

AN IMPACT OF THE REFORMATION CONCEPT OF VOCATION UPON THE COMMUNAL LIFE OF THORN (WEST PRUSSIA) IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

教會復原的聖召觀對16及17世紀西普魯士托恩(Thorn)共同生活之影響

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“Das leibliche Leben hat Stände und Werke, die zur Erhaltung des menschlichen Geschlechts dienen, und sind von Gott mit besonderem Mass und Weise geordnet, in welcher Ordnung wir erkennen sollen, dass diese menschliche Natur nicht ohne besonderen Gottes Rat geschaffen sei; item, dass Gott darin seine Gütigkeit gegen uns scheinen lässt, dass er uns will erhalten und Gutes tun [. . .].”¹

1. Introduction

The 16th-century Reformation reshaped the social landscape of those European territories that embraced a new outlook on human existence as anchored to communal life and defined by service to the neighbor. The present paper explores how the Protestant concept of vocation was implemented by Protestant policymakers in Thorn (West Prussia) through the municipal and rural legislation that the Thorn City Council adopted for the city and the villages under its jurisdiction.

The introduction of compulsory primary education (Volksschule) in rural areas as early as 1605 and the emergence of new social services in the city of Thorn and the villages under its jurisdiction provided a focus for the present research. Earlier, Hans Maercker² analyzed the political, social, and economic history of the villages within

1. Philipp Melancthon, “Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas),” in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 22, ed. Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1855), 600 [Von weltlicher Obrigkeit]. In modern German: Idem, “Hauptartikel christlicher Lehre,” in *Werke in einer auf den allgemeinen Gebrauch berechneten Auswahl*, vol. 4, ed. Friedrich August Koethe (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1829).

2. Hans Maercker, “Geschichte der ländlichen Ortschaften und der drei kleineren Städte des Kreises Thorn,” in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 2 (Danzig: Bertling, 1899–1900).

the jurisdiction of the Thorn City Council. At the same time, Emil Waschinski³ studied the history of municipal and rural schools under the Thorn jurisdiction from the beginning of the Reformation until the incorporation of the city into the Kingdom of Prussia in 1793.⁴ Besides, Georg Bender⁵ described the history of a municipal hospital in Thorn, and Reinhold Heuer⁶ outlined the history of St. George's Hospital (Georgenhospital), which was affiliated with St. George's Protestant Church in Thorn.

Georg Gottlieb Dittmann⁷ and Ludwig Rhesa⁸ compiled biographical notes on Protestant ministers and educators in the villages under the Thorn jurisdiction. Although the literature on Melancthon,⁹ the history of the city of Thorn,¹⁰ and the

3. Emil Waschinski, "Das Thorner Stadt- und Landschulwesen vom Beginn der Reformation bis zum Ende der polnischen Herrschaft," in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 56 (Danzig: Kafemann, 1916), 1–137. On Protestant schools in the villages under the Thorn jurisdiction: Ibid, 116–132 [II, F].

4. "Traite entre Sa Majeste le Roi de Prusse d'une part et Sa Majeste le Roi et la serenissime Republique de Pologne de l'autre (25 Septembre 1793)," in *Diplomatisches Handbuch: Sammlung der wichtigsten europäischen Friedensschlüsse, Kongressakten und sonstigen Staatsurkunden vom Westfälischen Frieden bis auf die neueste Zeit*, vol. 1, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Ghillany (Nördlingen: Beck, 1855), 240 [§ 2].

5. Georg Bender, "Geschichte des städtischen Krankenhauses und der öffentlichen Krankenanstalten in Thorn," in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 15 (Danzig: Bertling, 1886), 1–41.

6. Reinhold Heuer, *Thorn – St. Georgen: Geschichte der Georgengemeinde, ihrer alten Kirche und ihres Hospitals* (Thorn: Golembiewski, 1907), 39–41. Ibid, 60–65.

7. Georg Gottlieb Dittmann, "Evangelische Prediger in dem Gebiet der Stadt Thorn, seit der Reformation (vom Jahr 1565 bis 1790)," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Thorn aus guten und zuverlässigen Quellen gesammelt*, vol. 1 (Thorn: [s. n.], 1789), 63–71 [H].

8. Ludwig Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten von allen seit der Reformation an den evangelischen Kirchen in Westpreussen angestellten Predigern* (Königsberg: Paschke, 1834), 259–262 [Thornsche Superintendentur, 5–6]. A less comprehensive list of the Protestant ministers serving in the villages under the Thorn jurisdiction can also be found in: Jakob Heinrich Zernecke, *Summarischer Entwurf des Geehrten und Gelehrten Thorn* (Thorn: Nicolai, 1712), 32–33 [IX, 5–6].

9. Irene Dingel and Armin Kohnle, ed., *Philipp Melancthon: Lehrer Deutschlands, Reformator Europas* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2011). Dingel et al., ed., *Philip Melancthon: Theologian in Classroom, Confession, and Controversy* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2012). Hans Engelland, *Die Frage der Gotteserkenntnis bei Melancthon* (München: Kaiser, 1930). Günter Frank and Martin Treu, ed., *Melancthon und Europa*, vol. 1–2 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001–2002). Nicole Kuroпка, *Philipp Melancthon - Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft: Ein Gelehrter im Dienst der Kirche 1526–1532* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2002). Karin Maag, ed., *Melancthon in Europe: His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999). Carl E. Maxcey, *Bona Opera: A Study in the Development of the Doctrine in Philip Melancthon* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1980). Frank Pauli, *Philippus: Ein Lehrer für Deutschland: Spuren und Wirkungen Philipp Melancthons* (Berlin: Wichern-Verlag, 1996). John Schofield, *Philip Melancthon and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Birgit Stolt, ed., *Philipp Melancthon und seine Rezeption in Skandinavien* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998).

10. Dittmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, vol. 1. Ernst Kestner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Thorn nach archivalischen Quellen mitgeteilt* (Thorn: Lambeck, 1882). Karl Gotthelf

Reformation in Thorn¹¹ is vast, the communal embodiment of Reformation ideas awaits further examination, especially from a theological perspective, in the light of primary sources.

2. Reformation Concept of Vocation Articulated by Melanchthon

In the third version of his Latin¹² and German¹³ *Loci*,¹⁴ Melanchthon discussed the concept of vocation at length. Melanchthon¹⁵ affirmed that God governed the tangible sphere, particularly the life of humankind, through stations and tasks assigned to individual human beings. In his view,¹⁶ God himself created the world in such a way that these stations and tasks were meant to sustain and advance the existence of human beings as a community and as individuals. Thus, these stations and tasks were the

Praetorius, *Topographisch-historisch-statistische Beschreibung der Stadt Thorn und ihres Gebietes die Vorzeit und Gegenwart umfassend*, vol. 1, ed. Julius Emil Wernicke (Thorn: Lohde, 1832). Wernicke, *Geschichte Thorns aus Urkunden, Dokumenten und Handschriften bearbeitet*, vol. 2 (Thorn: Lambeck, 1842). Zerneck, *Thornische Chronica* (Berlin: Haude, 1727).

11. Dittmann, "Abhandlung von dem Zustand des Christentums in Preussen, besonders der Kirchen und Schulen in der Preussischen Stadt, Thorn, in älteren und neueren Zeiten," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, vol. 1, xvii–xl [§ 9–22]. *Ibid.*, 1–62 [A–G]. Christian Gottlieb von Friese, "Von Thorn," in *Beiträge zu der Reformationgeschichte in Polen und Litauen besonders*, vol. 2/1 (Breslau: Korn, 1786), 81–92. Agathon Harnoch, *Chronik und Statistik der evangelischen Kirchen in den Provinzen Ost- und Westpreussen* (Neidenburg: Nipkow, 1890), 548–556 [D, 9]. Heuer, *Vom katholischen Thorn vor Luther und wie Thorn evangelisch wurde* (Thorn: Golembiewski, 1917). Otto Koniecki, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen* (Breslau: Dülfer, 1872). Alex Gustav Hermann Lambeck, *Geschichte der Begründung und des Wachstums der Reformation in Westpreussen* (Thorn: Lambeck, 1850). Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten*, 250–258 [Thornsche Superintendentur, 1–4]. Emil Sehling, "Thorn," in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 4, ed. Emil Sehling (Leipzig: Reisland, 1911), 225–228.

12. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 21, ed. Bretschneider and Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1854), 637–643 [III]; *ibid.*, 685–732 [VI]; *ibid.*, 762–800 [IX]; *ibid.*, 984–1015 [XX].

13. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 124–136 [De creatione]; *ibid.*, 201–304 [Von göttlichem Gesetz]; *ibid.*, 372–417 [Von guten Werken]; *ibid.*, 600–626 [Von weltlicher Obrigkeit].

14. The influence of Melanchthon's *Loci* as the first comprehensive presentation of the theology of the Wittenberg Reformation extended beyond Latin and German readers. See French and Slavic translations of the third version of *Loci*: Melanchthon, *La somme de theologie ou lieux communs*, ed. Jean Calvin (Genf: Crespin, 1551). *Idem*, *Еди кратки разумни науци: Die vornehmsten Hauptartikel christlicher Lehre*, trans. Anton Dalmatin [Anton Dalmatin] and Stephan Consul [Stjepan Konzul Istranin] (Tübingen: Morhart, 1562); printed in both Cyrillic and Glagolitic.

15. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 637–643 [III]; *ibid.*, 685–732 [VI]; *ibid.*, 762–800 [IX]; *ibid.*, 984–1015 [XX]. *Idem*, "Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 124–136 [De creatione]; *ibid.*, 201–304 [Von göttlichem Gesetz]; *ibid.*, 372–417 [Von guten Werken]; *ibid.*, 600–626 [Von weltlicher Obrigkeit].

16. *Ibid.*

divine instruments by which God preserved and developed what he has created and by which the Creator's benevolence towards his creatures could be known and experienced daily.

For Melanchthon,¹⁷ the institutions of communal life were the works of God through which and in which human beings could know God's perfect design for them and might experience the Creator's love and care for humankind. Melanchthon¹⁸ believed that to provide and care for human beings, their Creator bonded individual persons together so that they would depend on and collaborate with one another. Accordingly, God protected and sustained the existence of human beings through social institutions (the civil authorities, judiciary, law enforcement) and social relations (commerce, exchange of goods and services) as well as through all branches of knowledge (such as mathematics, physics, astronomy, agriculture, medicine, or civil engineering) which might improve the quality of human life.

Melanchthon¹⁹ recognized these stations and tasks as "useful and salutary" to the human race and maintained that God gave all of them to human beings as a gift. Thus, God's loving heart, compassion, and kindness (the gospel) were not absent from the external, tangible, and visible sphere because all God's actions in this world were undertaken for our benefit.²⁰ Moreover, by changing and renewing human hearts, the gospel would bear fruit and make a difference in the external, tangible, and visible sphere as far as human relationships are concerned. That sphere established and upheld by God himself was the only venue in which believers could live out their faith. In Melanchthon's opinion,²¹ God was the Creator and the Sustainer of communal life and of all its institutions by which he gave human beings the opportunity to love one another, to attend to one another's needs, to care for one another, and to take responsibility for one another.

While avowing that stations and tasks instituted by God for the benefit of humankind were always good and perfect, Melanchthon²² realized that those who were

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 637–643 [II]; *ibid.*, 685–732 [VI]; *ibid.*, 762–800 [IX]; *ibid.*, 984–1015 [XX]. *Idem.*, "Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 124–136 [De creatione]; *ibid.*, 201–304 [Von göttlichem Gesetz]; *ibid.*, 372–417 [Von guten Werken]; *ibid.*, 600–626 [Von weltlicher Obrigkeit]. *Idem.*, "Confessio Augustana Latina (Invariata)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 26, ed. Bretschneider and Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1858), 281 [I, XVI]. *Idem.*, "Confessio Augustana Latina (Variata)," in *Opera*, vol. 26, 361 [I, XVI]. Melanchthon's German explanatory translation of both versions: *Idem.*, "Confessio Augustana Germanica (Invariata)," in *Opera*, vol. 26, 567–568 [I, XVI]. *Idem.*, "Confessio Augustana Germanica (Variata)," in *Opera*, vol. 26, 734 [I, XVI]. Another German version of *Invariata*: *Idem.*, "Die Augsburger Konfession vom Jahre 1530," in *Werke in einer auf den allgemeinen Gebrauch berechneten Auswahl*, vol. 2, ed. Koethe (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1829).

21. Ibid.

22. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 637–643 [II]; *ibid.*, 685–732 [VI]; *ibid.*, 762–800 [IX]; *ibid.*, 984–1015 [XX]. *Idem.*, "Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum

engaged in them might not always carry out God's agenda. Thus, Melanchthon²³ acknowledged both the perfection of God's mandates and the imperfection of those who executed them. From Melanchthon's perspective,²⁴ the imperfection of the latter did not defile the perfection of the former because the perfection of these mandates was grounded in the fact that God established them to serve his purpose. In Melanchthon's view,²⁵ the civil authorities were instituted by God to provide a safe space for human beings to interact with one another in every possible way (commerce, education, etc.).

Melanchthon²⁶ taught that all relationships in the community were an extension and application of family relationships to the broader community. A sense of submission, responsibility, and dependence originated from family interactions and bonds. Melanchthon viewed the relationship between those in authority and those under authority in terms of mutuality. Social leaders (e.g., rulers, employers, or owners) acted as parents for the community. Therefore, those in authority as communal parents were, on the one hand, entitled to lead and to be honored; on the other hand, they were obliged to care for their communal children who looked to them for guidance and direction and who relied on them while steering their way through the difficulties and uncertainties of daily life. Consequently, both parties, those leading and those led, were mutually bound by submission, responsibility, and dependence. In this mutual bondage, both parties were giving and taking constantly.

From Melanchthon's²⁷ perspective, the social, political, and economic identity of human beings was shaped by God prior to the emergence of sin. Originally, God designed people to be his coworkers by inviting and equipping them to manage the world and to create new life (procreation) on his behalf. Thus, human beings were God's partners and agents in making and upholding the world. Melanchthon believed that God intended people to live and work together, to communicate with one another, and to care for one another under responsible leadership. In response to the emergence of sin, God decided to add disciplinary (punitive) and coercive measures to ensure that communal life would be viable in the face of self-centered and harmful proclivities that were not created by God but which resulted from human opposition to and departure from God's will. Actually, God's purpose was to defend and protect those who suffered the social consequences of sin by introducing such additional remedial measures that aimed at restraining the outward manifestations of disruptive behavior within the community.

These stations and tasks, as Melanchthon²⁸ believed, were God's enterprise because God, who was always at work, acted in the world solely through the instruments of his own design. By saying that communal life, along with all its

aetas),” 124–136 [De creatione]; *ibid.*, 201–304 [Von göttlichem Gesetz]; *ibid.*, 372–417 [Von guten Werken]; *ibid.*, 600–626 [Von weltlicher Obrigkeit].

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

institutions, was God's work, Melanchthon²⁹ indicated that God worked through these institutions for the benefit of humankind. At the same time, officeholders carried out God's work and acted on God's behalf as far as they conformed to God's agenda, that is, as far as their actions supported good and suppressed evil in the community. Thus, God was thought of as the One who was in charge of whatever would benefit human beings in the world.

Melanchthon³⁰ not only acknowledged that the moral flaws of officeholders might affect their conduct and performance but also admitted that particular laws or regulations introduced by them might contradict God's intent. God's intent was that all manmade legal provisions, which as Melanchthon admitted were ever-changing and varied, would protect good people and punish evildoers. Thus, Melanchthon³¹ accepted that legal provisions evolved and were conditioned by time and place. Yet, he affirmed that any laws or regulations should aim to shield the innocent from evil and harm. This was a litmus test and the bottom line for Melanchthon as far as the legal system was concerned. Therefore, Melanchthon³² believed that Christians were not obliged to obey the government if it impelled them to harm the innocent or do evil. In this instance, Melanchthon³³ preferred passive disobedience to the active one. From Melanchthon's perspective,³⁴ God gave his sanction and lent credence to the civil authorities and those in authority without approving or condoning their misdeeds, which were likely to happen in view of original sin.

For Melanchthon,³⁵ the whole world was arranged and structured by God meticulously. Therefore, God made the physical world operate in accordance with the laws of physics, which he himself devised. At the same time, human existence was embedded by God in the institutions of communal life, which he himself invented. In the third version of his Latin *Loci*, Melanchthon³⁶ scrutinized the idea that civil, political, and social structures of human existence were human arrangements based on the inborn mental powers of human beings and a sense of natural law bestowed by God upon them. According to Melanchthon,³⁷ this idea was mentioned by Petrus Paludanus, a medieval Catholic theologian, yet it seems that Melanchthon referred to the tracts penned by Durandus of Saint-Pourcain.³⁸ In 1506, selected writings of Petrus Paludanus and Durandus of Saint-Pourcain were published in the same untitled volume.³⁹

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 991 [XX].

37. Ibid.

38. Durandus of Saint-Pourcain, *De jurisdictione ecclesiastica* ([Paris]: [Barbier and Petit], [1506]). Idem, *De legibus* ([Paris]: [Barbier and Petit], [1506]). Idem, *De potestate regia et papali* ([Paris]: [Barbier and Petit], [1506]).

39. The cover page thereof contained only a table of contents (In hoc volumine continentur).

Melanchthon⁴⁰ wrote that although God called human beings to make use of their intellectual powers in the process of governing and while finding specific solutions to the problems of the community, God himself established the framework of communal life, and it would be sustained by the Creator relentlessly and perpetually as attested in the Scripture. In Melanchthon's opinion, God indeed equipped humankind with intellectual and moral powers. These were necessary tools, which he gave to human beings so that they could manage their shared lives, namely, their existence as a community instituted by God himself. From Melanchthon's point of view, God designed and enacted communal life not only indirectly (i.e., by providing necessary tools as referred to by Petrus Paludanus [Durandus of Saint-Pourcain]) but also directly (i.e., by creating human beings to live together).

Furthermore, Melanchthon⁴¹ asserted that the civil authorities were God's work and God's gift because, through them, the Creator acted and blessed human beings by providing enough tranquillity so that his creatures could manage the world of which they were a part, exchange goods and services with one another, produce and build new things, learn and teach others. Likewise, in his iconic catechism, Melanchthon⁴² disagreed with those who claimed that social tasks and obligations (*civilia officia*) were not directly established by God and therefore, people could not serve God properly by being engaged in them. According to Melanchthon,⁴³ social responsibilities were not only useful and necessary for the sake of human beings but also directly created and sustained by God for his glory and for our benefit. By serving one another, people served and worshipped God in response to his care and love for them, whereas God set up and upheld communal life through their service. Thus, God used our service to one another as his own instrument through which he could act in the world continually. Indeed, Melanchthon⁴⁴ agreed that human reason was able and obliged to discover that people were predisposed to communal life, namely, created to live as a community, yet he affirmed that the social nature of human beings and their communal existence were God's very work (*opus Dei*). Contrary to David C. Fink's

40. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 991 [XX].

41. Ibid, 637–643 [II]; ibid, 685–732 [VI]; ibid, 762–800 [IX]; ibid, 984–1015 [XX]. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 124–136 [De creatione]; ibid, 201–304 [Von göttlichem Gesetz]; ibid, 372–417 [Von guten Werken]; ibid, 600–626 [Von weltlicher Obrigkeit].

42. Melanchthon, "Catechesis puerilis (1543/1540): Catechismus, das ist eine Kinderlehre (1543)," in *Supplementa Melanchthoniana: Werke Philipp Melanchthons die im Corpus Reformatorum vermisst werden*, vol. 5/1, ed. Ferdinand Cohrs (Leipzig: Haupt, 1915), 220 [Decalogus, IV, *Suntne cultus Dei officia erga homines?*]. This paragraph is contained in the following edition: Melanchthon, *Catechesis puerilis* (Schwäbisch Hall: Braubach, 1540), C4v-C5v [*Sunt ne cultus Dei officia erga homines?*]; but missing from *Corpus Reformatorum*: Melanchthon, "Catechesis puerilis (Ex editione Witebergensi anni 1558)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 23, ed. Bretschneider and Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1855), 117-192.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

claims,⁴⁵ Melanchthon never viewed “civilia officia” as “human institutions” merely sanctioned in the Scripture but rather firmly embraced them as divine institutions, namely, as God’s caring arrangements executed by human beings. These arrangements are caring, benevolent, generous, protecting, sustaining and liberating in tangible terms, yet pointing to the intangible by disclosing God’s loving heart towards human beings.

Melanchthon⁴⁶ urged the civil authorities to support schools and charitable institutions such as hospitals, nursing homes, shelters, or orphanages financially and administratively. Thus, the civil authorities were to provide a safe space for human beings, especially those vulnerable or disadvantaged, to exist and to flourish in tangible terms. Melanchthon⁴⁷ taught that God blessed humankind whenever those in authority defended good people and punished evildoers and whenever people carried out tasks that God assigned to them in their particular stations in life. From Melanchthon’s point of view,⁴⁸ God was present in and through these stations, and therefore, they could be acclaimed as “divine,” while those who were engaged in these God-given endeavors could be viewed as God’s representatives and God’s servants in the world.

For Melanchthon,⁴⁹ every single person who duly pursued the path of service to the community, which God allowed him or her to discover, was God’s servant and agent in the world because God employed him or her to serve the neighbor. This perspective imparted a sense of dignity to grassroots people who could have a purpose in life irrespective of their social status because, in God’s sight, their service to their neighbor was as precious as the service of the mighty and privileged. Since God embraced all human beings as his creatures, they could embrace themselves as dignified tools in the hands of God, whose intent was to engage them to serve one another. For that reason, human beings could embrace one another, too, and be generous to one another.

Melanchthon⁵⁰ claimed that all people participating in the life of the community, regardless of their social position, worshiped God because they all served God through their service to their neighbor. For Melanchthon,⁵¹ to worship God meant to serve the neighbor in God-given stations, which were assigned by God to individual persons. Melanchthon⁵² clarified that believers were not only permitted but also encouraged to serve their neighbor in whatever capacity they were engaged by God in the world.

45. David C. Fink, “Against the Busybodies: Philipp Melanchthon and the >Protestant Work Ethic<,” in *Lutheranism and Social Responsibility*, ed. Nina J. Koefoed and Andrew G. Newby (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2022), 98.

46. Melanchthon, “Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas),” 637-643 [II]; *ibid.*, 685-732 [VI]; *ibid.*, 762-800 [IX]; *ibid.*, 984-1015 [XX]. Melanchthon, “Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas),” 124-136 [De creatione]; *ibid.*, 201-304 [Von göttlichem Gesetz]; *ibid.*, 372-417 [Von guten Werken]; *ibid.*, 600-626 [Von weltlicher Obrigkeit].

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*

Therefore, this service was not only permissible but also highly commendable. From Melanchthon's point of view,⁵³ those who served the neighbor in the public sphere (e.g., public service, commerce) or the private sphere (i.e., family) and those who pursued knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be equipped for such service, were true saints and God was pleased with their service.

Furthermore, Melanchthon⁵⁴ rejected any forms of the monastic or ascetic life because, in his view, they were not neighbor-oriented but rather self-oriented and, thus, idle, useless, and deceitful. Melanchthon⁵⁵ argued that in the light of the Scripture, any way of living that did not benefit the neighbor could not be accepted because one's service to God (*Gottesdienst*, *cultus Dei*) could materialize only through one's service to the neighbor. He also noted that instead of showing obedience to God by serving their neighbor, monks and nuns ventured to retreat from the community to which every single person was called by God. In his opinion, they busied themselves with activities that they invented by themselves, either contrary to the Scripture or without the sanction of God's Word. Consequently, they replaced God's commandments and institutions with their own manmade and self-serving sense of piety and perfection. According to Melanchthon, the gospel neither abolished nor undermined communal life. Rather, as the message about God's loving kindness towards his creatures, the gospel affirmed this world as God's generous gift and wise task for humankind while encouraging and empowering people to serve one another and while allowing them to see and appreciate this world as God's work and design. The gospel enlightened human beings, that is, let them discover and embrace God's purpose in communal life and, thus, restored their sight and understanding of God's creation, which was blurred by original sin.

Melanchthon⁵⁶ argued that monks and nuns refused to serve their neighbor and declined to build up the community, make progress in science or the arts, protect the underprivileged and vulnerable, start families, and face the treadmill of daily life. According to Melanchthon,⁵⁷ a monastic or ascetic way of living denied God's perfect design for human beings and did a disservice to humankind, created in God's image and as God's image in the world. Thus, monasticism and asceticism disgraced the very Creator of human beings, the One who created and sustained their bodies and their minds out of his kindness so that they could serve their neighbor, reflecting God's love for humankind.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 637–643 [II]; *ibid.*, 685–732 [VI]; *ibid.*, 762–800 [IX]; *ibid.*, 984–1015 [XX]. *Idem.*, "Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 124–136 [De creatione]; *ibid.*, 201–304 [Von göttlichem Gesetz]; *ibid.*, 372–417 [Von guten Werken]; *ibid.*, 600–626 [Von weltlicher Obrigkeit]. *Idem.*, "Confessio Augustana Latina (Invariata)," 281 [I, XVI]; *ibid.*, 312–313 [II, XXVII]; *ibid.*, 318–319 [II, XXVII]. *Idem.*, "Confessio Augustana Latina (Variata)," 361 [I, XVI]; *ibid.*, 401 [II, XXVII]; *ibid.*, 404 [II, XXVII]. *Idem.*, "Confessio Augustana Germanica (Invariata)," 567–568 [I, XVI]; *ibid.*, 638 [II, XXVII]; *ibid.*, 640–641 [II, XXVII]; *ibid.*, 653–656 [II, XXVII]. *Idem.*, "Confessio Augustana Germanica (Variata)," 734 [I, XVI]; *ibid.*, 756 [II, XXVII]; *ibid.*, 759–760 [II, XXVII].

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*

Indeed, Melanchthon⁵⁸ conceded that in antiquity and the Middle Ages, the church neglected the divine institutions of communal life and God-given stations in life (e.g., marriage, public service, commerce, manual labor), which were not related directly to its liturgical or sacramental activities. In his view, the ancient and medieval church focused on clergy and its liturgical or sacramental functions instead of emboldening and nurturing people from all walks of life to serve the neighbor in the community through the institutions that God established for this purpose. Therefore, Melanchthon⁵⁹ reminded his readers that the church, based on biblical teaching, must reinforce the dignity of communal life and should urge Christians to take up and perform their duties as members of the community diligently for God's glory and the benefit of the neighbor. Actually, from Melanchthon's viewpoint,⁶⁰ fortifying and explaining the God-given fabric of human existence within the community belonged to the mission of the church and bore witness to God's loving kindness and generosity.

Melanchthon⁶¹ wrote that God created human beings to exist as a community, bonding them to one another through complex and diverse relations for their mutual benefit so that they could work together and support one another in various capacities such as family, education, governance, or commerce. For Melanchthon,⁶² these capacities were truly eternal bonds (*vincula aeterna*), which inextricably and ceaselessly united human beings because as long as humankind would exist, people must be born, bred and equipped to make their livelihood and to serve one another in the community. Furthermore, almost every action or state of an individual person required some interaction or cooperation with the other person(s), either directly or indirectly, through products or services sold, bought, traded, or exchanged. Eating required food produced and made accessible by others; drinking required water to be delivered by others or through the machinery built and maintained by others; and even procreation required a man and a woman united physically. An infant alone could neither conceive himself or herself nor take care of himself or herself after being born and while growing up.

Melanchthon⁶³ pointed out that any activities that impaired God-given stations in life or were not affirmed in the Scripture must be disapproved of and castigated. Moreover, he contended that genuine service to God could only occur through neighbor-oriented endeavors instituted by God and sanctioned in the Scripture. There was no other way to serve God, as Melanchthon⁶⁴ noted. From Melanchthon's perspective,⁶⁵ one's obedience to God entailed one's service to the neighbor in various capacities that God devised in order to make service to the neighbor, which human beings owed to one another, possible and fruitful. Melanchthon⁶⁶ wrote that a variety

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

of stations shaped by the Creator allowed believers to reflect God's love for humankind by loving the neighbor and by relating to the neighbor with a view to God's benevolence towards all people. Consequently, this act of human love mirroring divine love would eventuate in responsible and caring attitudes and behavior, transforming the life of the community.

Melanchthon's concept of vocation was concomitant with his views on education because no one could serve the neighbor unless he or she were equipped for this service. In the third version of his Latin⁶⁷ and German⁶⁸ *Loci*, Melanchthon explicated the third and fourth petitions from the Lord's Prayer in an innovative way. He argued that while imploring God to "give us today our daily bread," believers asked God to cater to their tangible needs by providing food, housing, personal safety, good health, and social stability through stations that God assigned to each individual. According to Melanchthon,⁶⁹ God attended to human needs by leading people to discover their stations in life and by empowering them to carry out their God-given tasks so that the neighbor could be served and the institutions of communal life (the civil authorities, family, schools, etc.) might be sustained.

Moreover, God's will was being done when people carried out their God-given tasks. Thus, God was making his will happen in the external, tangible, and visible sphere by engaging people to serve one another in whatever capacities he placed them. By serving one another, people served God and worshiped him while his will materialized. This was God's way of implementing his will in the world. In the guidelines for church inspectors,⁷⁰ which Melanchthon compiled in 1528,⁷¹ there was a separate section on schools because, for the Wittenberg Reformation, schools were indispensable to every community, whereas the Protestant church was responsible for supporting the work of education.

Melanchthon⁷² stated that parents ought to send children to school in obedience to God's will because God created human beings to learn and because, through education, God would prepare and equip their children for service to the neighbor. Only through education, children could become God's instruments in the world and, thus, could be employed by God for the benefit of others. Furthermore, Melanchthon⁷³

67. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 975–976 [XIX, III–IV].

68. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 575 [Vom Gebet, III–IV].

69. Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 975–976 [XIX, III–IV]. Idem, "Loci theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 575 [Vom Gebet, III–IV].

70. Melanchthon, "Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrherrn im Kurfürstentum zu Sachsen (Wittenberg 1528)," in *Opera*, vol. 26, 90–91 [Von Schulen]. Idem, "Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrherrn im Kurfürstentum zu Sachsen," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 26, ed. Luther (Weimar: Böhlau, 1909), 236–240 [Von Schulen]. In modern German: Melanchthon, "Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrherrn im Kurfürstentum Sachsen vom Jahre 1527," in *Werke in einer auf den allgemeinen Gebrauch berechneten Auswahl*, vol. 1, ed. Koethe (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1829).

71. Editio princeps: Melanchthon, *Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrherrn im Kurfürstentum zu Sachsen* (Wittenberg: Schirlentz, 1528), L2v–L3v [Von Schulen].

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

provided a sample of the primary school curriculum to give church inspectors orientation to a new educational model propounded by the Wittenberg Reformation. In 1524, Melanchthon⁷⁴ wrote a preface to the Latin translation of Luther's writing "An die Ratsherren aller Städte deutschen Landes dass sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen." In his preface, Melanchthon⁷⁵ emphasized that the quality of human life depended on the quality of an educational system, which should nurture the life of the community by equipping students so that the community might be preserved and could develop. From Melanchthon's perspective,⁷⁶ the church should support the work of education in all its forms and be solicitous about the condition of schools while serving young people.

In terms of the curriculum,⁷⁷ Melanchthon recognized mathematics, physics, medicine, biology, and geography as legitimate and dignified academic disciplines and applauded them as catalysts for social and technological progress. In his view, these disciplines discovered and explored laws and regularities that the Creator wove into the world for the benefit of the human race.⁷⁸ According to Melanchthon,⁷⁹ all useful disciplines should be cherished because communal life and its institutions, which were established by God, required adequate skills and knowledge so that various areas of human activity could be sustained and gradually advanced. Melanchthon⁸⁰ argued that whatever was taught must be useful to the community and must equip students, both male and female, for tasks that God would assign to them in their adult lives.

74. Melanchthon, "Studiosis (1524)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 1, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1834), 666. Editio princeps: Idem, "Studiosis omnibus," in *De constituendis scholis*, ed. Luther (Hagenau: Setzer, [s. a.]), A2r–A2v.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Wilhelm Bernhardt, *Philipp Melanchthon als Mathematiker und Physiker* (Wittenberg: Verlag des Vereins für Heimatkunde, 1865).

78. Melanchthon, "Praefatio in Geometriam: Ioanni Reiffenstein (1536)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 3, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1836), 107–114. Idem, "De ratione studiorum (1540)," in *Opera*, vol. 3, 1110–1113. Idem, "De reformatione Ecclesiae (1541)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 4, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1837), 549–552 [XIV–XV]. Idem, "Praefatio in Stifelii arithmetica (1543)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 5, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1838), 6–8. Idem, "De ordine discendi (1531)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 11, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1843), 209–257. Idem, "Praefatio in arithmetica (1536)," in *Opera*, vol. 11, 284–292. Idem, "De astronomia et geographia (1536)," in *Opera*, vol. 11, 292–298. Idem, "De utilitate studiorum eloquentiae (1538)," in *Opera*, vol. 11, 364–373. Idem, "Oratio de Alfragano et mathematicis disciplinis Ioannis Regiomontani (1540)," in *Opera*, vol. 11, 531–544. Idem, "De Iohanne Regiomontano (1549)," in *Opera*, vol. 11, 817–826. Idem, "De schola Rostochiana (1556)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 12, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1844), 161–173. Idem, "De cura recte loquendi (1557)," in *Opera*, vol. 12, 213–221. Idem, "De medicinae usu (1557)," in *Opera*, vol. 12, 221–225.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

In Melanchthon's opinion,⁸¹ a variety of academic disciplines arose from various needs that should be tended to and from diverse natural phenomena with which God furnished the world where human beings abode. Consequently, human beings had to know the world in which they were immersed and learn how to cater to their own needs and attend to one another's needs. These needs, as Melanchthon⁸² observed, materialized in various fields such as health, food production, transport, housing, administration, knowledge transfer, or appliances facilitating human life.

The 16th-century Reformation put a new perspective on teaching history and firmly established the relevance of contemporary history. Late medieval historiography gave prominence to ancient history, positing that whatever was ancient must be *eo ipso* dignified. The Wittenberg Reformers recognized history as God's theatre, the domain in which God acted through his agents to accomplish what he intended. Therefore, from the Protestant point of view, contemporary history was a part of God-given daily life and belonged to the individual and communal experience of God's presence and action in the world. Consequently, using his instruments and agents, God himself orchestrated history, which happened before people's very eyes, and engaged all of them as well.

Both Melanchthon⁸³ and Kaspar Peucer⁸⁴ reclaimed this common experience of God's benevolent commitment to humankind in their prefaces to a complete version of *Chronica Carionis* (Books I–IV), which extended to Friedrich II, who died in 1250.⁸⁵ Later, Peucer compiled a supplementary volume (Book V) on the history of the world from Friedrich II to Charles V (Karl V).⁸⁶ Thus, the Reformation educators intentionally prepared a complete course in world history until the mid-16th century to understand and to tell a story of the past and the present so that readers could be well equipped to serve the neighbor in the public sphere.

3. Legal Status of the Protestant Churches and Schools in Thorn (West Prussia)

A part of the Prussian territories, later denominated West Prussia, was incorporated into the Polish Crown in 1454.⁸⁷ Previously, this region was controlled by the Teutonic

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. Melanchthon, "Epistola dedicatoria (1558)," in *Chronicon Carionis*, vol. 1, ed. Kaspar Peucer (Basel: [s. n.], 1563, A2r–A7v.

84. Peucer, "Epistola dedicatoria (1562)," in *Chronicon Carionis*, vol. 3, ed. Peucer (Basel: [s. n.], 1563), 2*r–8*v.

85. Melanchthon, *Chronicon Carionis (I–IV)*, vol. 1–3, ed. Peucer (Basel and Wittenberg: [s. n.] and Rhau, 1563).

86. Peucer, *Liber quintus Chronici Carionis a Friderico Secundo usque ad Carolum Quintum* (Frankfurt am Main: Fabricius, Feyrabend and Huter, 1566). Peucer noticed and praised the invention of the printing press in Europe. He recognized the art of printing as God's gift for humankind which reshaped social communication and facilitated immensely the preservation and transfer of knowledge. Peucer, "Fridericus Tertius," in *Liber*, 225r–225v.

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

Knights. Yet, it sought to uphold its independence, or at least some degree of autonomy, from both the Teutonic Knights and the Polish Crown. The medieval and early 16th-century pursuit of economic and civil liberties by the Prussian territories was reflected in the proceedings of the Prussian Estates, which functioned as the legislature of West Prussia, and in other official documents.⁸⁸

The most relevant documents pertinent to West Prussia from 1526 to the mid-18th century were selected and compiled by Gottfried Lengnich from the archive of the Danzig City Council and appended to his monumental history of the Prussian territories,⁸⁹ while supplementary documents were appended to his presentation of the public law of West Prussia.⁹⁰ Interactions between the Polish Crown and the Prussian territories (i.e., West and East Prussia) were recorded in the documents garnered by Mathias Dogiel.⁹¹ In 1746, legal instruments and privileges concerning the Prussian territories issued by the Polish Crown were extracted from the first edition of *Volumina Legum*⁹² and published in Danzig.⁹³

88. Carolus Gorski, Marianus Biskup and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa, ed., *Acta Statuum Terrarum Prussiae Regalis*, vol. 1–8 (Thorn, Warschau and Posen: Societas Scientiarum Torunensis, 1955–1993). Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernst Strehlke, ed., *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum: Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergang der Ordensherrschaft*, vol. 1–5 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1861–1874). Max Perlbach, ed., *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch* (Danzig: Bertling and Kafemann, 1882). *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1/1–6/2 (Königsberg and Marburg: Hartung and Elwert, 1882–2000). Franz Thunert, ed., *Akten der Ständetage Preussens königlichen Anteils (Westpreussens)*, vol. 1 (Danzig: Kafemann, 1896). Max Töppen, ed., *Akten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, vol. 1–5 (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1878–1886). “Urkundenbuch des Bistums Kulm: Das Bistum Kulm unter dem Deutschen Orden (1243–1466),” in *Neues Preussisches Urkundenbuch: Westpreussischer Teil*, vol. 2/1/1, ed. Karl Peter Woelky (Danzig: Bertling, 1885). “Urkundenbuch des Bistums Samland,” in *Neues Preussisches Urkundenbuch: Ostpreussischer Teil*, vol. 2/2/1–3, ed. Woelky and Hans Mendthal (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1891–1905). Johann Voigt, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus: Urkunden-Sammlung zur älteren Geschichte Preussens aus dem Königlichen Geheimen Archiv zu Königsberg*, vol. 1–6 (Königsberg: Bornträger and Koch, 1836–1861).

89. Gottfried Lengnich, *Geschichte der Preussischen Lande königlich-polnischen Anteils*, vol. 1–9 (Danzig: Stolle and Schreiber, 1722–1755).

90. “Appendix actorum publicorum,” in *Ius publicum Prussiae Polonae*, ed. Lengnich (Danzig: Schreiber, 1758), 237–292.

91. Mathias Dogiel, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae*, vol. 4 (Vilnius: Schola Piarum, 1764).

92. To be precise, from those volumes of *Volumina Legum* which were printed prior to 1746. In 1746, six volumes of *Volumina Legum* were available: *Leges, statuta, constitutiones, privilegia Regni Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*, vol. 1–6 (Warschau: Schola Piarum, 1732–1739). The series was completed in 1782 and contained eight volumes. The second edition thereof was published in the 19th century as: *Volumina legum*, vol. 1–8 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1859–1860). An additional volume containing legal documents from 1782 to 1792 was published in 1889 but it was not a part of the original series. *Volumina legum*, vol. 9 (Krakau: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1889).

93. *Privilegia serenissimorum Regum Poloniae Ordinibus Terrarum Prussiae collata ex regni constitutionibus in gratiam Pruthenae nobilitatis excerpta et in compendiosum volumen redacta* ([s. l.]: [s. n.], 1746).

Besides, a collection of royal privileges for West Prussia was printed on several occasions in Danzig and Thorn,⁹⁴ whereas a historical study of royal privileges for West Prussian cities appeared in Danzig in 1739.⁹⁵ Although proceedings of some local (regional) legislatures (minor and major comitia), such as those of Kujawien⁹⁶ or Galizien,⁹⁷ were fully published, in the case of the proceedings of the Prussian Estates, it is still necessary to rely on the documents which were selected and published by Lengnich. In 1950, Carolus Gorski released a catalog of the legal instruments used by the Prussian Estates, which was compiled in the late 18th century.⁹⁸ In 2001, a project to publish the proceedings of the Prussian Estates (since 1526) was launched, but as of 2022, this series extended to 1542.⁹⁹ In addition, the proceedings of the General Convention of the Prussian Estates, which took place in Graudenz on 28 August 1730, were published separately.¹⁰⁰ Some miscellaneous yet useful documents were also contained in the three booklets.¹⁰¹

Since a part of the Prussian territories known later as West Prussia joined the Polish Crown of its own accord (*reciproca sponsio*), it enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. It functioned as a special administrative region of the Polish Commonwealth.¹⁰² 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 some of them specifically to West Prussia. In other words,

94. *Iura municipalia Terrarum Prussiae et leges ad eas Terras privatim pertinentes* (Danzig: Rhode, 1578; Danzig: Hünefeld, 1638; Danzig: Hünefeld, 1657; Danzig: Beckenstein, 1685; Thorn: Ferber, 1612). In 1728 and 1733, an updated collection was published as: *Iura fundamentalia Terrarum Prussiae* (Danzig: Krossius, 1728; Danzig: Preuss, 1733).

95. *Privilegium civitatum minorum Prussiae Occidentalis commentariolo illustratum* (Danzig: Knoch, 1739).

96. Adolf Pawinski, ed., “Rzady sejmikowe w epoce krolow elekcyjnych (1572–1795),” in *Dzieje ziemi kujawskiej oraz akta historyczne do nich sluzace*, vol. 2–5 (Warschau: Berger, 1888).

97. *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasow Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardynskiego we Lwowie*, vol. 1–25 (Lemberg: Seyfarth-Czajkowski and Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1868–1935).

98. Gorski, ed., *Inventarium actorum conventualium Terrarum Prussiae 1600–1764* (Thorn: Societas Scientiarum Torunensis, 1950).

99. Biskup et al., ed., *Protokoły Sejmiku Generalnego Prus Krolewskich*, vol. 1–4 (Thorn: Societas Scientiarum Torunensis, 2001–2017).

100. *Lauda, statuum et ordinum Terrarum Prussiae in Conventu Generali die 28. Augusti Anno Domini 1730 Graudenti congregatorum* (Danzig: Krossius, 1731).

101. *Gratiani Severini Lipinski, Nob. Prutheni, ad Vincentium Constantinum Starodobrski, Nob. Polon., epistola* ([Danzig]: [s. n.], 1712). *Sequitur demonstratio iurium, Gratiani Severini Lipinski, Nobil. Prutheni, quibus pax inter dissidentes, liberumque religionis Augustanae Confessionis exercitium innotuit* (Stargard: Ernst, 1714). *Compendium iurium dissidentibus in religione Christiana in Regno Poloniae annexisque provinciis inservientium* ([Danzig]: [s. n.], [s. a.]). Johann Ernest Linde, a Danzig lawyer and statesman, was said to be instrumental in producing these three books. Linde himself wrote on the Danzig legal system: Johann Ernest Linde, *Dissertatio de origine, libris et auctoritate juris civilis Romani et statutarii Gedanensis* (Danzig: Rhete, 1680).

102. Since 1569, called officially the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

the legislation adopted by the Polish Parliament was not automatically applicable to West Prussia. According to the act of incorporation, Polish kings could make important decisions concerning West Prussia only in consultation with the Prussian Estates. This implied that some consensus had to be reached. Furthermore, the act of incorporation¹⁰³ and other relevant legislation¹⁰⁴ stipulated that all public offices (including ecclesiastical offices) in West Prussia could be held solely by permanent residents born in these territories (*ius indigenatus*). *Ius indigenatus* was also entrenched in the Kulm law.¹⁰⁵

The legal landscape of West Prussia was complex, and in the present paper, it could only be adumbrated. The Polish Crown specified its relationship with West Prussia through royal constitutions for that territory (1526,¹⁰⁶ 1538¹⁰⁷) and through the supplementary civil legislation for the landed gentry thereof.¹⁰⁸ Both the royal constitutions¹⁰⁹ and the supplementary legislation¹¹⁰ were published in West Prussia on several occasions. The Prussian Estates acted as the legislature of West Prussia and represented all of West Prussia, especially its major cities, which were led by their city councils, before the Polish Crown. In the case of Danzig, the Polish Crown made use of some additional legal instruments as well.¹¹¹ Moreover, West Prussia adopted the Kulm law (Kulmer/Kulmischer Recht), which provided a platform for municipal,

103. "Literae incorporationis recuperatae a Cruciferis et ad corpus Regni sponte redeuntis Prussiae (1454)," 78–81.

104. "Reciproca sponsio (1454)," in *Volumina*, vol. 1, 81–83. "Privilegium D. Casimiri Regis quod tenetae civitatum atque locorum, nullis extraneis sed veris indigenis conferri debeant (1454)," in *Volumina*, vol. 1, 83–84.

105. *Ius Culmense ex ultima revisione oder das vollständige Kulmische Recht* (Danzig: Bartels, 1767), 6–7 [I, 2, 3, § 15–16].

106. "Ordinatio Ducatus Prussiae Gedani (1526)," in *Volumina*, vol. 1, 230–233. "Constitutiones a Sigismundo I. Rege pro Prutenis latae (Actum Gedani anno Domini 1526 feria tertia post festum divisionis apostolorum)," in *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae*, vol. 4, 242–246 [No. CLXXXI].

107. "Constitutiones Terrarum Prussiae (1538)," in *Volumina*, vol. 1, 266–268. "Constitutiones Terrarum Prussiae in Publicis Comitibus Thorunensibus Sigismundi Regis autoritate confirmatae (Cracoviae anno 1538 feria V. post festum nativitatis B. virginis Mariae)," in *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae*, vol. 4, 299–302 [No. CCXI].

108. "Ius terrestre nobilitatis Prussiae correctum (1598)," in *Volumina legum*, vol. 6 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1860), 270–282.

109. *Constitutiones Terrarum Prussiae* (Danzig: Rhode, 1541; 1579; 1595).

110. *Ius terrestre nobilitatis Prussiae correctum* (Danzig: Hünefeld, 1625; Danzig: Hünefeld, 1647; Danzig: Beckenstein, 1685; Thorn: Friese, 1622).

111. "Ordinatio Civitatis Gedanensis (1526)," in *Volumina*, vol. 1, 226–230. "Constitutiones Civitati Gedanensi praescriptae et autoritate Comitiorum Varsaviensium an. 1570 confirmatae," in *Volumina legum*, vol. 2 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1859), 108–123. *Concordata Ordinum Regiae Civitatis polonicae Gedanensis: Concordata oder Verträge der Ordnungen königlicher polnischer Stadt Danzig* (Danzig: [s. n.], 1678). *Ordinationes Regiae Poloniae Civitati Gedanensi clementissime datae: Verordnungen für die königliche polnische Stadt Danzig* (Dresden: Harpeter, 1751).

civil, fiscal, inheritance, matrimonial, criminal, and economic relations.¹¹² In Danzig, the Kulm law continued to be in force even after the 1793 incorporation of the city into the Kingdom of Prussia.¹¹³

Individual cities in West Prussia could pass specific local laws to govern the municipal, civil, criminal, fiscal, and economic spheres. A collection of such laws was usually called “Willkür” (sing.) and functioned as urban statutes. The Kulm law itself stipulated that city councils might pass their own particular laws (pl. Willküren).¹¹⁴ City councils in West Prussia might also pass Willküren for villages under their jurisdictions. Such Willküren functioned as rural statutes (sing. Dorfverfassung). In German, the noun “Willkür” (also spelled Willkühr) means “discretion.” It was used to denote municipal or rural statutes adopted by a city council because, through this legal instrument (i.e., Willkür), a city could manage its internal affairs by itself.¹¹⁵ Such legislation was not imposed from outside but rather adopted by a city as a means of self-governance. Therefore, “Willkür” was a suitable term to refer to a legal instrument that a city used to govern the areas (primarily, internal affairs) that could be regulated by a city council at its own “discretion.” In West Prussia, city councils were vested with executive powers and functioned as the executive branch of the local government in accordance with the Kulm law.¹¹⁶ The 17th-century Willküren adopted by the Thorn City Council remained unpublished,¹¹⁷ but the 1605 Willkür for the villages under the Thorn jurisdiction was published in 1938.¹¹⁸

There was no religious privilege for all West Prussia, while religious privileges granted by the Polish Crown to individual cities in West Prussia were exceptions to the rule in the Age of the Counter-Reformation and did not reflect the religious situation beyond those municipalities.¹¹⁹ For instance, in 1716, every form of non-

112. The ultimate and annotated version of the Kulm law was published in 1767 as: *Ius Culmense*. The original version of the Kulm law was edited and annotated by Christian Karl Leman. Christian Karl Leman, ed., *Das alte kulmische Recht mit einem Wörterbuch* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1838). The 1584 version of the Kulm law was published in Thorn: *Das alte kulmische Recht* (Thorn: Nering, 1584).

113. “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.

114. *Ius Culmense*, 4 [I, 1, 2, § 9–10].

115. Johann Christoph Adelung, “Die Willkühr,” in *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1801), 1550–1551. “Willkühr,” in *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 14/2 (30), ed. Jakob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1960), 204–212.

116. *Ius Culmense*, 11–19 [I, 2, 7–13, § 31–49].

117. Karl Albert Kamptz, ed., *Die Provinzial- und statutarischen Rechte in der Preussischen Monarchie*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Dümmler, 1826), 260 [§ 130, II, A, AA, 18–19 (Willkür der Stadt Thorn von 1623; 1634)].

118. “Ordnung und Willkür der Dorfschaften in der Thornischen Weichsel-Niederung (1605),” in *Archiwum Komisji Prawniczej*, vol. 11, ed. Stanislaw Kutrzeba and Alfons Mankowski (Krakau: Gebethner and Wolff, 1938), 31–67 [6].

119. Georg Wilhelm Theodor Fischer, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Reformation in Polen*, vol. 1–2 (Grätz: Streisand and Mittler, 1855–1856). “[Johann von] Hoverbeck an den

Catholic worship was outlawed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Although this legislation did not abrogate religious privileges granted to individual cities in West Prussia, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth regularly accused the Danzig City Council of curtailing Catholic freedom of worship and using iconic church buildings for Protestant church services.¹²⁰

In contradistinction to East Prussia, West Prussia theoretically came within the jurisdiction of the Catholic bishops of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who relentlessly tried to repossess the church buildings, which were designated by the West Prussian city councils of Danzig, Elbing, Thorn, or Graudenz for the use of their Protestant residents, and who attempted to suppress the work of the Reformation in every possible way.¹²¹ The Catholic church authorities tirelessly strove to eradicate Protestant schools, realizing that education was the bedrock of the Reformation movement.¹²² In the 17th century, Catholic bishops from Leslau and Kulm conducted regular visitations across West Prussia to stifle the Reformation there.¹²³

Kurfürsten [Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg] (Warschau, 26. Mai 1647),” in *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*, vol. 1, ed. Bernhard Erdmannsdörffer (Berlin: Reimer, 1864), 230–235.

120. “Tractatus Varsaviensis (1716),” in *Volumina*, vol. 6, 124–125 [IV].

121. Lengnich, “Ius publicum Civitatis Gedanensis oder der Stadt Danzig Verfassung und Rechte (1769),” in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 1 (Danzig: Bertling, 1900), 492–519 [XLVII]. *Thornische Denkwürdigkeiten* (Berlin: Haude, 1726). “Urkundenbuch des Bistums Kulm: Das Bistum Kulm unter Polen (1466–1774),” in *Neues Preussisches Urkundenbuch: Westpreussischer Teil*, vol. 2/1/2, ed. Woelky (Danzig: Bertling, 1887).

122. Paul Bidder, “Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des Westpreussischen Schulwesens in polnischer Zeit (ca. 1572–1772),” in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 49 (Danzig: Saunier, 1907), 337–349 [II]. Xaver Froelich, “Die Jesuitenschule zu Graudenz,” in *Altpreussische Monatsschrift neue Folge: Der neuen Preussischen Provinzialblätter vierte Folge*, vol. 33 (99), ed. Rudolf Reicke and Ernst Wichert (Königsberg: Beyer, 1896), 1–17. Hermann Freytag, “Die Geschichte der Jesuitenmission in Danzig nach archivalischen Quellen,” in *Altpreussische Monatsschrift neue Folge: Der neuen Preussischen Provinzialblätter vierte Folge*, vol. 26 (92), ed. Reicke and Wichert (Königsberg: Beyer, 1889), 521–570. Waschinski, *Chronik der Pfarrrschulen Pommerellens bis 1772 mit Nachrichten über das evangelische Bildungswesen der Landschaft* (Bromberg: Johne, 1935). The Counter-Reformation policy documents and resolutions of the Catholic church authorities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were collected in: Zenon Chodynski and Eduard Likowski, ed., *Decretales summorum pontificum pro Regno Poloniae et constitutiones synodorum provincialium et dioecesanarum Regni ejusdem ad summam collectae*, vol. 3 (Posen: Leitgeber, 1883), 122–159 [V, VII–VIII].

123. “Visitationes archidiaconatus Pomeraniae,” in *Fontes: Societas Literaria Torunensis*, vol. 1–3, ed. Stanislaus Kujot (Thorn: Buszczyński, 1897–1899). “Visitationes Ecclesiarum dioecesis Culmensis et Pomesaniae,” in *Fontes: Societas Literaria Torunensis*, vol. 4, ed. Adalbertus Poblocki (Thorn: Buszczyński, 1900). “Visitationes episcopatus Culmensis,” in *Fontes: Societas Literaria Torunensis*, vol. 6–10, ed. Bruno Czapla (Thorn: Buszczyński, 1902–1906). “Visitationes archidiaconatus Camenensis,” in *Fontes: Societas Literaria Torunensis*, vol. 11–15, ed. Paulus Panske (Thorn: Buszczyński, 1907–1912). “Ad historiam ecclesiasticam Pomeraniae apparatus,” in *Fontes: Societas Literaria Torunensis*, vol. 16–19, ed. Czapla (Thorn: Buszczyński, 1912–1915).

Royal privileges for Protestant cities in West Prussia 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., the Parliament) would solve or decide on theological controversies between Catholics and Protestants. Permanent privileges were to be valid perpetually, and theoretically, they were irrevocable. Thus, all kings of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were *eo ipso* bound by permanent privileges which, in principle, did not have to be renewed but which could be confirmed by newly elected kings, and some West Prussian cities preferred to seek such confirmation. Formally speaking, a confirmation of a religious privilege could consist of putting the king’s signature either to the text of the original privilege or to the paraphrase thereof. For instance, August III, who was crowned king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in January 1734, signed in July 1734 the text, which was a paraphrase of the original religious privilege granted by King Stephan Bathory to Danzig in December 1577.¹²⁴

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 authorized residents of the cities which received them to profess and 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 and charitable institutions according to their religious beliefs.

All royal privileges were granted and warranted by the Crown. Therefore, a period of the interregnum, when the primate of the Catholic Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth acted as an interrex, was particularly hazardous to non-Catholics and their liberties derived from royal privileges. In the coronation oath, which had to be taken by every person elected by the Parliament of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as king, the most important were “*pacta conventa*” because they functioned as a bill of rights for the landed gentry and as a bill of privileges for specific territories or municipalities. To be crowned king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a person elected by the landed gentry as king must swear an oath that affirmed “*pacta conventa*”. Actually, the gentry confirmed that a person was duly elected as king only in response to his coronation oath taken in the presence of the Parliament.

It was widely assumed that the landed gentry and all the territories were obliged to obey the king only as far as he conformed to “*pacta conventa*.” Thus, obedience to the Crown was conditioned by the king’s compliance with the coronation oath (*pacta conventa*) taken in the presence of those who elected him.¹²⁵ The institution of “*pacta*

124. Lengnich, “Ius publicum Civitatis Gedanensis oder der Stadt Danzig Verfassung und Rechte (1769),” 38 (n. 1) [VI, § 7].

125. The idea of conditional obedience was spelt out in the oath formula: “Forma iuramenti Serenissimi Principis Henrici, novi electi Regis Poloniae (1573),” in *Volumina*, vol. 2, 135: “[. . .] juxta jura publica in omnibus Dominiis constituta, absque omnibus dilationibus et prorogationibus administrabo, nullo quorumvis respectu habito, et si (quod absit) in aliquibus iuramentum meum violavero, nullam mihi incolae Regni omniumque Dominiorum

conventa” was one of the most important legal instruments by which West Prussia, especially West Prussian cities, could protect their economic, legal, and religious autonomy. From the coronation of Henry III in 1573 to the coronation of Stanislaus August in 1764, every king had to swear to “uphold and maintain peace and tranquillity among those who dissented in religion” as a part of the “*pacta conventa*.” This vague phrase was not a pledge of religious freedom for Protestants but rather a royal obligation to prevent Catholics and non-Catholics from fighting against one another in a way that would infringe upon social stability.

Furthermore, in “*pacta conventa*,” every king had to swear to abide by all privileges previously granted, including those bestowed on West Prussia as such and those conferred upon individual West Prussian cities. This pledge indicated that all permanent religious privileges might be claimed as inviolable. In fact, the “general confirmation of the laws” (*confirmatio generalis iurium*) usually explicitly referenced all laws and privileges concerning West Prussia, which were confirmed by that.¹²⁶

It must be remembered that royal privileges for West Prussian cities, even those comprehensive and permanent, allowed proponents of the Augsburg Confession to profess their faith publicly, worship, and operate educational and charitable institutions according to their beliefs. West Prussian city councils were not allowed to outlaw or curtail the religious activity of the Catholic church within their municipal jurisdictions. By contrast, East Prussia could regulate its religious affairs at its

uniuscujusque gentis, obedientiam praestare debebunt. Imo ipso facto eos ab omni fide, obedientia Regi debita liberos facio, absolutionemque nullam ab hoc meo juramento a quoquam petam, neque ultro oblatam suscipiam: sic me Deus adjuvet”. This formula or its paraphrase was used at all subsequent coronations: “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Sigismundus III (1588),” in *Volumina*, vol. 2, 246. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Vladislaus Quartus (1633),” in *Volumina legum*, vol. 3 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1859), 369–370. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Ioannes Casimirus (1649),” in *Volumina legum*, vol. 4 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1860), 118. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Michael (1669),” in *Volumina legum*, vol. 5 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1860), 24. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Ioannes Tertius (1676),” in *Volumina*, vol. 5, 166. “Literae iuramenti coronationis: Augustus Secundus (1697),” in *Volumina*, vol. 6, 9. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Stanislaus Augustus (1764),” in *Volumina legum*, vol. 7 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1860), 133–134. “Confirmatio generalis iurium (1764),” in *Volumina*, vol. 7, 134.

126. “Forma iuramenti Serenissimi Principis Henrici, novi electi Regis Poloniae (1573),” in *Volumina*, vol. 2, 135. “Confirmatio generalis (1576),” in *Volumina*, vol. 2, 158. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Sigismundus III (1588),” in *Volumina*, vol. 2, 246. “Confirmatio generalis iurium (1588),” in *Volumina*, vol. 2, 249–250. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Vladislaus Quartus (1633),” in *Volumina legum*, vol. 3 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1859), 369. “Confirmatio generalis iurium (1633),” in *Volumina*, vol. 3, 371. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Ioannes Casimirus (1649),” in *Volumina legum*, vol. 4 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1860), 117–118. “Confirmatio generalis iurium (1649),” in *Volumina*, vol. 4, 118–119. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Michael (1669),” in *Volumina legum*, vol. 5 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1860), 24. “Confirmatio generalis iurium (1669),” in *Volumina*, vol. 5, 25–26. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Ioannes Tertius (1676),” in *Volumina*, vol. 5, 165. “Confirmatio generalis iurium (1676),” in *Volumina*, vol. 5, 166–167. “Literae iuramenti coronationis: Augustus Secundus (1697),” in *Volumina*, vol. 6, 9. “Confirmatio generalis iurium (1697),” in *Volumina*, vol. 6, 10. “Literae iuramenti praestiti: Stanislaus Augustus (1764),” in *Volumina legum*, vol. 7 (Petersburg: Ohryzka, 1860), 133–134. “Confirmatio generalis iurium (1764),” in *Volumina*, vol. 7, 134–135.

discretion except for a short period of time (1611–1657) when Ducal Prussia was compelled to respect the religious freedom of those Catholics who remained in its territory, to secure the Polish Crown’s approval for the 1611 amendment to the rules of Ducal succession in East Prussia and to perpetuate it in 1657.¹²⁷

Thorn received a temporary and partial religious privilege in 1558,¹²⁸ while permanent and comprehensive religious privileges were granted to the city in 1576¹²⁹ and 1588.¹³⁰ These two permanent and comprehensive privileges were confirmed by King Vladislaus IV in March 1635¹³¹ and by King Johann II Kasimir in January 1649 and again in January 1659.¹³² It should be noted that these privileges extended to the territories that came within the jurisdiction of the Thorn City Council and, thus, applied not only to the city of Thorn but also to the villages under its jurisdiction.

Generally speaking, the religious freedom of the Protestant majority in Danzig and in Elbing was not substantially endangered, while in Thorn, it was deeply challenged by the Thorn Blood-Bath (Thorner Blutgericht) in 1724 and its

127. Documents pertinent to the dynastic transition (1611–1612): Dogiel, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae*, vol. 4, 436–463 [No. CCXCVII–CCCXII]. The Treaty of Bromberg (Vertrag von Bromberg): “Foedus perpetuum quo Domui Brandenburgicae Ducatus Prussiae in supremum et absolutum, certis conditionibus, dominium ceditur (Datum Velaviae 19. Septembris anno 1657),” in *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae*, vol. 4, 486–491 [No. CCCXXVII]. Max Lehmann, “Untergang und Erneuerung der römischen Kirche in Preussen,” in *Preussen und die katholische Kirche seit 1640*, vol. 1, ed. Lehmann (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1878), 33–38 [I, I, § 5]. Kurt Breysig, “Allgemeine Einleitung: Die Entwicklung des preussischen Ständetums von seinen Anfängen bis zum Regierungsantritt Friedrich Wilhelms,” in *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*, vol. 15 (Berlin: Reimer, 1894), 133–160 [IX].

128. “Documenta authentica,” in *Thornische Denkwürdigkeiten*, 98–99 [I, I]. “Privilegium (Petricoviae, 22 Decembris 1558),” in *Thornische Chronica*, ed. Zerneck, 137 [Anno 1558]. In 1567, king Sigismund August sent a letter to the Catholic bishop of Kulm, reminding him of the religious privilege which in 1558 was granted to the proponents of the Augsburg Confession in Thorn and in the territory under its jurisdiction. “Documenta authentica,” 99–101 [I, II].

129. “Privilegium (Graudentii, 2 Septembris 1576),” in *Kontinuierles gelehrtes Preussen*, vol. 3 (Thorn: Nicolai, 1725), 164–169 [VII, IX]. “Documenta authentica,” 102–106 [I, III]. “Privilegium (Graudentii, 2 Septembris 1576),” in *Thornische Chronica*, 166–168 [Anno 1576].

130. “Documenta authentica,” 106–108 [I, IV]. “Privilegium (Cracoviae, 11 Januarii 1588),” in *Thornische Chronica*, 197–198 [Anno 1588].

131. “Documenta authentica,” 108–109 [I, V].

132. *Ibid.*, 109–115 [I, VI–VII].

consequences. In Thorn¹³³ and the villages under its jurisdiction,¹³⁴ the Catholic church authorities forcibly took over some church buildings used by Protestant residents in the 17th and 18th centuries. Although Graudenz received a permanent and comprehensive religious privilege in 1569,¹³⁵ Protestant public worship and education were suppressed by the Catholic minority there.¹³⁶ In Bromberg, another city located in West Prussia, the Reformation could not take root at all because of long-term persecutions launched by the Catholic church authorities.¹³⁷ In 1768, under pressure from the Kingdom of Prussia (Protestant) and from the Russian Empire (Eastern Orthodox), the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth allowed non-Catholics to worship publicly, though any conversion from the Catholic church to non-Catholic (i.e., Protestant or Eastern Orthodox) churches continued to be a serious criminal offense and non-Catholics continued to be debarred from central public offices, that is, from those offices which fell within the ambit of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹³⁸

133. Dittmann, "Abhandlung von dem Zustand des Christentums in Preussen, besonders der Kirchen und Schulen in der Preussischen Stadt, Thorn, in älteren und neueren Zeiten," xxii–xxvi [§ 13–15]. *Ibid.*, xxx–xxxv [§ 18–20]. *Thornische Denkwürdigkeiten*, passim. "Urkundenbuch des Bistums Kulm: Das Bistum Kulm unter Polen (1466–1774)," "König Johann Kasimir von Polen verurteilt die Stadt Thorn zur Herausgabe der S. Jakobskirche an die Benediktiner-Nonnen daselbst (Warschau, 14. Januar 1665)," in *Altpreuussische Monatsschrift neue Folge: Der neuen Preussischen Provinzialblätter vierte Folge*, vol. 17 (83), ed. Reicke and Wichert (Königsberg: Beyer, 1880), 634–642 [Regesten und Urkunden-Verzeichnis (ed. Karl Peter Woelky), VIII]. Kestner, *Beiträge*, 221–260 [X].

134. Dittmann, "Abhandlung von dem Zustand des Christentums in Preussen, besonders der Kirchen und Schulen in der Preussischen Stadt, Thorn, in älteren und neueren Zeiten," xxxviii–xl [§ 22]. Maercker, "Geschichte der ländlichen Ortschaften und der drei kleineren Städte des Kreises Thorn," 254–257 [II, B, Die evangelische Kirche in Gremboczin]. *Ibid.*, 474 [II, B, Die evangelische Kirche in Rogowo]. Kestner, *Beiträge*, 221–260 [X].

135. "Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti Regis super exercitium religionis iuxta Augustanam Confessionem in civitate Graudentinensi (15. Aprilis, 1569)," in *Preussische Lieferung alter und neuer Urkunden, Erörterungen und Abhandlungen zur Erläuterung der Preussischen Geschichte und Rechte für allerlei Leser*, vol. 1/2 (Leipzig: Lankisch, 1753), 233–235 [Beilagen zu der Einleitung in die Nachricht von dem Evangelischen Predigtamt in der Stadt Graudenz, 1].

136. "Einleitung in die Nachricht von dem Evangelischen Predigtamt in der Stadt Graudenz," in *Preussische Lieferung*, vol. 1/2, 228–233. Eduard Ebel, *Kurze Geschichte der Evangelischen Gemeinde Graudenz: Zur Feier des 100jährigen Bestehens der Friedrichskirche* (Graudenz: Röthe, 1885), 7–24 [I–II]. Froelich, *Chronik der Stadt Graudenz: Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die vor sechshundert Jahren erfolgte Verleihung der Stadtrechte* (Graudenz: Röthe, 1891), 27–68 [Die Polnische Herrschaft]. Hugo Manstein, "Die Annalen der Stadt Graudenz von 1563 bis 1660," in *Städtische Oberrealschule zu Graudenz: Beilage zum Programm 1904* (Graudenz: Röthe, 1904).

137. Eduard Becker, ed., *Documenta Ecclesias civitatis Bidgostiensis (Bromberg) concernentia* (Berlin: Germania, 1918). *Monumenta historica dioeceseos Wladislaviensis*, vol. 5 (Leslau: Neumann, 1885); vol. 8 (Leslau: Neumann, 1888); vol. 19 (Leslau: Neumann, 1900).

138. "Actus separatus primus (1768)," in *Volumina*, vol. 7, 256–276. The same document admitted that even before 1768, Protestants could build and maintain their own church buildings in some of the West Prussian cities. *Ibid.*, 260 [II, IV].

City councils of those West Prussian cities that embraced the Reformation usually passed church ordinances (sing. Kirchenordnung) to regulate the institutional operation of the Protestant church and to define its theological profile, which in West Prussia was always based on the Augsburg Confession. A sense of Protestant identity in West and East Prussia, as well as in Scandinavia, was shaped by the Augsburg Confession, not by the Book of Concord, which never gained much ground there. At times, church ordinances were not published but rather preserved in the archives of city councils as a part of their proceedings. In 1575, the Thorn City Council passed the church ordinance, which recognized the Augsburg Confession as normative for the Protestant church in the city and the territory under its jurisdiction.¹³⁹ This ordinance referred to King Sigismund August, who allowed the three West Prussian cities, namely, Thorn, Danzig, and Elbing, to embrace *Confessio Augustana* as their public confession of faith.

In terms of education, Thorn was renowned for its academic gymnasium, established in 1568, which combined what is nowadays called a secondary school with what might be depicted as a post-secondary college. The institution of an academic gymnasium originated from educational tenets of the Reformation, and it was called in Latin “*gymnasium academicum/illustre*” (academic/illustrious gymnasium) or figuratively, an Athenaeum (Ἀθῆναιον).¹⁴⁰ In addition, the city operated a primary school, which was called a “new-town school” (die Neustädtische Schule) because it was located in the Thorn new town (die Neustadt).¹⁴¹ The Thorn “new-town school” prepared candidates for the Thorn Gymnasium¹⁴² and functioned as a municipal rather than parochial school, though its Protestant identity and affiliation with the Thorn Gymnasium were firmly established. The city council managed all these schools according to the municipal policy common to West Prussia.

In West Prussian cities (such as Danzig, Elbing, or Thorn) and the territories under their jurisdictions, the system of education was governed by city councils which operated secondary and post-secondary schools (videlicet academic gymnasia) directly, while primary schools were, for the most part, operated in close collaboration with local Protestant congregations. In West Prussia, academic gymnasia and some primary schools had their own bylaws (statutes), usually drafted by schools and endorsed by city councils. Although statutes would not be prepared apart from the school for which they were designed, only a city council was in a position to endorse

139. “Kirchenordnung für Thorn von 1575,” in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 4, 233–244.

140. Walter Rüegg, ed., *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, vol. 2 (München: Beck, 1996). Herman J. Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt, ed., *Bildung und Konfession: Theologenausbildung im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

141. Praetorius, *Topographisch*, vol. 1, 142–148 [A, b].

142. “Etliche General- und Special- Leges vor die Neustädtische Schule [. . .] kürzlich abgefasst (1677),” in *Dzieje szkoły nowomiejskiej w Toruniu*, ed. Ernest Lerle (Thorn: Buszczyński, 1938), 49–53. Waschinski, “Das Thorner Stadt- und Landschulwesen vom Beginn der Reformation bis zum Ende der polnischen Herrschaft,” 107–116 [II, D]. Dittmann, “Nachrichten von Thornischen ehemals lebenden und noch lebenden Gelehrten: Lehrer der neustädtischen Schule (15. Lieferung),” *Thorner Zeitung* 6 (7 February 1801): [s. p.].

them and to make them legally binding. The legal status of primary schools in rural areas was, wherever possible, defined by rural statutes (Willküren). In Thorn, the city council appointed its distinguished members as scholarchs (sing. Greek: *σχολάρχης*, Latin: *scholarcha*, German: Scholarch) who constituted the municipal board of education, which was called in Latin *Collegium Scholarchale*, whereas in German: Scholarchat.¹⁴³ Those public officers supervised the operation of all the schools on behalf of the city council.¹⁴⁴ The Thorn mayor acted as the chairman of the board, and in this capacity, he was called a proto-scholarch.

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. The first constitution of East Prussia, adopted in 1526, was available only in German.¹⁴⁵ Until the mid-18th century, West Prussia was treated as a special administrative region of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which, being a multi-ethnic, federal state, recognized Latin as its sole official language. West Prussian municipal legislation, such as Willküren or church ordinances, was written in German. Yet, Latin was employed in all proceedings of the Prussian Estates or of West Prussian cities in relation to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Furthermore, at West Prussian academic gymnasia, Latin remained the language of instruction until the incorporation of these territories into the Kingdom of Prussia. Even in the 18th century, Latin

143. “Leges ac instituta Scholae Thoruniensis (1600),” in *Najdawniejsze ustawy Gimnazjum Torunskiego*, ed. Stanislaw Tync (Thorn: Buszczyński, 1925), 22–24 [I]. “Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Stadt Thorn: Handschrift aus dem Jahr 1786,” in *Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn*, vol. 8 (Thorn: Schwartz, 1893), 66–70 [III]. Dittmann, “Abhandlung von dem Zustand des Christentums in Preussen, besonders der Kirchen und Schulen in der Preussischen Stadt, Thorn, in älteren und neueren Zeiten,” li–lii [§ 30].

144. Praetorius compiled a list of all Thorn city councillors, including their biographies. This work helps to identify those city councillors who served as members of the Thorn Board of Education (Scholarchat). Praetorius, *Thorner Ehrentempel oder Verzeichnis der Bürgermeister und Ratmänner der Stadt Thorn*, ed. Wilhelm Theodor Lohde (Berlin: Hold, 1832). A less comprehensive list of the Thorn mayors, city councillors, lay judges (Schöffen/Schöppen), chief secretaries, public notaries, Protestant ministers and educators was compiled by Zerneck in 1712. Zerneck, *Summarischer Entwurf*.

145. Selections from the 1526 constitution of East Prussia were printed in 1526. *Etliche ausgezogen Artikel aus gemeiner Landesordnung des Herzogtums in Preussen* (Rostock: Dietz, 1526). Reprinted as: “Etliche ausgezogen Artikel aus gemeiner Landesordnung des Herzogtums Preussen (1525),” in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 4, 38–39. Some parts of the 1526 constitution, which were not included in the selections printed in 1526, were published by Karl Faber. “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), 155–185 [Beilage, 2]. Religious and educational provisions of the 1526 constitution were also published by Heinrich Friedrich Jacobson. “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), 7–13 [Anhang einer Urkundensammlung, I, no. III].

dominated municipal¹⁴⁶ and educational¹⁴⁷ events in West Prussian cities, and its prominence was attested in extant exercise books of local students.¹⁴⁸

4. Municipal and Rural Legislation Adopted by the Thorn City Council Reflecting the Reformation Concept of Vocation

Heinrich Stroband, a member of the Thorn City Council and later, the mayor of Thorn (1587–1609), studied at the Protestant universities in Frankfurt an der Oder (1566),¹⁴⁹ in Tübingen (1568)¹⁵⁰ and Wittenberg (1570).¹⁵¹ Stroband finalized educational and social reforms in the city and the territory under its jurisdiction, which his predecessors initiated, and he strove to institutionalize these reforms by presenting legislation to that effect.¹⁵²

In 1581, the Thorn City Council adopted the Hospital Ordinance¹⁵³ in order to reorganize its municipal hospital,¹⁵⁴ which was a healthcare institution catering to the needs of sick members of the community. Although in the 16th and 17th centuries, hospitals mostly functioned as both medical institutions and nursing homes for the aged, disabled, or destitute,¹⁵⁵ the Thorn municipal hospital emphasized medical

146. As exemplified by: Georg Daniel Seyler, ed., *Actus solemnis eucharisticus in memoriam quinti ab urbe regia Elbinga condita seculi* (Elbing: Preuss, 1737). Johann Lange, ed., *Ad domini Friderici II Regis Borussiae natalem LXVII* (Elbing: Nohrmann, 1778).

147. As exemplified by: Lange, *Oratio (1763)* [Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing, Postbellum catalogue no. “718/IP” (Manuscripts)].

148. As exemplified by: Daniel Poplawskius, *Specimen laborum scholasticorum (1724)* [Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing, Postbellum catalogue no. “735/VIII” (Manuscripts)]. This student entered the Elbing Gymnasium on 27 October 1723 at the age of 13 and came from Mohrunen in East Prussia. Hugo Abs, ed., *Die Matrikel des Gymnasiums zu Elbing 1598–1786*, vol. 1 (Danzig: Danziger Verlagsgesellschaft, 1936), 232 [1723].

149. Ernst Friedländer, Georg Liebe and Emil Theuner, ed., *Ältere Universitätsmatrikeln (I): Universität Frankfurt an der Oder*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1887), 193 [No. 100 (1566)].

150. Heinrich Hermelink, ed., *Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1906), 481 [No. 43 (16 Juni 1568)].

151. *Album Academiae Vitebergensis ab a. ch. MDII usque ad a. MDCII*, vol. 2 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1894), 186 [21 November 1570]. Hermann Freytag, ed., *Die Preussen auf der Universität Wittenberg und die nichtpreussischen Schüler Wittenbergs in Preussen von 1502 bis 1602: Eine Festgabe zur vierhundertjährigen Gedächtnisfeier der Gründung der Universität Wittenberg* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1903), 66 [I (21 November 1570)].

152. Karl Lohmeyer, “Stroband, Heinrich,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 36 (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1893), 601–603. “Nachricht von Henrico Strobando (I–III),” in *Das gelehrte Preussen*, vol. 2/3 (Thorn: Nicolai, 1723), 135–173. Melchior Adam, “Henricus Strobandus,” in *Vitae Germanorum jureconsultorum et politicorum qui superiori seculo et quod excurrit, floruerunt concinnatae* (Frankfurt am Main: Sande, 1706), 187–195.

153. “Ordnung des Thorner Siechenhauses (Krankenhauses) vom Jahr 1581,” in *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 15, 38–40 [Anlagen, VII].

154. Bender, “Geschichte des städtischen Krankenhauses und der öffentlichen Krankenanstalten in Thorn,” 1–41.

155. Adelung, “Das Hospital,” in *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1796), 1297: “Das Hospital [. . .] eine öffentliche Anstalt,

treatment whenever it was available prior to the emergence of modern medicine. In Thorn, it was assumed that the extended family must care for its aged, disabled, or destitute members. At the same time, municipal institutions should serve only those underprivileged who were stricken by illness or bedridden and deprived of any help. The hospital was established and maintained by the city of Thorn and supported by public funds acquired from taxes levied on residents, donations, and hospital charges, which could be waived in the case of the needy. Moreover, the hospital employed professionally trained physicians and medical staff as well as operated its own pharmacy.

In 1665, the Thorn City Council revised the 1570 social services ordinance, which regulated municipal social services.¹⁵⁶ Although the 1570 ordinance is no longer extant, the 1665 revision of that ordinance mentioned it explicitly.¹⁵⁷ According to the 1665 ordinance, the Thorn City Council appointed and remunerated a social services director (Direktor des Vorsteheramts) who supervised all charitable institutions (primarily hospitals and nursing homes) and their managers (Vorsteher) and who ensured that these institutions could receive sufficient funding from various sources which included taxes, donations, bequests, fund-raising activities, service charges, and revenues from leasing plots of land previously donated or bequeathed to charity. Every year, the social services director had to submit audited financial statements of all charitable institutions under his supervision for the City Council's perusal. The 1665 ordinance stated that Christian love was what motivated members of the public, who were simultaneously represented and led by the City Council, to take responsibility for one another and to care for the disadvantaged in their midst in the most efficient and sustainable way.¹⁵⁸

The Thorn City Council passed the infectious disease ordinance in 1602,¹⁵⁹ as well as revised and expanded it in 1710¹⁶⁰ to prevent and manage outbreaks of epidemics in the city. Although the 1710 ordinance was more extensive than the 1602 one, both ordinances aimed to isolate those who were stricken with infectious diseases and to provide enough human (i.e., medical personnel) and financial resources to treat them or to bury those who died of epidemics in a safe and respectful way.

The city of Thorn employed physicians¹⁶¹ and viewed them as public servants, which was also mirrored in an oath of office taken by municipal surgeons in the 17th century.¹⁶² Furthermore, in the early 17th century, the Thorn City Council legislated

in welcher alte, kranke oder verarmte Personen ihre Wartung und ihren notdürftigen Unterhalt empfangen [. . .]."

156. "Ordinanz des Vorsteheramts wegen der Haltungen vor die Armut (1665)," in *Zapiski historyczne* 77, no. 3 (2012): 58–64.

157. *Ibid.*, 58.

158. *Ibid.*, 64–64 [XVII].

159. "Pestordnung (1602)," in *Das verpestete Thorn oder summarischer Auszug Pestilenzseuchen*, ed. Zerneck (Thorn: Laurer, 1710), 28–29.

160. "Die Verordnung wegen jetzt grassierenden gefährlichen Krankheiten betreffende (1710)," in *Klio* 28, no. 1 (2014): 156–183.

161. A list of the municipal physicians was provided by: Zerneck, *Summarischer Entwurf*, 37–38 [XIV].

162. As exemplified by: "Eid eines Ratchirurgen," in *Klio* 35, no. 4 (2015): 163.

on the training (qualifications), appointment (registration), duties, and remuneration (inclusive of free housing) of surgeons practicing medicine in Thorn.¹⁶³ In 1617, the Thorn City Council endorsed the statutes of the Association of Surgeons in Thorn,¹⁶⁴ which was formed as a professional association for medical practitioners in the city. This association provided a platform for its members to cooperate, exchange knowledge and experience with one another, support one another in adversity, and discipline one another if necessary. Moreover, in 1623, the Thorn City Council passed the pharmacy ordinance¹⁶⁵ to regulate the production, prescription, and sale of medicines in Thorn. The 1623 ordinance established a mechanism for verifying the quality and safety of medicines by certified pharmacists and physicians who were commissioned by the City Council to carry out this task.

In the 17th century, the Elbing City Council enacted the Holy Spirit Hospital Ordinance¹⁶⁶ for its hospital, which functioned as both a medical institution and a nursing home. Likewise, the Danzig City Council developed a network of hospitals, nursing homes, and orphanages to serve its residents who were in adversity¹⁶⁷ and set up the public health care system by certifying and employing city pharmacists and physicians whose services were regulated by specific legislation¹⁶⁸ and could not be withheld from those residents of the city who were unable to pay medical fees.¹⁶⁹

In 1568, East Prussia mandated its towns to establish and maintain hospitals that catered to the needs of the sick and disadvantaged and which were financed from taxes

163. "Die Bestellung des Barbiers (1602)," in *Das verpestete Thorn*, 29–32. "Barbierer Rolle (1614)," in *Klio* 35, no. 4 (2015): 146–157.

164. "Artikel nach welchen sich die Gesellen eines löblichen Werks der Chirurgen und Barbierer in der königlichen Stadt Thorn zu verhalten haben (1617)," in *Klio* 35, no. 4 (2015): 158–162.

165. "Apothekerordnung der Stadt Thorn (1623)," in *Roczniki dziejow społecznych i gospodarczych* 69 (2009): 226–232.

166. "Ordinanz des Hospitals Sancti Spiritus," in *Kirchenordnung wie es mit den gemeinen Gebeten, Handlung der hochwürdigen Sakramente und Trauung der Eheleute zu Elbing in der Münch- und anderen in der Stadt und auf dem Land einverleibten Kirchen gehalten wird* (Elbing: Corell, 1682), 7r*–17r* [Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing, Postbellum catalogue no. "Pol.7.II.6880"]. A manuscript of the ordinance was appended to a copy of the 1682 Agende (service book cum the hymnal) for the Protestant church in Elbing which is held by the Elbing Municipal Library.

167. "Armenordnung für Danzig (1551)," in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 4, 176–181. *Die Schulordnung des hiesigen Kinderhauses* (Danzig: Reiniger, 1707). Reinhold Curicke, "Von den Hospitälern, Waisen oder Kinder wie auch Pockenhouse der Stadt Danzig," in *Der Stadt Danzig historische Beschreibung (1645)*, ed. Georg Reinhold Curicke (Amsterdam and Danzig: Jansson, 1687), 342–345 [IV, X]. Eduard David Schnaase, "Die Schule am Kinderhaus," in *Die Schule in Danzig und ihr Verhältnis zur Kirche: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schule* (Danzig: Schroth, 1859), 70–73.

168. "Ordnung der Physicorum ordinariorum bei der Stadt Danzig (1661/1669)," in *Klio* 56, no. 4 (2020): 155–160. "Medizinal-Ordnung E. E. Rats der Stadt Danzig (1703): Kapitel I Von den Physicis und anderen Medicis," in *Klio* 56, no. 4 (2020): 165–168.

169. "Ordnung der Physicorum ordinariorum bei der Stadt Danzig (1661/1669)," 158 [7/8]. "Medizinal-Ordnung E. E. Rats der Stadt Danzig (1703): Kapitel I Von den Physicis und anderen Medicis," 168 [I, IX].

and donations.¹⁷⁰ Public funds designated for the destitute and infirm were labeled as “Armenkasten” (poverty fund). The East Prussian ordinance stipulated that able-bodied persons who could earn their own living, or those who might be supported by their families, were not eligible for social security assistance. In theological terms, East Prussian legislation articulated that by caring for the infirm and destitute, the community could show Christian mercy to the most vulnerable fellow human beings created and loved by God, while members of the community might take responsibility for one another in response to God’s love and care for humankind. The 1568 ordinance regulated how hospitals should be administered and staffed. Thus, Protestant policymakers across West and East Prussia firmly supported the development and maintenance of hospitals and nursing homes.

In 1605, the Thorn City Council, led by Stroband, adopted the ordinance¹⁷¹ which aimed to enhance the quality of life (Wohlstand) of Thorn residents from all social classes (alle Stände)¹⁷² by institutionalizing public utilities and social services delivered by the city. By virtue of the ordinance,¹⁷³ the city of Thorn was divided into eleven districts¹⁷⁴ in which municipal district offices were established. District offices were operated by district councils and were responsible for the social welfare system (especially in the case of orphans), law enforcement, military drill, registration of births and deaths (registry office), administrative proceedings, municipal infrastructure (building maintenance, water supplies, sewage system) and municipal services (fire services, waste disposal).¹⁷⁵ Every district council had four members (called district councilors): a member of the Thorn City Council (Ratsperson), a judge (Gerichtsperson), and two ordinary members of the public (von der Gemeine [Gemeinde]). These four district councilors were in charge of a district office.¹⁷⁶ According to the ordinance,¹⁷⁷ every district council should convene monthly to manage the operation of its district office while being chaired by the member who belonged to the Thorn City Council (Ratsperson).

170. “Von Erwählung der beiden Bischöfe Samland und Pomesanien im Herzogtum Preussen auch von ihrem Amt: Verordnung der Visitation und anderem so zu Förderung und Erhaltung des Predigtamts und Schulen Christlicher Zucht und guter Ordnung vonnöten ist (1568),” in *Corpus constitutionum Prutenicarum*, vol. 1, ed. Georg Grube (Königsberg: Stelter, 1721), 13–14 [No. 1]. “Von Erwählung der beiden Bischöfe (1568),” in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 4, 118–119. In modern German: “Von Erwählung der beiden Bischöfe, Samland und Pomezan, im Herzogtum Preussen (1568),” in *Altpreussisches Kirchenbuch* (Königsberg: Gräfe and Unzer, 1861), 61–93.

171. Heinrich Stroband, ed., *Kurzer Auszug oder Quartierordnung nach letzter Gelegenheit und Zustand der königlichen Stadt Thorn angestellt* (Thorn: Kote, 1605).

172. Stroband, “Amicus S.,” in *Kurzer Auszug*, A2r. Stroband, ed., *Kurzer Auszug*, A3r [I, I–II].

173. *Ibid.*

174. *Ibid.*, A3v [II, I–IV]. The old town (die Alte Stadt / Altstadt) was divided into four districts, the new town (die Neue Stadt / Neustadt)—into three, while the suburbs (die Vorstadt)—into four.

175. *Ibid.*, B1v–B2r [VI, I–IV].

176. *Ibid.*, A4r–A4v [III, I–VII].

177. *Ibid.*, B1r [V, I].

Moreover, those district councillors from the Thorn old town and the Thorn new town who were members of the Thorn City Council (Ratspersonen) were obliged to meet weekly to discuss public affairs related to their districts.¹⁷⁸ The ordinance also connected several legal professions to district offices. Thus, public notaries, advocates, and prosecutors serving in Thorn were affiliated with district offices established by the ordinance.¹⁷⁹

In 1605, the Thorn City Council enacted the ordinance¹⁸⁰ that regulated the complex issue of guardianship (Latin: tutela, German: Vormundschaft) and offered orphans legal protection and financial assistance¹⁸¹ through district offices.¹⁸² The ordinance established the office (tribunal) for orphans (called in German “Pupillenamt”¹⁸³ or “Waisengericht”), which appointed and dismissed legal guardians, monitored their performance to ensure that orphans were adequately cared for and that their assets were not misappropriated, and which decided all legal cases relative to guardianship.

In 1584, Stroband prefaced a collection of sermons on education.¹⁸⁴ In his preface, Stroband mentioned that schools could be compared to a paradise or a pleasure garden (Lustgarten) in view of their contribution to the life of the community. According to Stroband, the civil authorities should establish and maintain schools for children from all walks of life because all social groups needed people equipped adequately to earn their own living and to participate in communal life. In his opinion,¹⁸⁵ every community needed upright and responsible members prepared for tasks that God would assign to them. Stroband emphasized that God created human beings in his image so that they could continue to create on his behalf by discovering the Creator and his creation and by unleashing and developing their God-given gifts in order to handle what God entrusted to them.

God, as Stroband¹⁸⁶ observed, designed human beings as his instruments for sustaining the world, especially humankind, because people were created to care for one another, to cater to one another’s needs, and to be complementary to one another while being engaged in various stations in life through which the neighbor could be

178. Ibid, A4v–B1r [IV, I–VIII].

179. Ibid, B2v–B3r [VIII, I–IV].

180. Stroband, ed., *Patrocinium pupillorum oder Waisenordnung auf jetzigen Zustand zu gemeinem Nutz und Wohlfahrt der königlichen Stadt Thorn gerichtet* (Thorn: Kote, 1605).

181. Ibid, L3r [XXXVIII]. The Hospital and Social Welfare Department (das Amt der Vorsteher der Hospitäler und Armen) was mandated to assist orphans financially in close collaboration with the orphans’ office (tribunal).

182. Ibid, L3v–L4r [XXXIX, I–VIII]. Stroband, ed., *Kurzer Auszug*, B1v [VI, III, 1].

183. Adelung, “Der Pupill,” in *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1798), 866: “Der Pupill [. . .] eine der Aufsicht eines Vormundes anvertraute minderjährige Person; wofür wir doch das gute Deutsche Wort Mündel haben.”

184. Stroband, “Einer ehrbaren löblichen Gemeinde der königlichen Stadt Thorn in Preussen,” in *Zwei Predigten von Christlichen Schulen*, ed. Johann Mathesius and Johann Gigas (Thorn: Nering, 1584), Ir–IVv.

185. Ibid.

186. Ibid.

served. From Stroband's perspective, education allowed human beings to forge social bonds, enabling them to exist as a community because unprepared or ill-equipped persons would be unable to collaborate and could not exchange goods, services, or information with others. Consequently, Stroband explicated the work of education in terms of mutuality underlying human existence and integral to God's design for humankind. Under the influence of Stroband, in 1600, the Thorn City Council endorsed the bylaws of the Thorn Gymnasium,¹⁸⁷ which established an institutional base for the school in the subsequent centuries. These bylaws were later supplemented by legislation on school finances and scholarship funds.¹⁸⁸ Nonetheless, the history of the Thorn Gymnasium is too extensive to be dealt with in the present paper.

In 1605, the Thorn City Council, headed by Stroband, issued the Willkür for its lowland villages, which were located in the Vistula valley (die Weichsel-Niederung).¹⁸⁹ These rural statutes were also tailored for the Thorn upland villages (Höhendorfschaften), namely, for Gremboczin, Rogowo, and Rogowko,¹⁹⁰ and endorsed by the Thorn City Council accordingly.¹⁹¹ In his preface to the 1605 Willkür, Stroband¹⁹² stated that the aforementioned rural legislation was adopted by the Thorn City Council at the request of those villages, which sought an institutional framework to facilitate their development and stabilize their communal life. In 1900, Maercker compared the manuscript of the lowland version of the 1605 Willkür, which was published in 1938, with the manuscript of the upland version thereof, which was never published. He concluded that the educational and social provisions of both versions were identical. In his opinion, differences between them were negligible and reducible to environmental factors (lowlands versus uplands). Likewise, the Elbing City Council issued rural statutes for the villages under its jurisdiction in a version for the lowlands¹⁹³ and a version for the uplands.¹⁹⁴

The 1605 Willkür¹⁹⁵ for the villages under the jurisdiction of the Thorn City Council recognized the Augsburg Confession as the theological foundation of the

187. "Leges ac instituta Scholae Thoruniensis (1600)," 20–124.

188. "Leges oeconomiae scholasticae Thorunensis (1601)," in *Najdawniejsze*, 125–140. *Gymnasii et oeconomiae scholasticae Thoruniensis institutum et scopus* (Thorn: [s. n.], [s. a.]). Reprinted as: "Gymnasii et oeconomiae scholasticae Thoruniensis institutum et scopus," in *Najdawniejsze*, 141–151.

189. "Ordnung und Willkür der Dorfschaften in der Thornischen Weichsel-Niederung (1605)," 31–67 [6].

190. Praetorius, *Topographisch*, 263 [D, 17]. Ibid, 283–285 [D, 52–53].

191. Maercker, "Geschichte der ländlichen Ortschaften und der drei kleineren Städte des Kreises Thorn," 102 [I, B, IV, Der Grundbesitz der Stadt Thorn]. Ibid, 106 [I, B, IV, Der Grundbesitz der Stadt Thorn].

192. "Ordnung und Willkür der Dorfschaften in der Thornischen Weichsel-Niederung (1605)," 32 [6]. Ibid, 33 [6].

193. *Willkür sämtlicher Dorfschaften in der Niederung sowohl diesseits als jenseits der Nogat Elbingschen Gebiets* (Elbing: Preuss, 1741).

194. *Willkür sämtlicher Dorfschaften auf der Höhe Elbingschen Gebiets* (Elbing: Preuss, 1741).

195. "Ordnung und Willkür der Dorfschaften in der Thornischen Weichsel-Niederung (1605)," 34 [6, II, 4].

Protestant churches located there and pointed out that *Confessio Augustana* also defined the theological profile of the Protestant churches in the city of Thorn.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, the 1605 *Willkür* emphasized that schools and charitable institutions were vital to the economic well-being of those rural communities¹⁹⁷ and confirmed that aldermen (pl. *Schulzen*) and elders (pl. *Eltisten*), who led those villages, were in charge of establishing and maintaining schools and churches as well as supporting disadvantaged residents.¹⁹⁸

According to the 1605 *Willkür*, the villages under the Thorn jurisdiction should establish and maintain primary schools so that villagers' children could learn how to write and read in the vernacular (i.e., in German) and could receive basic religious instruction.¹⁹⁹ The 1605 *Willkür* made efficient use of limited human and financial resources and additionally, bound village clerks (sing. German: *Dorfschreiber*, Latin: *notarius*), who were employed by villages and whose salaries came from taxes levied on their residents, to teach local children.²⁰⁰ Actually, teaching villagers' children was one of the duties of village clerks serving in those villages, and it was mentioned explicitly in an oath of office which they had to take.²⁰¹

Based on archival sources and unpublished "guidelines" (sing. *Handfeste*)²⁰² drawn up by the Thorn City Council for individual villages under its jurisdiction, Waschinski²⁰³ was able to describe teachers' benefits. Besides monetary remuneration, every teacher received free housing and a rent-free plot of farmland for his use. Cattle and emoluments in kind (e.g., food, farm produce, firewood) were also provided by residents for their teacher. Thus, villagers must pay their teacher in cash and in kind as well as build and maintain the school building and tied accommodation for him. In addition, every village had to donate a plot of land for the school building and designate a plot of farmland for the teacher.

As far as charity is concerned, the 1605 *Willkür* attended to orphans living in the villages under the Thorn jurisdiction and regulated guardianship (*Vormundschaft*) in legal terms so that orphans could be taken care of and might be equipped to earn their own living later in life.²⁰⁴ Therefore, the 1605 *Willkür* mandated village leaders, namely, aldermen, lay judges (pl. *Schöffen/Schöppen*), and elders, to ensure that legal

196. "Kirchenordnung für Thorn von 1575," 233–244.

197. "Ordnung und Willkür der Dorfschaften in der Thornischen Weichsel-Niederung (1605)," 35 [6, II, 6–9].

198. *Ibid.*, 38 [6, IV, 18].

199. *Ibid.*, 40 [6, VI, 5].

200. *Ibid.*, 35 [6, II, 6]. *Ibid.*, 40 [6, VI, 5].

201. *Ibid.*, 40 [6, VI, Des Dorfschreibers Eid].

202. Such guidelines were administrative instruments invented in the Middle Ages and employed in the Prussian territories under the control of the Teutonic Knights. Panske, ed., "Urkunden der Komturei Tuchel: Handfesten und Zinsbuch," in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 6 (Danzig: Saunier, 1911). Idem, ed., "Handfesten der Komturei Schlochau," in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens*, vol. 10 (Danzig: Kafemann, 1921).

203. Waschinski, "Das Thorner Stadt- und Landschulwesen vom Beginn der Reformation bis zum Ende der polnischen Herrschaft," 117–118 [II, F, I]. *Ibid.*, 122–126 [II, F, II, 1, c].

204. *Ibid.*, 41–45 [6, VIII].

guardians of orphans would look after their training in trade, craft, agriculture, military art, or in any other capacity which would prove to be useful and needed in a rural setting.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, the 1605 Willkür established a nursing home (Hospital) for aged, disabled, or destitute residents living in the lowland villages under the Thorn jurisdiction.²⁰⁶ It is generally supposed that the same provision was made for the upland villages which came within the jurisdiction of the Thorn City Council. According to the 1605 Willkür,²⁰⁷ a nursing home was to be built on a plot of land donated by the Thorn City Council, while villagers had to erect and maintain the building as well as finance its operation.

5. Conclusion

For the Wittenberg Reformers, to serve God meant to serve the neighbor through the institutions that God established for this purpose and in various stations that God would assign to everyone individually. In their opinion, the Creator worked through these institutions and persons engaged in their individual stations in order to accomplish what he intended, that is, to protect, bless, and advance his creatures. The concept of vocation enunciated by the Wittenberg Reformation cast a new light upon the phenomenon of the community so that human beings could embrace it as God's imperishable gift and task for them. The Wittenberg Reformers believed that God himself sanctioned the service of human beings to one another and affirmed communal life as the very Creator thereof.

The concept of vocation impacted the development of those territories where the Reformation took root because it was implemented through legislation that shaped their residents' daily life. In other words, the concept of vocation materialized because it was put by Protestant policymakers into action through intentional and ingenious legislation that institutionalized and facilitated service to the neighbor. Therefore, Praetorius, a Protestant educator and public servant from Thorn, depicted the Thorn City Council as a "glorious temple" (Thorner Ehrentempel),²⁰⁸ that is, as a hall of fame in which its members (i.e., city councilors) were pillars of strength to the community entrusted to their care.

The official reports²⁰⁹ filed by the Catholic bishops of Kulm, who were committed to suppressing Protestant congregations and schools across West Prussia, confirmed that as early as the 17th century, Protestant villages within the jurisdiction of the Thorn City Council operated and staffed primary schools on a continuing basis.²¹⁰ Moreover, the city of Thorn and the villages under its jurisdiction operated hospitals and nursing

205. *Ibid.*, 42 [6, VIII, 14].

206. *Ibid.*, 35 [6, II, 8–9].

207. *Ibid.*

208. Praetorius, *Thorner Ehrentempel*.

209. As exemplified by: "Status Ecclesiae Cathedralis et totius Dioecesis Culmensis ac Pomesaniensis," in *Fontes: Societas Literaria Torunensis*, vol. 10, ed. Czaplá (Thorn: Buszczyński, 1906), 805 [Additamentum].

210. Waschinski, "Das Thorner Stadt- und Landschulwesen vom Beginn der Reformation bis zum Ende der polnischen Herrschaft," 118–119 [II, F, I].

homes and tried to bring relief to sick, aged, disabled, or destitute residents and orphans living there. Clearly, this was an embodiment of a Protestant outlook on human life as a life of service to others.