postbellum catalogue no. 718/II (Manuscripts)].

⁷² As exemplified by: Johann Cramer, ed., *Orationes (1654-1665)* [Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing, Postbellum catalogue no. ME/46/HS (Manuscripts)]. Daniel Poplawskius, *Specimen laborum scholasticorum (1724)* [Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing, Postbellum catalogue no. 735/VIII (Manuscripts)].

From Willenberg's and Groddeck's perspective,⁷³ the worst thing that could happen to an individual person was an alienation from the community and lack of opportunity to exchange goods, products, services, skills, knowledge or time with others. This lack implied inability to share and to cooperate with others. In being detached from the community, an individual person could not develop his or her gifts but rather must suffer and diminish because God created human beings to live together and to act together for their mutual benefits.

In Willenberg's and Groddeck's opinion,⁷⁴ the human race could neither survive nor flourish unless it existed as a community because without eternal bonds, which connected people to one another, an individual person facing adversities would have to count only on himself or herself and thus, could not be shored up by others in order to weather difficulties and hardships. Consequently, Willenberg and Groddeck⁷⁵ argued that a sense of community, shared lives, commitment to the common good and a web of interpersonal relationships were essential to the existence of humankind and were the divine instruments through which God continued to sustain his creatures.

Furthermore Willenberg and Groddeck⁷⁶ contended that a gift of speech concurred with the relational identity of the human race and indicated both the ability and the compulsion of human beings to communicate with one another. A speech act or any attempt at externalising and articulating one's thoughts or feelings would relate people to one another because any communication was always towards the other person(s) regardless of whether it was positive or negative and irrespective of the response elicited (favourable, hostile or indifferent). Therefore, a gift of language, which God bestowed upon human beings in the creation, predestined them to interact with one another.

⁷³ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1730), 1-2 [I].

⁷⁴ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 1-2 [I].

⁷⁵ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 1-2 [I].

⁷⁶ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 1-2 [I]. *Ibidem*, 2 [III].

V. Human Beings Complementary to One Another

Willenberg and Groddeck⁷⁷ asserted that human nature, particularly, the power of reason and the instinct for survival, compelled human beings to live as a community. In their view, only the communal way of living made human life bearable and allowed human beings to respond to various challenges and hardships encountered daily. Their vision of communal life was overarching and it recognised human beings not only as existing beside one another (coexistence) but also as complementary to one another in action (collaboration).

For Willenberg and Groddeck,⁷⁸ human beings were disposed and destined to interact with one another and to share with one another whatever could benefit them individually. The former (i. e. communication) enabled human beings to forge and to sustain social bonds, whereas the latter (videlicet sharing) consisted in exchanging material (such as goods or products) and immaterial (knowledge, skills, emotions, attention, care, commitment, time etc.) phenomena. Willenberg and Groddeck⁷⁹ argued that the irresistible impulse to communal life, which originated from the God-given identity of humankind as a community,⁸⁰ caused human beings to establish families and to found villages and towns, namely, to live physically in the immediate proximity of one another.

Furthermore, Willenberg and Groddeck⁸¹ realised that gifts and abilities of individual persons varied so that individual members of the community were situated and poised to cater for one another's needs and to accomplish multi-faceted and complex tasks, which an individual person could not handle, by being complementary to one another. Every single member of the community could make his or her contribution and

⁷⁷ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 2-3 [II].

⁷⁸ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 2 [II].

⁷⁹ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 2-3 [II-III].

⁸⁰ Cf. "The Doctrine of the Mean: 中庸," in *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. James Legge (Hong Kong and London: Trübner, 1861), 269: "仁者人也" [XX, 5].

⁸¹ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 2-3 [II-III].

thus, could be valuable and helpful to other persons in the community by what he or she would offer. For instance, one person baked bread, while the other person taught the baker's children in exchange for the remuneration which allowed the teacher to purchase bread.

Therefore, Willenberg and Groddeck⁸² found the diversity of human beings not only factual but also necessary for the survival and prosperity of the human race. In their eyes, this diversity did not imply any deficiencies or flaws on the part of individual human beings because individual persons were created with their own individual and distinct abilities. Consequently, the diversity of individual persons and the existence of communal bonds connecting them ensured that the diverse needs of individual human beings could be catered for. This would be impossible if all people had equal abilities or identical skills. Due to this diversity, people could care for one another and thus, could practise their virtue.

VI. Mutuality of Human Beings

Willenberg's and Groddeck's⁸³ concept of humankind as diversity in unity and unity in diversity posited a design, that is, an orderly and intentional construction. Consequently, God connected people with one another in an orderly way, while all relationships intended by God were mutual and were structured. From their perspective,⁸⁴ all relationships derived from parenting and could be reduced thereto. Parents were natural (either biological or foster) and social (those in authority, public servants, employers, owners, etc.), depending on the domain in which they carried out their duties. Thus, those, who exercised any authority in the community, acted as parents for the community. Usually, one and the same person served simultaneously as a care giver and as a care recipient in more than one domain.

⁸² Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 2-3 [II-III].

⁸³ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 2-3 [II-III].

⁸⁴ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 2-3 [II-III]. Ibidem, 30 [XXXVI].

Willenberg and Groddeck⁸⁵ recognised the community as an extended family and interpreted social bonds as extended family bonds. Since the community was for them an extension of the family, communal life was an extension of family life. Therefore, the difference between family and society was quantitative, not qualitative. Obligations towards family members were the strongest and they were felt that way, while obligations towards other members of the community depended on one's station in life and were particular and limited. In this case, varying degrees of affection were natural and were required because God created humans as beings prioritising their emotions and their ties.

In Willenberg's and Groddeck's⁸⁶ view, mutuality and structure were inextricably intertwined. Parenting combined two kinds of interactions and none of them was a simple peerage. On the one hand, parents cared for children, tended to their needs and offered them protection and guidance. On the other hand, children owed obedience and respect to their parents and should be receptive to directions given by them. These two kinds of interactions established interdependence. Parents could expect that children would follow their directions, whereas children could rely on their parents' commitment and care. In this model, there was no room for exploitation or abuse. Likewise, relationships in the community were meant to reflect this kind of mutuality. Although those holding senior positions were entitled to lead, to command and to make use of their resources, which on occasion might be significant, they were bound to give others an opportunity to make their living (an economic aspect) in peace (a political aspect), that is, were obliged to help others to be productive and unharmed in their existence as much as possible.

⁸⁵ *Supra.*

⁸⁶ *Supra.*

In social terms, Willenberg, Ferber and Broen⁸⁷ contended that in addition to the generosity of individual benefactors, every community should develop the legal and administrative framework to support and to shelter the most vulnerable and disadvantaged members thereof such as minor orphans. In their view, every community was obliged to offer minor orphans legal protection and financial assistance by appointing and dismissing, when necessary, their legal guardians and by ensuring that minor orphans would be looked after by those who served as their guardians.

For Willenberg, Ferber and Broen,⁸⁸ minor orphans were the most helpless members of the community, yet God cared for them through the institutions of communal life which he himself designed and continued to sustain on a daily basis.⁸⁹ From their perspective, the situation of minor orphans demonstrated why God created human beings as a community of persons relying on one another. Without a sense of responsibility for the most vulnerable, humankind could neither flourish nor develop, according to God's intent.

Since mediaeval times, West Prussia had adopted and used the Kulm law (Kulmer / Kulmischer Recht) which provided a platform for municipal, civil, fiscal, inheritance, matrimonial, criminal and economic relations. In Danzig, the Kulm law continued to be in force even after the 1793 incorporation of the city into the Kingdom of Prussia.⁹⁰ This legislation regardless of its stage (the initial one,⁹¹

⁸⁷ Willenberg and Ferber, *De honorario*, passim. Willenberg and Broen, *De supremo*, passim.

⁸⁸ Supra.

⁸⁹ Eg. Exodus 22:22-24; Deuteronomy 10:18-19, 24:17-21, 26:12-13, 27:19; Isaiah 1:17; Jeremiah 22:3; Zachariah 7:10; Malachi 3:5.

⁹⁰ "Ius Culmense ex ultima revisione oder das vollständige Kulmische Recht (Danzig 1767)," in *Provinzialrechte aller zum Preussischen Staat gehörenden Länder und Landesteile*, vol. 3/3, ed. Friedrich Heinrich von Strombeck and Christian Karl Leman (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1832), 185-271.

⁹¹ Leman, ed., *Das alte kulmische Recht mit einem Wörterbuch* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1838), 134-38 [IV, C-CX].

the 1584 version⁹² or the ultimate version⁹³) established judicial procedures for endorsing and terminating the service of legal guardians for minor orphans and protected orphans' assets from misappropriation. By virtue of the Kulm law, the local authorities were mandated to identify a legal guardian for a minor orphan among his or her relatives or friends of the family, while the relationship between a minor orphan and his or her guardian was subject to public scrutiny.

In fact, the Roman law (Codex Justinianus), which shaped the legal landscape of Continental Europe, addressed the issue of tutelage.⁹⁴ Likewise, the Great Qing Legal Code (大清律例), which was representative of the legal system of Imperial China, offered protection to the most vulnerable persons, namely, to widowers (鰥), widows (寡), orphans (孤), the childless (獨) and the destitute (貧窮).⁹⁵ Such persons should be supported financially by the community if no family support was available.

The Danzig City Council operated an orphanage (founded in 1548⁹⁶) with a coeducational school located therein which offered basic instruction to male and female orphans.⁹⁷ This was an example of prudent and purpose-driven social welfare because the Danzig City Council made efficient use of its financial resources as it intended to equip orphans of both genders with knowledge, skills and attitudes which would allow them to survive after leaving the orphanage. Thus, the local authorities

⁹² *Das alte kulmische Recht* (Thorn: Nering, 1584), 130-32 [IV, § 100-107].

⁹³ *Ius Culmense ex ultima revisione oder das vollständige Kulmische Recht* (Danzig: Bartels, 1767), 189-96 [IV, I-XIV, § 136-159].

⁹⁴ Paul Kürger ed., *Codex Justinianus*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1877), 461-88 [V, XXVIII-LXVII].

⁹⁵ "戶役," in 大清律例 (欽定四庫全書), vol. 8 ([北京]: [s. n.], [1773]), [s. p.] [收養孤老 (§ 89)].

⁹⁶ Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig historische Beschreibung*, 342-45 [IV, X].

⁹⁷ Schnaase, "Die Schule am Kinderhaus," 70-73.

strove to prepare orphans for their adult lives as responsible members of the community who could earn their own livelihood. Therefore, in the curriculum, which was outlined in the school ordinance,⁹⁸ the need for Latin⁹⁹ and German literacy and for civic and religious education was fully acknowledged.

In 1698, the Danzig City Council built a shelter for destitute children and adults.¹⁰⁰ Its name (Spendhaus) derived from the German term for donation (Spende) because building costs and maintenance costs were covered by fund-raising, charitable lotteries and bequests administered by a special agency of the city called Spendeamt. Shelter facilities continued to be enlarged in the 18th century so that the destitute could not only live there but also raise themselves from poverty, children — by learning, while adults — by working.

⁹⁸ *Die Schulordnung des hiesigen Kinderhauses.*

⁹⁹ Though both West Prussia and East Prussia shared a similar cultural legacy, their linguistic profiles differed. In East Prussia, the use of Latin had been waning since the inception of the Duchy in 1525 and gradually, was limited to tertiary education. On the contrary, until the mid-18th century, West Prussia was treated as a special administrative region of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which, as a multi-ethnic, federal state, recognised Latin as its sole official language. As exemplified by: Carolus Gorski, ed., *Inventarium actorum conventualium Terrarum Prussiae 1600-1764* (Thorn: Societas Scientiarum Torunensis, 1950). *Lauda, statuum et ordinum Terrarum Prussiae in Conventu Generali die 28. Augusti Anno Domini 1730 Graudenti congregatorum* (Danzig: Krossius, 1731). *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 1 (Krakau: Typis Universitatis, 1872); vol. 18 (Krakau: Academia Litterarum, 1901); vol. 20 (Krakau: Academia Litterarum, 1907); vol. 21 (Krakau: Academia Litterarum, 1911). Theodorus Wierzbowski, ed., *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria*, vol. 5/1 (Warschau: Kowalewski, 1919). *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasow Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardynskiego we Lwowie*, vol. 1-25 (Lemberg: Seyfarth-Czajkowski and Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1868-1935).

¹⁰⁰ Lengnich, "Ius publicum Civitatis Gedanensis oder der Stadt Danzig Verfassung und Rechte (1769)," 218 [XIII, § 26]. Löschin, *Danzig und seine Umgebungen* (Danzig: Anhuth, 1853), 137-139 [XXV, II, 2]. Eduard Otto Dann, *Topographie von Danzig besonders in physischer und medizinischer Hinsicht* (Berlin: Enslin, 1835), 335-336 [VIII]. Wilhelm Ferdinand Zernecke, "Spendhaus," in *Neuester Wegweiser durch Danzig und dessen Umgegend* (Danzig: Gerhard, 1843), 254-55.

The Danzig City Council legislated on social matters twice, that is, in 1525 and in 1551.¹⁰¹ The Social Services Ordinance of 1525¹⁰² drew on a public finance ordinance (*Ordnung eines gemeinen Kastens*), which Luther drafted for the Saxon town of Leisnig in 1523,¹⁰³ and adopted his views on charity from 1520.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the 1525 ordinance outlawed begging and established a mechanism for supporting those residents of Danzig who, for ascertainable reasons, were incapable of supporting themselves. Officers appointed by the City Council had to verify that a local resident was eager but unable to work prior to using public funds to cater for his or her most basic needs. Non-residents were ineligible for any social services offered by the city of Danzig and could remain there only as long as they were self-supporting. The Social Services Ordinance of 1551¹⁰⁵ upheld and amplified social policy enshrined in the 1525 legislation. The City Council was determined to weigh in with financial assistance to make destitute residents self-supporting again.

The 1551 ordinance regulated the operation of facilities which nowadays could be classified as hospitals, nursing homes and homes for the aged. All those institutions were subsidised by the city of Danzig in the case of destitute residents who needed medical treatment or long-term care. The City Hospital (called *Pockenhaus* or *Lazarett*) was

¹⁰¹ Freytag, "Zwei Danziger Armenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 39 (Danzig: Bertling, 1899), 101-19. On the Reformation concept of charity: Friedrich Paret, *Einfluss der Reformation auf die Armenpflege* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1896); Bernhard Riggenbach, *Das Armenwesen der Reformation: Habilitationsvorlesung* (Basel: Schneider, 1883).

¹⁰² "Armenordnung für Danzig (1525)," in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 4, 175-176.

¹⁰³ Luther, "Ordnung eines gemeinen Kastens (1523)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 12 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1891), 24-27.

¹⁰⁴ Luther, "An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung (1520)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 6 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1888), 450-51 [XXI].

¹⁰⁵ "Armenordnung für Danzig (1551)."

designated to treat infectious patients, while three other hospitals¹⁰⁶ served those who suffered from non-infectious diseases or required nursing care. There were also several homes for the healthy elderly.¹⁰⁷

Willenberg and Groddeck¹⁰⁸ taught that the diversity of individual human beings engendered the diversity of institutions and capacities (videlicet, stations in life) within the framework of communal life. In their opinion, the Creator designed communal life in such a way that no function or profession was accidental or redundant. Rather, all members of the community served one another within their own families and while interacting with others publicly in their individual capacities such as farmers, craftsmen, entrepreneurs, law enforcement officers, soldiers, public servants, lawmakers, judges etc. Every single station in life existed for a purpose and ultimately, for the benefit of the community, that is, existed as an instrument by which a contribution to the life of the neighbour could be made.

Accordingly, Willenberg and Groddeck¹⁰⁹ pointed out that farmers supplied others with food and drink, craftsmen built and produced, law enforcement officers and soldiers protected people from internal and external dangers, respectively, entrepreneurs traded and created jobs, public servants and lawmakers led the community while judges

¹⁰⁶ St. Elizabeth's Hospital, St. Barbara's Hospital (for Polish-speakers) and St. Jacob's Hospital (for sick sailors). John Muhl, "St. Elisabeth zu Danzig," in *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 1 (1935): 5-15. Erich Keyser, "Die Begründung des Jakobshospitals zu Danzig," in *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 4 (1932): 67-70. Arthur Methner, "Zur Entstehung des St. Jakobshospitals," in *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 2 (1932): 21-23.

¹⁰⁷ The Hospital of the Holy Spirit, St. Gertrude's Hospital, St. Michael's Hospital (called also the Hospital of All God's Angels) and probably, the Hospital of the Holy Corpse albeit its scope of services was not specified in the 1551 ordinance. Simson, "Der Bericht der Vorsteher der Vereinigten Hospitaler zum Heiligen Geist und zu St. Elisabeth in Danzig uber den Zustand der Hospitaler und ihren Einsetzung im Jahr 1546," in *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 4 (1916): 75-78.

¹⁰⁸ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1730), 2-3 [II-III]. Ibidem, 30 [XXXVI].

¹⁰⁹ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 2-3 [II-III]. Ibidem, 30 [XXXVI].

dispensed justice. Willenberg and Groddeck¹¹⁰ realised that a wide variety of stations in life could not be enumerated or catalogued in a definite way because these stations evolved, depending on circumstances and specific needs. What all stations had in common was not their form but rather their function. All of them were employed by God to cater for the needs of human beings, while service to the neighbour rendered in all of them was sanctioned by God.

VII. Sanctity of Human Vocation

From Willenberg's and Groddeck's¹¹¹ perspective, all stations in life were designed by the Creator for the benefit of humankind and therefore, the calling to every one of them should be regarded as divine. This calling could be recognised as divine because God crafted all these stations and used them to engage human beings to care for one another. Accordingly, God was the One who was calling human beings to serve one another. Moreover, human beings were created in God's image and as God's image in the world, namely, they were created to represent God, particularly, by serving one another. Thus, while serving one another, human beings acted on God's behalf and carried out God's will.

Willenberg and Groddeck¹¹² affirmed that God was the One who called each person to his or her station in life. They also argued that this process involved discernment and preparation on the side of the one who was called by God because to shoulder responsibility for his or her own life and to be of service to the neighbour, each person must discern his or her gifts and must be equipped with knowledge, skills

¹¹⁰ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 10-14 [XII-XV].

¹¹¹ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 4 [IV]. Ibidem, 28-30 [XXXIII-XXXV]. Ibidem, 35-36 [XLII].

¹¹² *Supra*.

and attitudes required in a specific capacity.¹¹³ As regards discernment, Willenberg and Groddeck¹¹⁴ noted that an individual person should not only examine his or her gifts but also seek advice from his or her family members, friends or acquaintances.

Without acquiring knowledge, skills and attitudes proper to a specific station in life, no-one could serve the neighbour adequately. Therefore, education was a prerequisite for human vocation as an instrument through which an individual person could discover his or her gifts and prepare for his or her station in life. In the thesis *De educatione pupillorum matri non deneganda*, Willenberg and Strauss¹¹⁵ recognised the need for early childhood education offered by parents or by legal guardians in case of orphans. Likewise, in *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia paternae educationis ad vitam civilem*, Willenberg and Fraischlich¹¹⁶ discussed and affirmed early childhood education delivered at home, pointing to the necessity of institutionalised education including compulsory education at primary level.

Willenberg and Fraischlich¹¹⁷ believed that early childhood education was essential to prepare preschool children for school by laying the foundations for their rudimentary literacy. Consequently, it was incumbent on a father or on a widowed mother if a father passed away to know enough to give basic instruction.¹¹⁸ Their emphasis on

¹¹³ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1730), 5 [V]. Willenberg and Groddeck cited a dissertation supervised by Gottfried Wilhelm Pauli. Gottfried Wilhelm Pauli and Johann Friedrich Lindenberg, *Dissertatio moralis philosophica de vitae genere pro ratione ingenii eligendo* (Halle: Lehmann, 1713).

¹¹⁴ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 4 [IV]. Ibidem, 28-30 [XXXIII-XXXV]. Ibidem, 35-36 [XLII].

¹¹⁵ Willenberg and Strauss, *De educatione pupillorum*, passim.

¹¹⁶ Willenberg and Fraischlich, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, passim.

¹¹⁷ Willenberg and Fraischlich, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, passim.

¹¹⁸ Willenberg and Fraischlich, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 6-7 [IX]. Ibidem, 23 [XXXIV]. Willenberg and Fraischlich referred to a series of dissertations supervised by Jeremias Kruger who pointed out that parents must be well-equipped to support the education of their children and who identified possible impediments thereto. Jeremias Kruger, *Tractatus de eruditionis obstaculis ex parte parentum in quo ostendit qua ratione parentes liberorum suorum studiis obesse soleant*, vol. 1-3 (Jena: Troebert, 1723).

education at home preceding formal schooling had nothing to do with a "rat race" and was not success-oriented. Rather, they were convinced that this kind of early preparation might nurture children educationally by unleashing their inborn gifts and thus, could prepare them for their adolescent and adult participation in the life of the community.¹¹⁹ From their point of view, whatever could contribute to communal life and rejuvenate it was highly commendable and morally good.

Furthermore, Willenberg and Fraisligh¹²⁰ argued that home education was beneficial for preschool kids but it would not be sufficient for older children capable of receiving institutionalised instruction. From their viewpoint, there was no competition or conflict between home education and school because both approaches were necessary and useful, yet they appertained to different stages of childhood development. Thus, parents were called to teach children the basics at an early stage of their development but at a later stage, parents were not in a position to equip their offspring adequately with knowledge, skills and attitudes needed in communal life.

For Willenberg and Fraisligh,¹²¹ home education and school were complementary to one another because what parents delivered to young children through home education could not be delivered by school due to their age, whereas what was delivered at school could not be replaced with home education because of the complexity of the curriculum (embracing science and the arts), which parents were unable to tackle, and with a view to the indispensable process of socialisation which

¹¹⁹ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 11 [XVI]. Willenberg and Fraisligh noted Samuel Pufendorf's emphasis on education as the process of building up the community and affirmed his work titled *De officio hominis et civis iuxta legem naturalem* which had an enormous influence on the intellectual life of West Prussia. Ernst König, professor at the academic gymnasia in Elbing and in Thorn, wrote an introduction to Pufendorf's masterpiece and published a study edition thereof which was divided into sections for the use of his students whose names were added to the publication. Ernst König, *Introductio ad libros duos V. CL. Samuelis Pufendorffii de officio hominis et civis in usum Gymnasii Elbingensis exhibita* (Thorn: Bekk, [s. a.]). Pufendorf, *Liber de officio hominis*, ed. König (Thorn: Köpsel, 1679).

¹²⁰ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, passim.

¹²¹ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, passim.

could not be completed exclusively within the limits of the family.¹²² Willenberg and Fraisligh believed that institutionalised education helped to create a responsible and diligent attitude to learning and to life as a member of the community.¹²³

Since education shaped human beings for communal life and prepared young people to be well-equipped members of the community, Willenberg and Fraisligh¹²⁴ viewed education not only as the pursuit of individual interests but also an endeavour of the entire community. For them, to educate (e-ducare) meant to bring up, namely, to lead (ducare) human beings out of (e-) the domestic circle towards full participation in the life of the community as the members thereof who would be capable of supporting themselves and forming relationships with others. Within the framework of education, teachers served on behalf of the community which supervised their service and which required certain professional and moral credentials from them¹²⁵ because they were supposed to serve as a model for students.¹²⁶

From Willenberg's and Fraisligh's¹²⁷ perspective, the time spent at school was a formative experience for human beings, while lack of any institutionalised education would impair social bonds and thus, cause the community to disintegrate. Consequently, at school, young people could be acquainted with institutions of communal life and incrementally engaged in the life of the community. Willenberg and Fraisligh¹²⁸

¹²² Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, passim.

¹²³ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 26 [XXXVII]. Willenberg and Fraisligh adduced the section titled *De diligentia in discendo* from the 1655 bylaws of the Danzig Academic Gymnasium. *Leges Gymnasii Gedanensis*, A3r-A3v [III].

¹²⁴ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, passim.

¹²⁵ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 22-23 [XXXIII]. Willenberg and Fraisligh mentioned Christian Weise's academic speech on moral qualities expected from teachers. Christian Weise, *Oratio de conscientia praeceptorum* (Zittau: Hartmann, 1684).

¹²⁶ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 18 [XXVII]. Willenberg and Fraisligh referred to Christian Thomasius' work on the question of authority in education. Christian Thomasius, *Ausübung der Vernunftlehre* (Halle: Salfeld, 1727), 33-36 [§ 90-94].

¹²⁷ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, passim.

¹²⁸ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, passim.

realised that through the centuries, education was not institutionalised or formalised, yet its religious¹²⁹ and civic¹³⁰ significance was recognised and acclaimed. In their view, the process of institutionalisation and formalisation was a result of God's providence,¹³¹ while Christianity propelled this process which ultimately advanced educational efforts of humankind.¹³²

In citing Luther,¹³³ Willenberg and Fraisligh¹³⁴ claimed that education at primary level should be compulsory and should be supported by the local authorities in administrative and financial terms. Otherwise, values underlying the existence and development of the community could hardly be transmitted or engrafted. Without affordable and functional schools, no meaningful service to the neighbour could be rendered because this service required certain knowledge, skills and

¹²⁹ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 13 [XX]. Willenberg and Fraisligh referred to two sermons by Georg Christoph Walther who emphasised that teaching and learning always took place among believers as attested in the Hebrew Bible and in the Christian Scriptures. Religious education was delivered by believing parents at home and by ministers within the religious community such as priests serving in the Temple or teachers in synagogues and churches. Georg Christoph Walther, "Post Epiphania Dominica I," in *Postilla harmonica theologo-juridico-politico-philologica*, vol. 1, ed. Georg Christoph Walther (Nürnberg: Endter, 1659), 117-21 [§ 51]. Idem, "Dominica XXIV post Trinitatis," in *Postilla harmonica theologo-juridico-politico-philologica*, vol. 2, ed. Georg Christoph Walther (Nürnberg: Endter, 1658), 1000-1003 [§ 366].

¹³⁰ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 2-3 [III]. Ibidem, 7 [IX]. Willenberg and Fraisligh mentioned Plutarch's emphasis on education as a catalyst for civic life though he envisaged education only for the upper classes, namely, for free people. In Plutarch's view, commoners and slaves were not entitled to participate in the life of the community and therefore, did not have to be geared up for that. On the contrary, Willenberg and Fraisligh regarded education and participation in communal life as the common good. Plutarchus, "De educatione puerorum libellus," in *Scripta moralia*, vol. 1, ed. Friedrich Dübner (Paris: Didot, 1841), 1-16.

¹³¹ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 21-22 [XXXI]. Willenberg and Fraisligh made use of Johann Franz Buddeus' speech. Johann Franz Buddeus, "Oratio I: De divinae providentiae circa scholas et academias documentis (1702)," in *Dissertationum theologiarum syntagma*, ed. Buddeus (Jena: Bielke, 1705), 576-93.

¹³² Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 5-6 [VIII]. Ibidem, 26-27 [XXXVII-XXXVIII]. Willenberg and Fraisligh were familiar with the writings of Samuel Pufendorf and Veit Ludwig Seckendorff that treated of this topic. Pufendorf, *De habitu religionis Christianae ad vitam civilem* (Bremen: Schwerdfeger, 1687). Veit Ludwig Seckendorff, *Christenstaat* (Leipzig: Fritsch, 1706), 518-40 [III, IX].

¹³³ Luther, "Eine Predigt dass man Kinder zur Schule halten solle (1530)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 30/2 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1909), 517-88, especially: ibidem, 586-87.

¹³⁴ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 19-20 [XXIX].

attitudes acquired or refined through institutionalised education. This process also allowed students to discover their individual stations in life and to position themselves in the service of the neighbour.

From Willenberg's and Fraisligh's¹³⁵ perspective, education was the instrument for nurturing the community and for advancing human intelligence, the instrument designed by God and given by God to humankind as a part of his continuing project (*creatio continua*). Therefore, Willenberg and Fraisligh¹³⁶ applauded the Royal Edict which was issued by Friedrich Wilhelm I in 1717 and which completed the long process of making primary education compulsory in East Prussia.¹³⁷ That process was initiated by the 1526 constitution of East Prussia which stipulated that settlements, particularly those more populated, must establish and maintain schools.¹³⁸

In Danzig, the Social Services Ordinance of 1525 mandated parents to send their children to school instead of forcing them to work or keeping them at home.¹³⁹ The Social Services Ordinance of 1551 made primary education compulsory for children of all Danzig residents.¹⁴⁰ Children from underprivileged families could receive instruction as well as necessary stationery and winter clothing at public expense. Later, depending on their academic performance, they could

¹³⁵ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, passim.

¹³⁶ Willenberg and Fraisligh, *Dissertatio juridica de insufficientia*, 20 [XXIX].

¹³⁷ "Verordnung dass die Eltern ihre Kinder zur Schule [...] halten sollen (28. September 1717)," in *Corpus constitutionum Marchicarum*, vol. 1/1, ed. Christian Otto Mylius (Berlin and Halle: Waisenhauss, 1737), 527-530 [XCVII]; "Dass die Kinder auf dem Land zur Schule gehalten werden sollen (6. Dezember 1717)," in *Corpus constitutionum Prutenicarum*, vol. 1, ed. Georg Grube (Königsberg: Stelter, 1721), 120-21 [No. 49].

¹³⁸ "Auszug einiger Artikel aus der Landesordnung vom Jahr 1526," in *Preussisches Archiv oder Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Kunde der Vorzeit*, vol. 1, ed. Karl Faber (Königsberg: Nicolavius, 1809), 163-164 [Beilage, 2, Von Erhaltung der Schulen und derselben Vorsteher]; "Landesordnung von 1526," in *Geschichte der Quellen des Kirchenrechts des Preussischen Staats mit Urkunden und Regesten*, vol. 1/2, ed. Heinrich Friedrich Jacobson (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1839), 10-11 [Anhang einer Urkundensammlung, I, no. III, § 4].

¹³⁹ "Armenordnung für Danzig (1525)."

¹⁴⁰ "Armenordnung für Danzig (1551)."

either pursue advanced education at the Danzig Gymnasium or enter vocational training. In both cases, some financial aid was available to them.¹⁴¹

By the mid-17th century, the Danzig City Council was able to apply the educational provisions of the 1551 ordinance to the rural areas under its jurisdiction.¹⁴² The subsidiary legislation issued in 1654 for the part of the Vistula delta (Danziger Nehrung), which was administered by the city of Danzig, stipulated that the local authorities must deliver compulsory primary education to boys and girls (aged 7 to 14) so that they could learn how to write, read and count and might receive instruction in morality and religion.¹⁴³ Primary education was made compulsory in Praust in 1634 by virtue of the Praust School Ordinance (Prauster Schulordnung)¹⁴⁴ and in Stüblau in 1637.¹⁴⁵ The educational provisions for Danziger Nehrung were reinforced in

¹⁴¹ "Kurze Nachricht von dem Geld welches zum Aerario armer Studenten auf der wohlledelen und hochweisen Herren Scholarchen Beliebung, Rat und Anordnung gesammelt worden und künftig soll gesammelt werden (22. Juni 1657)," in *Geistliche Sing- und Betstunde*, ed. Johannes Maukisch (Danzig: Rhete, 1657), 301-331 [XIX].

¹⁴² "Memorial des Schulkollegiums aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts,".

¹⁴³ "Revidiertes Edikt für die Nehringsche und dazu gehörige Untertanen und Einwohner publiziert (1683)," in *Neringia oder Geschichte der Danziger Nehrung*, ed. Alexander Ferdinand Violet (Danzig: Kafemann, 1864), 124-125 [Über die Vergnügungen und Festlichkeiten in der Nehrung, § 7-10]. The 1683 version conformed to the 1654 version as far as the educational provisions were concerned. Muhl "Studien zur Westpreussischen Gütergeschichte: Die Geschichte von Stutthof," in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 11/3 (Danzig: Burau, 1928), 156-161 [Kirche und Schulen].

¹⁴⁴ Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Chronik des Dorfes Praust, Kreis Danziger Höhe* (Praust: Gawlowski, 1913), 23-24 [Die unruhige Zeit bis zum Frieden von Oliva]. Muhl, "Geschichte der Dörfer auf der Danziger Höhe," in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 21 (Danzig: Rosenberg, 1938), 60-61 [Praust]. A local primary school (Prauster Schule) had offered education to children of both genders living in Praust and in two nearby villages (Zipplau and Rostau) since 1567.

¹⁴⁵ "Mandat: Kirchenspiel Stüblau im Danziger Werder (1655)," in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 54 (Danzig: Kafemann, 1912), 143-44 [III, VI]. "Mandat des Bürgermeisters Christian Schroeder, des Werderschen Administrators (1693)," in *Das kirchliche Bildungswesen*, vol. 1, 534-535 [Nachtrag zu Anhang II, 3]. The mandate reinforced in 1693 stated that primary education had been compulsory in Stüblau since 1637. "Verordnung des Bürgermeisters Joachim Jakob Schrader, des Werderschen Administrators (1740)," in *Das kirchliche Bildungswesen*, vol. 1, 539-40 [Nachtrag zu Anhang II, 6]. Freytag, "Geschichte des Kirchspiels Stüblau im Danziger Werder," in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 54, 137-88.

1707,¹⁴⁶ 1737¹⁴⁷ and 1755.¹⁴⁸ Since 1690, compulsory education had been extended to children aged 5 to 15 so that it lasted 10 years instead of 7.¹⁴⁹

According to Willenberg and Groddeck,¹⁵⁰ God did not leave anyone off as far as his or her vocation was concerned but rather let everyone find his or her station in life. In their opinion, no-one was left stranded in life, that is, no-one was deprived of his or her station because God intended to use human beings in various capacities as his instruments to enact his will and to actualise his blueprint for humankind as such and for individual persons. Consequently, God's benevolence towards people was reflected in the stations, which were assigned to them, because the ultimate purpose of all these stations was to sustain and to enrich human existence in the world and thus, to materialise the Creator's commitment to each person.

Willenberg and Groddeck¹⁵¹ reasoned that to deprecate or to scorn some stations in life because of the toil related to them meant to despise God's design and to discard what the Creator established for the benefit of his creatures. Therefore, people ought to think of stations in life in terms of the service to the neighbour rendered in them by virtue of God's mandate. Whether a specific station in life would entail wealth and prestige or toil and austerity did not matter. The only thing that mattered was whether the neighbour and eo ipso the community would be served in a particular station or not. Life as service to the neighbour

¹⁴⁶ "Aus der Verordnung des Nehrung- und Scharpauischen Amtes (1707)," in *Das kirchliche Bildungswesen*, vol. 1, 535-37 [Nachtrag zu Anhang II, 4]. The complete version thereof: *Verordnung des Nehrung- und Scharpauischen Amtes: 1707* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1756), 10 [II, IX]. Ibidem, 10-12 [III, I-VIII]. Ibidem, 15-17 [V, II-IX].

¹⁴⁷ "Verordnung des Nehrung- und Scharpauischen Amtes (1737)," in *Das kirchliche Bildungswesen*, vol. 1, 537-538 [Nachtrag zu Anhang II, 5].

¹⁴⁸ "Verordnung des Nehrung- und Scharpauischen Amtes (1755)," in *Das kirchliche Bildungswesen*, vol. 1, 540-541 [Nachtrag zu Anhang II, 7].

¹⁴⁹ "Aus der Verordnung des Bürgermeisters Konstantin Ferber (1690)," in *Das kirchliche Bildungswesen*, vol. 1, 533-534 [Nachtrag zu Anhang II, 2].

¹⁵⁰ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1730), 4-5 [V].

¹⁵¹ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 4-5 [V]. Ibidem, 17-19 [XX-XXI].

was what God mandated and validated for human beings.

The divine framework of communal life safeguarded the dignity of those who were on all rungs of the social ladder because every rung was indispensable, whereas its bottom rungs were necessary to support the whole structure, as Willenberg and Groddeck¹⁵² observed. Whenever the dignity or sanctity of human vocation was violated, the life of the community would be mutilated or damaged. To avoid this danger, they recommended to teach young people how to affirm communal life, all its institutions and all stations in life as God's perfect design for humankind. Actually, in his final word, Groddeck¹⁵³ recognised *De divina ad officia civitatis secularia vocatione* as an academic presentation of the concept of vocation through which the Danzig Gymnasium could nurture and edify not only its own students but also the citizenry of Danzig, that is, the community which established and supported that school.

Willenberg and Groddeck¹⁵⁴ suggested that human vocation could be viewed subjectively, that is, from the viewpoint of those who were called (i. e. human beings), and objectively, namely, from the perspective of the One who was calling (i. e. God). In subjective terms, a person might not awake to his or her station in life and might not recognise his or her endeavours as God-given tasks. Objectively speaking, God invested each person with his or her station in life regardless of whether the called one would perceive and appreciate this capacity as a divine gift and opportunity or not. Naturally, God intended all people to embrace and to affirm their individual stations in life as his benevolent arrangements for them.

¹⁵² Supra.

¹⁵³ Groddeck, "Defensori dissertationis hujus dignissimo S. P. D. praeses ejus," in *De divina*, ed. Willenberg and Groddeck (Danzig: Schreiber, 1730), 47-48.

¹⁵⁴ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1730), 5-8 [VI-VIII].

It was clear to Willenberg and Groddeck¹⁵⁵ that God not only invited human beings to participate in gifts and blessings, which he offered to them, but also provided for people and sustained them through capacities which he created for this purpose and to which he called them. Although human vocation could appertain either to the tangible (secular) sphere or to the ecclesiastical one (church ministry), every vocation was divine because each station in life was designed and employed by God to accomplish his purpose, that is, to engage human beings to serve one another.¹⁵⁶

Willenberg and Groddeck¹⁵⁷ explained that church ministry was at times denominated as "sacred" (religious), while service in the community at large — as "secular" (civil) but those appellations only implied different domains in which human ever-divine vocation would be pursued.¹⁵⁸ Actually, both the church and society were manifestations of the community because the church was the community of faith which belonged to the wider community (society). In both domains, God had the same agenda, namely, he cared and provided for his creatures.

For Willenberg and Groddeck,¹⁵⁹ service to the neighbour both in the religious community and in the community at large was divine to the same extent because it was designed by God for the benefit of

¹⁵⁵ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 5-8 [VI-VIII].

¹⁵⁶ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 6-7 [VII]. Willenberg and Groddeck referred to Basilius Faber's definition of vocation and to Matthias Martini's definition of the secular. Basilius Faber, "Vox (Vocatio)," in *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae*, ed. Basilius Faber (Leipzig: Fritsch, 1717), 2751. Matthias Martini, "Secularis," in *Lexicon philologicum*, ed. Martini (Utrecht: Broedelet, 1711), 599.

¹⁵⁷ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 5-8 [VI-VIII].

¹⁵⁸ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 18-19 [XXI]. Willenberg and Groddeck quoted Johann Benedict Carpzov's funeral sermon based on Proverbs 8:15-16 which focused on a variety of stations in life as God's design for humankind and on public servants as God's representatives in the divine work of the preservation of the world. Johann Benedict Carpzov, "Juristen gute Christen bei christlicher Leichbestattung Herrn Nicolaus Creusels (Leipzig, den 13. August 1676)," in *Auserlesene Trost- und Leichensprüche*, vol. 1, ed. Carpzov (Leipzig: Lanckisch, 1684), 1081-1138 [XIX]; particularly: *ibidem*, 1106-7 [XIX].

¹⁵⁹ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 5-8 [VI-VIII].

human beings. The secular sphere and the religious sphere might be construed as distinct in the sense that the former dealt with the tangible, whereas the latter—with the intangible. However, they were not detached from one another because religious values and ideas could empower people to live out their lives as meaningful service to the neighbour, could build up a sense of the community and help people to navigate their way through the complexity of human existence.¹⁶⁰

Willenberg and Groddeck¹⁶¹ did not consider church ministry to be superior to other forms of human vocation found in the community at large. Similarly, they did not set public service against other forms of service to the neighbour in the community. Rather, they noted that those holding public office were customarily appointed or inducted in a solemn and public way because they were authorised to act on behalf of the community and because public service propped up the institutional life of the community.¹⁶² For the same reason, public servants should be supported financially by the community, that is, remunerated for their service to the public.

In Willenberg's and Groddeck's¹⁶³ opinion, all relationships in the community could be considered an extension of relationships within the family granted that social bonds were public, while family ties — private. The extension of family ties beyond the family implied a transition

¹⁶⁰ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 4-5 [IV-V]. Willenberg and Groddeck cited two sermons on Luke 5:1-11 by Philipp Jakob Spener. Philipp Jakob Spener, "Evangelium am 5. Sonntag nach Trinitatis (Berlin, 24. Juli 1698)," in *Erbauliche evangelisch und epistolische Sonntagsandachten*, ed. Spener (Frankfurt am Main: Zunner and Jung: 1716), 495-504. Idem, "Auf den 5. Sonntag nach Trinitatis: Fleiss in leiblicher Berufsarbeit," in *Die evangelischen Lebenspflichten*, vol. 2, ed. Spener (Frankfurt am Main: Zunner, 1692), 169-87.

¹⁶¹ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 5-8 [VI-VIII].

¹⁶² Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 5-8 [VI-VIII]. Ibidem, 18-19 [XXI]. Ibidem, 28-29 [XXXIV]. Ibidem, 36 [XLII]. Therefore, public servants were answerable to the community for their performance and conduct. Willenberg and Groddeck mentioned Kaspar Ziegler's work on the accountability of judges. Kaspar Ziegler, *Dicastice sive de judicum officio et delictis tractatus moralis in quo tota judicis conscientia excutitur* (Wittenberg: Mevius, Schumacher and Henckel, 1672).

¹⁶³ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 46 [LIV].

from a private sphere into a public setting. While one's service to his or her family members did not require any public appointment or remuneration, one's service to the neighbour beyond his or her family might require public recognition or emoluments.

Citing various examples of the leaders of God's people attested in the Hebrew Scriptures, Willenberg and Groddeck¹⁶⁴ acknowledged different ways in which leaders (communal, religious or both at the same time) could be established. In their opinion, every form of government was always particular, namely, determined by the historical, political, social and cultural context. Regardless of whether leaders were appointed by God directly or indirectly, they acted on God's behalf and represented the Creator in the world by leading those who were entrusted to their care.¹⁶⁵

VIII. Conclusion

In his short poetic note on *De divina ad officia civitatis secularia vocatione*, Friedrich Wahl¹⁶⁶ highlighted the divine nature of human vocation and emphasised that God revealed himself to humankind and carried out his will through communal life and through different stations in life which he assigned to individual persons. Consequently, institutions underlying the life of the community were the footprints of God's presence and operation in the world and functioned as a divine signature which God put to his creation.

Wahl mentioned that the fabric of communal life was woven by the Creator, while different stations in life were God's fibres. From

¹⁶⁴ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 7-11 [VIII-XII].

¹⁶⁵ Willenberg and Groddeck, *De divina*, 21-22 [XXIV]. Willenberg and Groddeck cited a dissertation supervised by Johann Christoph Becmann at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder. Johann Christoph Becmann and Otto Christian von Grumbkow, *Dissertatio de divino vicariatu principum* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Zeitler, 1688).

¹⁶⁶ Friedrich Wahl, "Divinos aperit divina vocatio ductus," in *De divina*, ed. Willenberg and Groddeck (Danzig: Schreiber, 1730), 48-49.

Wahl's perspective, God was the One who kept the machinery of the world, which he himself created, running by engaging people to serve one another in various capacities and who empowered them to regulate interpersonal relationships, especially in the public sphere, through laws and customs so that the life of human beings as a community could be structured for the common good. By exploring communal life as God's design for humankind, Willenberg and his students continued the legacy of the Danzig Gymnasium and followed in the wake of the 17th-century professors and their students. For instance, in his speech of 1653 (*Civilis doctrinae et vitae laudes oratio explicabit*), Karl Schultz presented the concept of life education (生命教育) under the auspices of professor Johann Peter Titz.¹⁶⁷

The Reformation concept of vocation reinforced by Willenberg and his students at the Danzig Gymnasium dovetailed with the qualities of the major West Prussian cities such as Danzig or Thorn which were vibrant commercial centres attracting entrepreneurs and professionals mostly from other German-speaking territories and from Scandinavia. Rolf Walther¹⁶⁸ analysed the origin and occupation of those persons who were not born in Danzig but who migrated there and applied successfully for citizenship. Likewise, Arthur Semrau¹⁶⁹ examined the situation in Thorn based on an extant 17th-century electoral register. These analyses proved that Danzig and Thorn enthralled and absorbed qualified migrants. In those West Prussian cities, citizenship was understood not only as the right to exercise certain liberties but also as a sense of responsibility for other members of the community,

¹⁶⁷ Karl Schultz and Johann Peter Titz, *Civilis doctrinae et vitae laudes oratio explicabit* (Danzig: Rhete, 1653).

¹⁶⁸ Rolf Walther, "Die Danziger Bürgerschaft im 18. Jahrhundert nach Herkunft und Beruf," in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 73 (Danzig: Rosenberg, 1937), 67-170.

¹⁶⁹ Arthur Semrau, "Die Bürgerlisten der Stadt Thorn aus dem 17. Jahrhundert (I): Die einheimischen Bürger," in *Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn*, vol. 27/4 (Thorn: Lambeck, 1919), 66-82. Idem, "Die Bürgerlisten der Stadt Thorn aus dem 17. Jahrhundert (II): Die ausländischen Bürger," in *Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn*, vol. 28/3 (Thorn: Lambeck, 1920), 40-70.

that is, as an obligation to support the neighbour. Such understanding was enshrined in the entire legislation of Danzig on rights and duties of citizens¹⁷⁰ and attested in an oath of citizenship.¹⁷¹

The concept of vocation enunciated by the Wittenberg Reformation of the 16th century and cultivated ever since was an intriguing vision of God and of his world, of God who did not need to reclaim or to repossess the world and of the world which as such was not separated or alienated from its Creator. Rather, God was thought of as the One who revealed his name, as the One who disclosed his identity and his benevolent attitude towards humankind by governing and nurturing the world through communal life and all its institutions which he designed and upheld for the benefit of his beloved creatures. Willenberg and his students were confident that God would never cease to care for human beings by engaging them to support and to serve one another.

¹⁷⁰ *Der See- und Handels-Stadt Danzig Rechte oder Willkür so in- und ausserhalb Gericht von allen und jeden zu beobachten: 1597/1599* (Danzig: Seelmann, 1732), 5-6 [II, 2]; *Neu-revidierte Willkür der Stadt Danzig aus Schluss sämtlicher Ordnungen publiziert: 1761* (Danzig: Schreiber, 1761), 4-5 [II, 2]; *Neu-revidierte Willkür der Stadt Danzig aus Schluss sämtlicher Ordnungen publiziert mit beigefügten Zusätzen und Erläuterungen: 1783* (Danzig: Wedel, 1783), 4-5 [II, 2]. On the history of the Danzig legal system: Simson, "Geschichte der Danziger Willkür," in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 3 (Danzig: Saunier, 1904). Albrecht Meye, "Das Strafrecht der Stadt Danzig von der Carolina bis zur Vereinigung Danzigs mit der Preussischen Monarchie (1532-1793)," in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 18 (Danzig: Rosenberg, 1935), 13-30 [II-III, 5].

¹⁷¹ An oath of citizenship as of 1597/1599: *Der See- und Handels-Stadt Danzig Rechte*, 70 [III, 2, 7]. An oath of citizenship as of 1761: Rolf Walther, "Die Danziger Bürgerschaft im 18. Jahrhundert nach Herkunft und Beruf," 79 [Das Danziger Bürgerrecht, b (Die Fassung des Bürgereides vom Jahr 1761)]. *Neu-revidierte Willkür der Stadt Danzig aus Schluss sämtlicher Ordnungen publiziert: 1761*, 125 [III, 2, 1]. Ibidem, 128 [III, 2, 6].

ABSTRACT

The present paper explores how the Reformation concept of vocation was expounded and fortified by Samuel Friedrich Willenberg (胡生芳) who, from 1701 until his death in 1748, served as professor at the Danzig Academic Gymnasium (但澤學院). This concept impressed upon people from all walks of life that the world of which they were a part, the vicissitudes of life and all institutions and relationships supporting the life of human beings as individuals and as a community were intended and designed by God for the benefit of humankind.

撮 要

本文研究胡生芳如何闡釋和強化宗教改革的召命觀。胡生芳於 1701 年起任但澤學院教授直到 1748 年離世，其召命觀使各界人士深刻意識到，作為所處世界的一分子，人世的變遷，以及支持着人作為個人和作為羣體的所有機構與關係，都是上帝的心思和設計，為的是造福人。