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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

INTERACTION OF THE SOCIAL FORCES DOMINANT IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRIEDRICHS UNIVERSITÄT, 1743

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

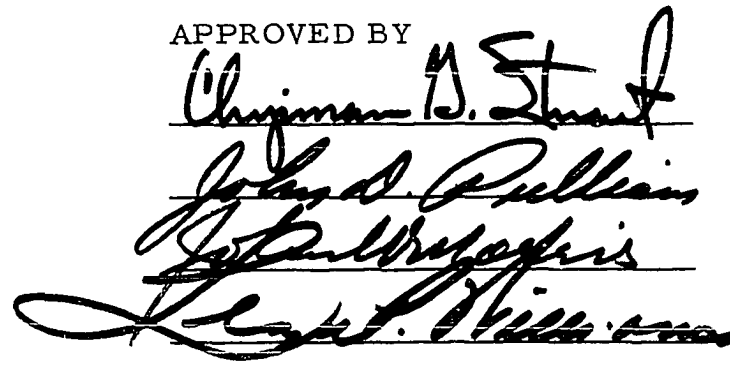
JAMES C. RUTHERFORD

Norman, Oklahoma

1970

INTERACTION OF THE SOCIAL FORCES DOMINANT IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRIEDRICHS UNIVERSITÄT, 1743

APPROVED BY



DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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INTERACTION OF THE SOCIAL FORCES DOMINANT IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRIEDRICHS UNIVERSITÄT, 1743

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Many of the contemporary American educators view the development and conduct of today's education and schools as a product of the social influences of the time. Martin Meyer, discussing this subject in 1961, states: "In recent years, it has become fashionable to say that schools exist only within a culture."[1] D. Cormier, writing on Rousseau's "L'Emile," expresses a similar idea: "For the historian of education, a doctrine cannot remain isolated from its sources, the general movement of ideas, the problems and the educational practices of the epoch when it is born."[2] Courses of study based upon the sociological approach to education are being presented, and in some instances

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[1]Martin Meyer, The Schools (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1961), p. xiv.

[2]D. Cormier, "Des Interferences Entre L'Education Naturelle Et L'Insertion Sociale Dans L'«Emile» De L.-J. Rousseau," Paedagogica Historica, II, 3, p. 413, my translation.

required, as a basic educational course for the student of education. Furthermore, textbooks are constructed on this approach and published to meet the increasing demands.

If today's education and schools are the product of the social influences, it appears that the schools of the past probably should be viewed in the same context. In recent decades the educational historian has tended more and more to explore the social influences reflected in the educational structures of the past. Bernard Bailyn, commenting on the American educational historians at the turn of the century, writes: "From their own professional work they knew enough of the elaborate involvement of school and society to relate instruction somehow to the environment."[1] The presentations of the past have viewed education in a social context primarily as a vehicle for transmitting the beliefs and customs of the respective cultures from generation to generation, thus perpetuating the status quo.

The Problem

With these concepts in mind, it is useful to examine the social forces extant at the time of the founding of Friedrichs Universität. This university, inaugurated in Erlangen, Germany, on November 4,

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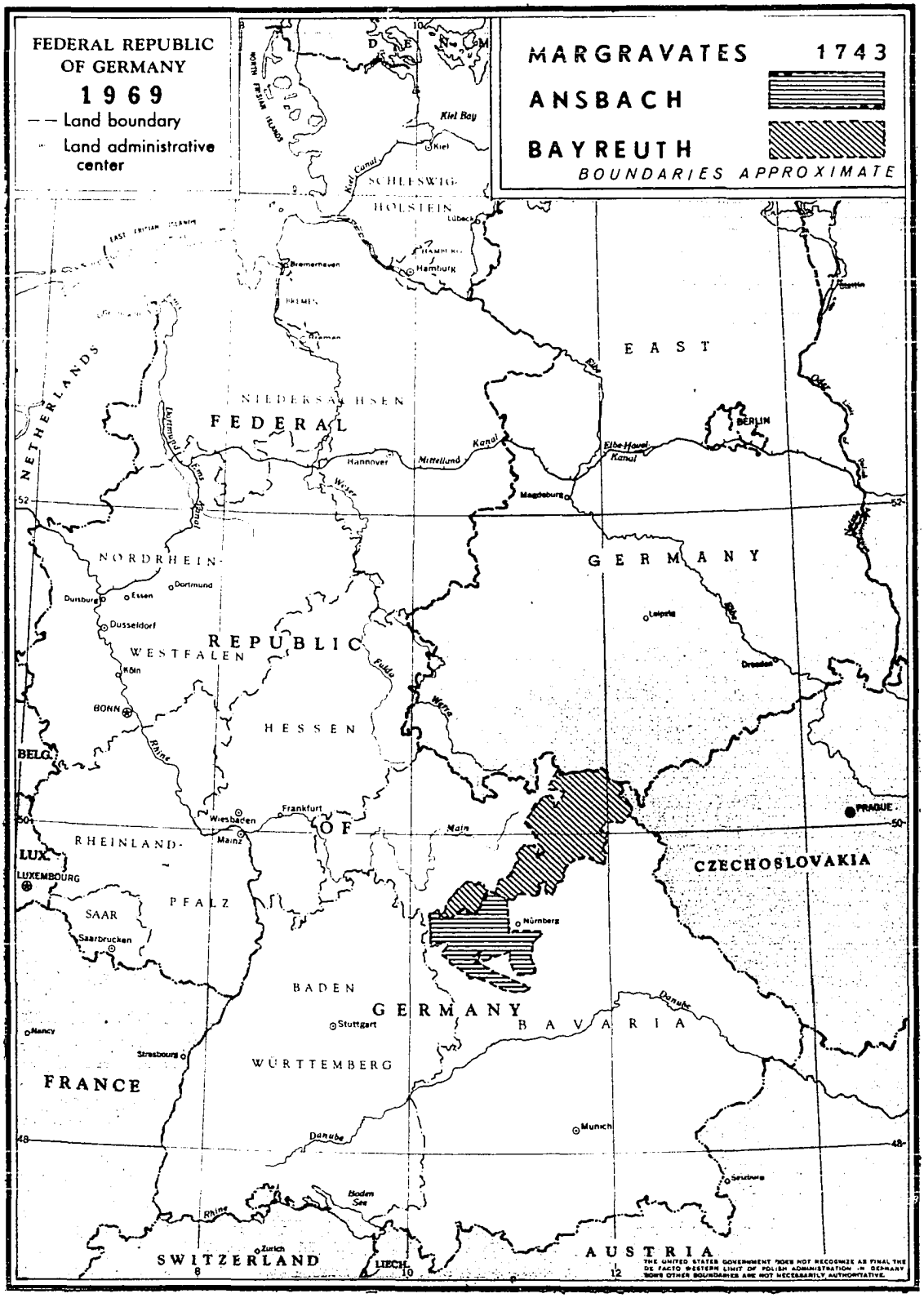
[1]Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), p. 9; hereinafter referred to as Education Forming American Society.

1743, was founded under a charter granted by Karl VII, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and under a series of edicts issued by Frederick, Margrave of Bayreuth. The Margravate Bayreuth[1] was an autonomous government, a member of the Franconian Circle, and within the framework of the Holy Roman Empire.[2] This period of time is generally referred to as "The Age of Absolutism." However, this was also a time of change. The absolute monarch was gradually becoming a benevolent monarch. This movement was led by Frederick

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[1]The names of the Hohenzollern Franconian lands and the titles of their rulers varied throughout history. Originally the Franconian Hohenzollerns were Burggrafen von Nürnberg (Burgraves or Governors of Nürnberg), and their domain was the Burggraftum or Burggrafschaft von Nürnberg (Burgravate of Nürnberg). Following the acquisition of Mark Brandenburg by the family in 1415, the lands were known as Markgraftum or Markgrafschaft Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach (Margravate Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach). After the founding of Die ältere markgräflich brandenburgische linie in Franken (The older Margravate Brandenburg Line in Franconia), 1640, the first junior line of the Hohenzollern Family, the lands were called the Margravate Ansbach-Kulmbach. Another change in names and titles occurred upon the founding of Die jüngere markgräflich brandenburgische Linie in Franken (the Junior Margravate Brandenburg Lines in Franconia), 1603. The Franconian lands were divided between two heirs, the Oberland (highland) about Kulmbach and a small area of the Unterland (lowland) about Erlangen became the Margravate Kulmbach, and the remainder of the lowland about Ansbach became the Margravate Ansbach. One year later, 1604, the Margrave of Kulmbach moved his residence from Kulmbach to Bayreuth, and the name was changed to Margravate Bayreuth. These lands were also referred to as Fürstentumer (principalities). The spelling of the place names in these territories varied through time, Ansbach = Onolzpach, Onoltzpach, Onspach, and Anspach; Bayreuth = Paireut, Parreut, Baureit, Bayreut, and Baireuth; and Kulmbach = Culmbach and Cullembach.

[2]Map 1, The Former Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth in Relation to Germany, 1969, infra, p. 4.



THE FORMER MARGRAVATES ANSBACH AND BAYREUTH IN RELATION TO GERMANY 1969

Map 1.

the Great, who through his favorite sister, Wilhelmina, Margravine of Bayreuth, exerted a dominant influence on the Court of his brother-in-law, the founder of the university. Early signs were that the physiocrats, who were to take a leading position in the economy, would strengthen the agricultural-based mercantilism. Concurrently, the agricultural dominance of the economy was being challenged by budding glove, lace, and stocking industries introduced by the French Huguenot colonies at Bayreuth and Erlangen. Orthodox Lutheranism was confronted with change from within by Pietism and from without by Calvinism. Many adherents of the Lutheran Church were turning from what they considered a theologically creed-bound doctrinal system and sacrementarian institution to what they believed to be a more personal faith.[1] Rationalism, realism, and empiricism, the dominant philosophical thoughts, were in conflict. Interposed between the extremes of these philosophies in their purest forms, were blends which accepted some of the precepts of the others. This fact is probably best illustrated by the works of Christian Wolff, 1679-1754, considered by some as an extreme rationalist, but who based the content of his rationalism on an appeal to experience.[2] These philosophies penetrated not only

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[1] "Pietism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed., Vol. XVII, 919.

[2] Albert E. Avey, Handbook in the History of Philosophy: A Chronological Survey of Western Thought 3500 B.C. to the Present, College Outline Series (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1954), p. 151.

the religious life but all phases of life and formed the basis for the Aufklärung (Enlightenment). As a result, education per se was undergoing change and development, and in turn was an influence on the other social forces. Bernard Bailyn states: "But education not only reflects and adjusts to society; once formed, it turns back upon it and acts upon it, . . ."[1]

The several histories of Friedrichs Universität published in the subsequent two centuries since the founding are primarily chronological accounts of pertinent happenings leading to and following its establishment. Little reference is made in these accounts to the existing social forces which may have exerted an influence upon the founder in his decision to establish the university.

It is believed that the dominant social forces of the "Era of Absolutism" were exerting pressures upon the social structure, and collectively formed a determining factor in the decision of Margrave Frederick to establish the Friedrichs Universität. The hypothesis may be stated as: The decision to establish Friedrichs Universität is an explainable result of the interaction of the dominant social forces of the era.

Design of the Study

The social forces selected for investigation are education,

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[1]Bailyn, Education Forming American Society, p. 38.

economics, government, philosophy, and religion. These social forces were selected for study because they have exerted pressures upon educational thought over a continued period of time, and in turn have been influenced by education. They have been and perhaps currently present the most important forces, which Brubacher refers to as "the perennial and persistent problems of education."[1]

The procedures for the collection of data have consisted of extensive research of original documents and scholarly works pertinent to the founding of the university and to the social forces of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Research was conducted by the author at the Universitäts Bibliothek, Erlangen Germany, where original manuscripts were made available for study. These manuscripts include: (1) the charters establishing the university granted by the Holy Roman Emperor, Karl VII and Margrave Frederick of Bayreuth, (2) several edicts pertaining to Friedrichs Academy and the university, and (3) Margravine Wilhelmina's letter donating her personal library to the university. Microfilm copies of these documents were furnished the author for continued study. Numerous scholarly works pertaining to the university and the Margravate, out-of-print and currently difficult or impossible to obtain elsewhere, were made available by the library

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[1]John S. Brubacher, A History of the Problems of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947), p. xii.

director and his staff. A search was also conducted for pertinent materials concerning the Margravate Bayreuth in the State Archives at Bamberg and Nürnberg, and in the City Archive and City Library, Erlangen. Considerable time was spent in visiting historical locations in the territory of the former Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth. These visits included palaces, fortresses, other public buildings, private dwellings, villages, gausthäuser (inns), agricultural fields, and meadows. The era was discussed with professors, archivists, local historians, craftsmen, and farmers in order to secure an understanding, and a feeling or sense of the period.

This work is an effort to investigate the status of the dominant social forces during the period preceding the establishment of Friedrichs Universität, in 1743, to ascertain to what extent they were an influence in the determination for the founding of the university. The initial portion of this study traces the historical development of higher education in the Margravate Bayreuth from Martin Luther's recommendation, July 18, 1529, to George, Margrave of Ansbach-Kulmbach, that an institution of higher learning be established. The influences of education as a social force, acting upon itself and other social forces, are investigated in an attempt to determine the extent education itself contributed to the founding of the university. Economic forces investigated include the prevailing economic systems of the period; the resources of the Margravate Bayreuth and the demands made upon those

resources. Religious and philosophical forces are treated together because of their close relationship and interaction and because a good perspective cannot be attained otherwise. Their influence upon the beliefs and activities of the members of the court and the populace at large are examined. The court and the government, in like manner, are treated together. In a period of absolutism, the two are inseparable. The historical heritage of the ruling family and court are examined and the structure of the government and its needs. Inquiry is made into the personalities, beliefs, and activities of the Margrave and the influential members of the court, both permanent and transient. Finally, the influences, as disclosed by the above investigations, are analyzed as to their action upon one another in order to determine whether they were a factor in the Margrave's decision to establish the university.

Significance of the Study

It is believed that an investigation of the validity of the hypothesis will provide the student of the history of education with: (1) an understanding of the dominant social forces in the Margravate Bayreuth during the "Era of Absolutism," (2) the interaction of the forces, (3) the extent of their influence on the decision by Frederick of Bayreuth to establish Friedrichs Universität, and (4) an increased awareness and improved perspective of the current interaction between the existing social forces and education.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION LEADING TO THE FOUNDING OF FRIEDRICHS UNIVERSITÄT

Education in the Middle Ages

Formal education in Germany had its beginning in the early Middle Ages. With the German adoption of Christianity, there came also the adoption of the Christian system of education which had been gradually developed by the Church. The monastic schools were the oldest schools in the Christian system. They were developed by the Benedictine order and brought to Germany in the eighth century through the activities of Wynfrith (Saint Boniface), the "Apostle of Germany" (680?-775). These schools were of two types: the monastic school proper, schola claustri or interior for the training of monks, and the schola canonica or exterior for the training of the future secular priests who did not desire to follow the monastic life. In addition to the above monastic schools, there had arisen during the sixth century the cathedral schools attached to the bishop's residence. Two types of cathedral schools, interior and exterior, eventually evolved in like manner to

the monastic schools.[1]

"The more modest of the educational needs of the Middle Ages were taken care of by the parochial or parish schools."[2] Education of necessity remained in the hands of the clerics, as only the "churchmen possessed enough information to enable them to be teachers."[3] Their main purpose was to train choir boys and acolytes for the local parish, and also to spread the rudiments of the Christian doctrine among the parishioners. The acolytes had to know Latin in order to replace the priest when he was not available for the act of worship.[4]

Charlemagne (742-814) founded in 781 an imperial palace school, schola palatina, at his residence in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), which was an attempt to combine all the educational institutions into one system. In 789 he issued a general order to establish schools in connection with every monastery and cathedral, where the boys would be taught the psalms, the alphabet, Latin grammar, and the calculation of

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[1]Herman Weimer, Geschichte der Pädagogik, Hsgb. von Heinz Weimer (16. Auflage; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1964), pp. 23-25.

[2]Herman Weimer, Concise History of Education, trans. by I. Lagnas (New York: Philosophical Library, 1962), p. 23.

[3]Harry Elmer Barnes, An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World, Vol. I: From the Earliest Times Throughout the Middle Ages (3rd rev. ed.; New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), p. 348; hereinafter referred to as Intellectual and Cultural History.

[4]Weimer, Concise History of Education, p. 23.

the Church holidays. The bishops examined these boys who would form a new educated clergy and would be capable of providing a Christian education for everybody. The minimum of a Christian education was considered by Charlemagne to be a knowledge of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. A series of decrees followed between 801 and 813 directing the clergymen to concentrate on these tasks. A decree of 809 ordered the establishment of parish schools. "It is still uncertain how far the priests were able to put Charlemagne's policy recommendations into practice. . . . Early medieval documents mention parish schools rarely; it is only later that references become fairly frequent."[1] However, it appears certain that the monastic and cathedral schools flourished under Charlemagne and his successors. Fulda, Corvey, Sankt Gallen and Reichenau were lively intellectual centers in Germany during the ninth century.[2]

Barnes describes the content of education in the early medieval monastic schools as "slight, dull, and largely tuned to the service of religious instruction. Specifically it was limited to the seven liberal arts and to religious subjects. For the most part, instruction did not go beyond the first three, the so-called trivium."[3]

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[1]Weimer, Concise History of Education, p. 25.

[2]Weimer, Geschichte der Padagogik, p. 26; Barnes, Intellectual and Cultural History, I, 348.

[3]Barnes, Intellectual and Cultural History, I, 349.

Paulsen, in his discussion of the quarivium, the artes reales, states:

> All these sciences, however, were subject to the ultimate goal which asserts its predominance in the third stage, i.e., theology, the scientific knowledge of revealed truth. Theoretically, value was attached to them only in so far as they could further interpret the Scripture.[1]

The training of the young aristocrat in the "Arts of Knighthood," a development directly from the Crusades, was conducted by a process referred to as "The School of Chivalry." "This culture was not regarded as 'learning,' nor was it acquired by academic instruction. In the Middle Ages no want was felt for schools especially adapted to the needs of young cavaliers like the 'Ritter-Akademien' of the seventeenth century."[2] The young noble was trained by his family or apprenticed to a neighboring noble, where he received training in the proper court etiquette and procedures, and in the knightly activities of jousting, horsemanship, falconry, boxing, singing, swimming, and chess. Training, practicing, and testing in the knights' code of conduct preceded the ceremonial initiation into knighthood.[3]

The first great intellectual revival, scholasticism, began about the ninth and continued into the twelfth century. Scholasticism

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[1]Friedrich Paulsen, German Education: Past and Present, trans. by T. Lorenz (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), pp. 17-18; hereinafter referred to as German Education.

[2]Paulsen, German Education, pp. 6-7.

[3]Carroll Atkinson and Eugene T. Maleska, The Story of Education (New York: Bantam Books, 1964), pp. 43-44.

has been identified with the Aristotelian deductive logic, as interpreted by the scholars of the late Middle Ages. However, scholasticism is known most commonly as (1) the procedure for selecting and classifying general principles or statements of the religious and classical authorities, (2) systematically commenting upon them, (3) examining the arguments pro and con, and (4) drawing conclusions regarding them.[1]

Scholars were limited to defending only those things which the Church held orthodox. The lecture and the debate were used in the instruction. First, the lecturer read the text slowly, permitting the students to copy the authoritative words with the glossaries and annotations. Then followed the disputation; individuals or groups of students opposed each other. The general procedure was the selection of thesis, followed by the offering of proof, raising and refuting the objections, and treating the entire proposition in a minutely logical manner.[2]

In the early thirteenth century, Scholasticism underwent a modification and, after a bitter struggle, reached its highest form. Saint Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) published a compromise and union of Aristotelian philosophy and Church theology within a highly logical system entitled Summa Theologica, which remains today the authoritative exposition of Roman Catholic theology.[3]

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[1] Atkinson and Maleska, Story of Education, pp. 45-46.

[2] Ibid., p. 46.

[3] Ibid., p. 47.

An educational innovation of the high Middle Ages was the rise of the universities which marks a new epoc in Western educational history. Paulsen states that "an overwhelming passion for the pursuit of knowledge called into existence new sciences." He enumerates: (1) Abelard (1079-1142) and the speculative theology and philosophy, (2) Irnerius (1050?-1130?) and the new jurisprudence primarily a science of the old Roman Law, and (3) Albertus Magnus (1193? or 1206?-1280) with the new physical medical science. "All these new strivings after knowledge found appropriate expression towards the close of the thirteenth century in a new institution, that independent but officially recognized corporation of scholars which came to be known as the University."[1]

Weimer points out that the scholastic philosophy which had arisen in the eleventh century attracted so many scholars that the cathedral and monastery schools proved insufficient. Free communities of professors and students arose, known by the Latin name Universitas magistrorum et scholarum, our present-day "university."[2]

Rheinhardt, in a discussion of the founding of the universities, states that with "the expansion of trade and commerce and the concentration of prosperity and culture in the cities made not only for a richer life but a more complex concept of living." He also points out that as

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[1]Paulsen, German Education, p. 20.

[2]Weimer, Concise History of Education, p. 30.

a result new problems arose, the solution of which demanded greater depth and acuteness of mental training than could be provided by the monastary and cathedral schools. As a necessity there arose between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, the new institution of higher learning, the university, mostly under the sponsorship of the church.[1]

The process of transformation from cathedral schools to universities came about gradually. The ninth century school of medicine at Salerno is generally considered by scholars as probably the first European university.[2] It is generally agreed by scholars that the University at Bologna was the second oldest; although exact dates of founding are impossible to determine, both were in positions of prominence in their respective fields by the twelfth century. The university movement was transplanted from Italy to France with the founding of the University of Paris in 1180. More than forty universities were founded during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The university movement was late arriving in Germany because the mendicant orders attempted to revive the importance of the traditional monastery schools through an enthusiastic study of the new scholastic theology. These schools, however, suffered from a lack of faculties of medicine and jurisprudence, and

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[1]Kurt F. Reinhardt, Germany: 2000 Years, Vol. I: The Rise and Fall of the "Holy Empire" (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1961), p. 137; hereinafter referred to as Germany.

[2]Atkinson and Maleska, Story of Education, p. 49.

the founding of the German universities could no longer be delayed.[1] The oldest of the universities founded within the boundaries of the old German Empire were (1) Prag, 1348; (2) Wien, 1365; (3) Heidelberg, 1385; (4) Köln, 1388; (5) Erfurt, 1392. Twelve additional universities were founded within the boundaries of Germany prior to the Reformation: (1) Würzburg, 1402; (2) Leipzig, 1409; (3) Rostock, 1419; (4) Greifswald, 1456; (5) Freiburg, 1457; (6) Basel, 1460; (7) Ingolstadt, 1472; (8) Trier, 1473; (9) Mainz, 1477; (10) Tübingen, 1477; (11) Wittenberg, 1502; and (12) Frankfurt-am-Oder, 1506.[2]

The University of Paris was the model for the German universities with some slight exceptions,[3] and was the recognized authority in theological and philosophical studies.[4] Following the precedence of the University of Paris, the university as an ecclesiastical institution was exempt from civil jurisdiction and subject to the disciplinary powers vested in the faculty, whose members were responsible only to the pope. "The charter for the founding of a university might be granted by the emperor, the king, or the pope."[5] In practice, the majority of the

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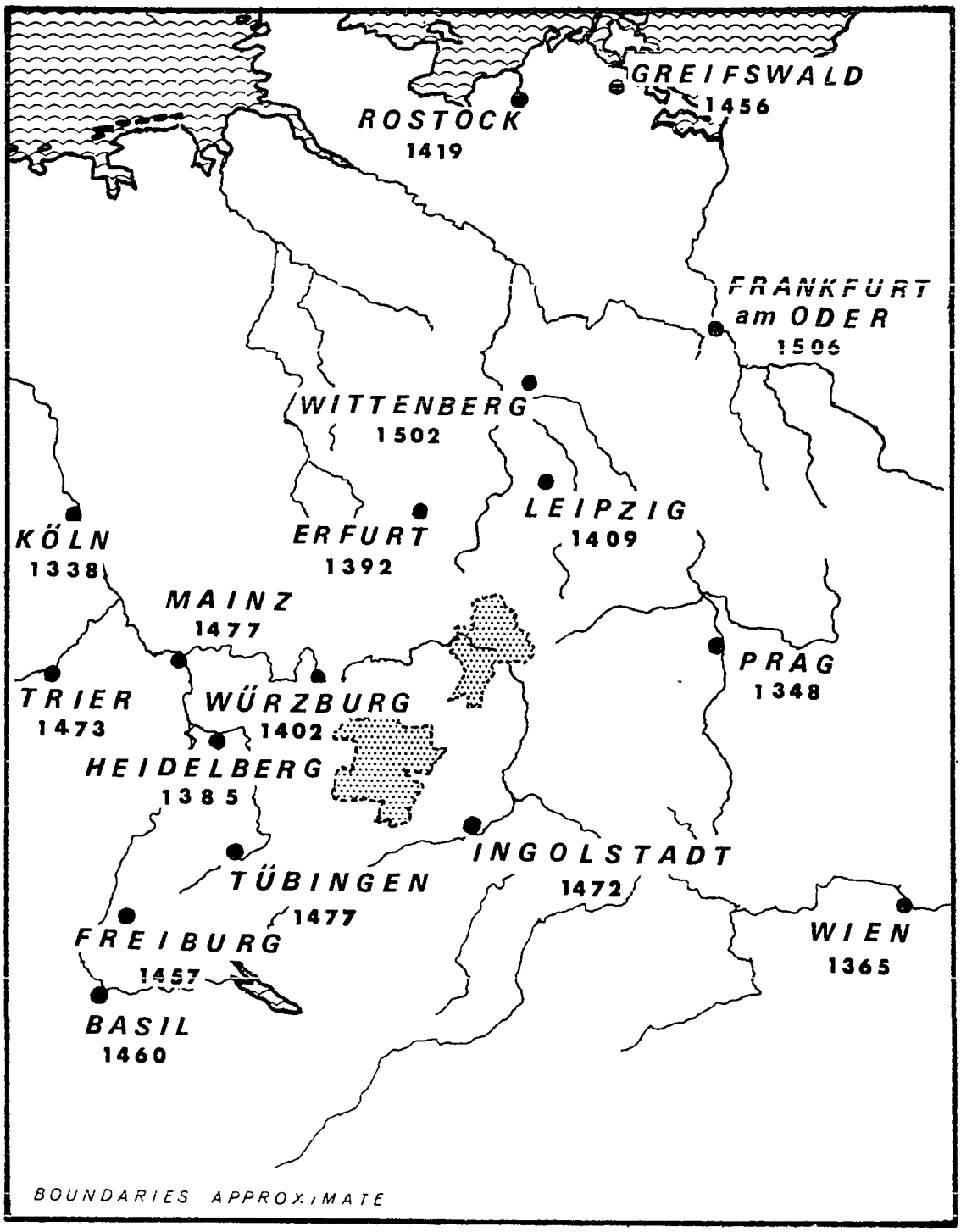
[1]Weimer, Concise History of Education, p. 3.

[2]Reinhardt, Germany, I, 138; Map 2, Pre-Reformation German Universities, 1346-1506, infra, p. 18.

[3]Nathan Schachner, The Medieval Universities, Perpetua Books (New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 307.

[4]Paulsen, German Education, p. 21.

[5]Reinhardt, Germany, pp. 138-39.



PRE-REFORMATION GERMAN UNIVERSITIES
1348-1506

MARGRAVATE ANSBACH-KULMBACH

Map 2.

universities received charters or patents, Stiftungsbriefe or Privililegien, from more than one source. Usually they were issued by the respective secular sovereign, as well as from either the pope or emperor. "The possession of such a patent served as the characteristic feature of a legitimate university."[1]

The universities were founded as independent corporations of teachers and students and were granted certain privileges by the spiritual and secular rulers. The four most important privileges were: (1) the right of teaching, examining, and granting of degrees, (2) the right of self-government in accordance to their own statutes and regulations, (3) the right of separate jurisdiction over their own members, including exemption from control by the normal courts of law, and (4) immunity from taxes or imposts by the territorial or municipal authorities.

The university was divided into faculties for the purpose of controlling the teaching and examinations. Three of these faculties were for special studies: (1) theology, (2) law, and (3) medicine. A fourth faculty was one of a general character, the faculty of arts, based upon a modification of the old Artes liberales. Each faculty elected a

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[1]Georg Kaufmann, Die Geschichte der Deutschen Universitäten, Band I: Vorgeschichte (Stuttgart: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1888), p. 371, my translation. Hereinafter referred to as Deutschen Universitäten.

dean from its membership. The essential business of the faculty was the arrangement for the holding of lectures, disputations, examinations, and the conferring of degrees.[1] The master's degree, Magister Artium, Master ofArts, M.A., was granted after the student had proven his efficiency in defining, discussing, and defending certain propositions in a thorough examination. The doctor's degree was granted for specialization in one of the professions, and required an examination held in public. The master's and the doctor's degrees carried with them the privilege of lecturing in the faculty in which the degree had been granted.[2]

The noted German historian, Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), described the ecclesiastical influence upon the univerisities.

> Meanwhile the whole intellectual energy of the age flowed in the channels marked out by the church. Germany is a striking example to what an extent the popular mind of a nation of the West received its direction from ecclesiastical principles.
>
> The great workshops of literature, the German universities, were all more or less colonies or branches of that of Paris--either directly sprung from it, like the earlier; or indirectly, like the latter. Their statutes sometimes begin with a eulogy on the Alma Mater of Paris. From that most ancient seat of learning, too, had the whole system of schoolmen, the controversy between Nominalism and Realism, the preponderancy of the theological faculty--"that brilliant star from which everything received light and life,"--passed over to them. In the theological faculty the Professor of Sentences had the precedency, and the Baccalaureus who read the Bible was obliged to allow him to determine the hour

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[1] Paulsen, German Education, pp. 21-23.

[2] Reinhardt, Germany, I, 138; Weimer, Concise History of Education, p. 32.

> of his lecture. In some universities, none but a clerk who had received at least inferior ordination, could be chosen Rector. The whole of education, from the first elements to the highest dignities of learning, was conducted in one and the same spirit. Diatectical distinctions intruded themselves into the very rudiments of grammar; and the elementary books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were constantly retained as the groundwork of learning: here, too, the same road was steadily pursued which had been marked out at the time of the foundation of the hierarchial power.[1]

By the close of the fifteenth century, there had developed within Germany an educational system adapted to the needs of the townsmen. As the cities grew, the trades within also advanced. It soon evolved that the former ecclesiastical school system with an excessive accent upon religious training did not meet the needs of the industrial and commercial city. The new system was developed partially by the guilds, and led to the positions of apprentice, companion, and master. Many of the monastery and cathedral schools, eventually became "town schools" or "council schools." The first teachers of these secular schools were usually priests. Later graduates of the faculty of arts became dominant as the teachers. From the fifteenth century, many of these new schools were founded by municipalities.[2] In an assessment

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[1] Leopold von Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte in Zeitalter der Reformation, Hsgb. von Horst Michael (Hamburg: Guttenburg-verlag Christiensen & Co., o.J.), I, 124-25, hereinafter referred to as Deutsche Gesichichte; Leopold von Ranke, History of the Reformation in Germany, trans. by Sarah Austin (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1966), I, 118-19, hereinafter referred to as History of the Reformation.

[2] Weimer, Concise History of Education, pp. 35-37.

of the high and late Middle Ages, Weimer states that they "were no more capable than the previous period of any real progress in educational methods or theory." He cites such theoretical writings as Hugo de Sain Victor's (1096?-1141) Book of Learning (Discalion), Vincent of Beauvais's (1264-?) On the Education of Princes, and the books of identical titles, The Mirror of Princes (De Regimine Principum) by Aegidius Romanus (?-?) and Englebert of Admont (?-1331).[1]

An overall evaluation by Reinhardt is: "The standard of general education was relatively high in the fifteenth century. It seems evident that the majority of the population had acquired the essentials of reading, writing, and arithmetic."[2] Paulsen also looks with favor on the accomplishments of education during this period. He writes:

> A survey of the whole of the educational movement during the second half of the Middle Ages cannot leave room for any doubt that they represented a powerful advance in general culture. Above all, it is clear that scholastic education, and with it presumably intellectual culture, had enormously gained in extent. In the first place, all Western nations could show a broad cultural stratum which had received an academic, or at least half-academic education.[3]

Paulsen, quoting statistics from Eulenburg's Die Frequence der deutschen Universitäten von ihrer Grundung bis zur Gegenwart (Leipzig, 1904) about the year 1500, states that there were three of

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[1] Ibid., p. 37. [2] Reinhardt, Germany, I, 203.

[3] Paulsen, German Education, pp. 31-32.

four thousand German university students, not counting those attending Wien and Prag nor those in foreign universities. He concludes that there were probably 6,000 total German university students and that on an average of two years spent at the university, there would have been approximately 60,000 students in a twenty-year span--" an astonishing figure at a time when the class of government officials from whom a previous academic training is required had not yet come into existence. We must add to these the large number of those who had acquired a semi-academic education at the city or chapter schools."[1]

The foregoing survey of the development of formal education and the schools in Germany during the Middle Ages shows a long protracted, but continuous, increase in numbers and types of schools with an increase in attendance but limited content, bound by scholasticism, and control of interpretations by the Church.

Humanism and Education

The humanist movement had its beginning in italy during the fourteenth century. Two Italian writers, Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch, Petracco) (1304-1374), and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) were the pioneers of Humanism and gave it the "artistic and aesthetic character that sharply differentiated it from the Middle Ages. . . . Petrarca

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[1] Ibid.

revived the study of Latin classics; Boccaccio also discovered the Greek classics as sources of beauty and culture." The followers of Humanism became great admirers and imitators of the Latin language, Roman art, and of the classical ways of life. The humanist looked upon education not only as a means to the training of ecclesiastics but also as valuable for its own sake. The movement was soon given the name "Renaissance," a word of French origin denoting a rebirth. Although the term was used to denote a rebirth of the whole of classical culture, it became a term applied primarily to the fine arts.[1]

Holborn, in his discussion of humanism, states:

> To call any attempt to improve Latin style or expression humanistic is rather misleading. Such efforts were widespread in Germany as well as in France and England and could be undertaken by thorough schoolmen. Nor can the search for classic texts as such be called humanism.[2]

He continues his discussion with the statement that it is only when the pursuit of the classics were undertaken with the intent of gaining a "distinct" philosophy or life or establish norms for the conduct of human affairs "does it make sense to speak of humanism."[3]

The humanist movement did not stop short at the mere

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[1] Weimer, Concise History of Education, pp. 38-39.

[2] Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany, Vol. I: The Reformation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 105.

[3] Ibid.

revival of classical antiquity. The movement made the individual conscious of self, his own character, and his worth as an individual. With this consciousness came the desire to free himself from the social bonds imposed upon him by the class into which he had been born, and from the Church which held him in the fetters of its dogma. Above all, the individual wished to develop his own personality. Rational thought, which had previously served theological purposes, was to be used as the means for the individual to achieve his aims. Weimer states, "The humanist wanted to investigate this world, to master it and to enrich himself with its outer and inner treasures. He also wanted to be happy in it."[1]

The Renaissance crossed the Alps into Germany about a century after the deaths of Petrarca and Boccaccio, but was not adopted as a philosophy of life in the north. The Italian Renaissance was one of the external forms of culture and a philosophy of sensuous beauty. The Germans were more concerned with the substance than with the appearance of things. However, "the intellectual leaders of the German nation were deeply in sympathy with those scholarly efforts that dealt with the timeless values and interests of humanity."[2]

In Italy the humanist movement had been primarily an intellectual and philosophical movement. Upon its adoption in the north by

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[1]Weimer, Concise History of Education, pp. 38-39.

[2]Reinhardt, Germany, I, 248.

the Germans it became rather a strong moral and educational force.[1]

The number of German humanists increased rapidly during the second half of the fifteenth century. The first of these, Rudolf Agricola (1443-1485), known as "the father of German humanism," was a Netherlander but had studied in Germany. Later in Italy he became proficient in Greek. He lectured at Heidelberg on classical literature which helped to make that university a center of humanistic studies. John Wesel (1420-1489) was a lecturer on philosophy at Heidelberg. Another lecturer was Alexander Hegius (1433-1489), the teacher of the young Erasmus (1466?-1536).[2]

"The language and literature of pagan antiquity became the basis of academic education, a position from which they have never yet been dislodged in much of Europe and only in the twentieth century in the United States."[3] Scholasticism lost its dominance in the theological and philosophical curricula. The enthusiasm for the classics became contagious among the learned men and permeated the universities. The classical curriculum, initially accepted by the Italian universities,

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[1]Reinhardt, Germany, I, 248.

[2]Ernest John Knapton, Europe 1450-1815, Vol. I: The Emergence of the Modern Era 1450-1650 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 139.

[3]Harry Elmer Barnes, An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World, Vol. II: From the Renaissance Through the Eighteenth Century (3rd ed. rev.; New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), p. 566.

spread first to Paris, then to Heidelberg, Erfurt, Leipzig, and Wittenberg.[1]

German princes took pride in becoming the protectors and patrons of the humanistic movement and humanist scholars. They were employed in the chancelleries of the emperor, many of the secular princes and municipalities. Cities such as Augsburg and Nürnberg, courts such as Wurtenberg, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate, became centers of humanistic culture and education.[2]

Benefits of the humanist education devolved to the Latin secondary schools which, by the third decade of the sixteenth century, yielded to its advance. Among these schools were those at Schlettstadt, Strassburg, Nurnberg, Pforzheim, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Frankfurt, and Augsburg, among others.[3]

"Humanism had barely become established in the German universities when the country was shaken by the great storm of the Reformation."[4]

Education in the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth in the Middle Ages

The development of education in the Margravates Ansbach

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[1]Barnes, Intellectual and Cultural History, II, 566.

[2]Reinhardt, Germany, pp. 248-49.

[3]Weimer, Concise History of Education, p. 46.

[4]Ibid., p. 47.

and Bayreuth appears to have followed in general the pattern set by Germany as a whole, and to have been an integral part of that formation. Jordan, in his study of the problem, states that one must address themselves to the question, "Who in the territory were representatives and supporters of scholarly learning?" He lists (1) the court, (2) the monasteries, (3) the Church in general, (4) the cities, and (5) the nobility. He suggests also that when one views this time it is necessary to free oneself from the modern thinking regarding a civilized state.[1]

The Hohenzollern rulers of the Margravates were for the most part politicians and warriors. One must not, however, for that reason believe that they were not supporters of the intellectual pursuits. The first Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick I (1372-1440), ruled as Burgrave of Nürnberg, the Ansbach territory, from 1398 to 1440 and then Ansbach-Bayreuth lands after the death of his brother, John III, in 1420. Frederick fully mastered the French and Latin languages, was skillful in the civil and canon laws, "a friend of world history and its gifts, and an acquaintance of the scholars with whom the Diet of Constance (1507) had brought into contact. . ." He was acquainted with many works, especially the writings of Franciscus Petrarca, and

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[1]Hermann Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung in der Markgrafschaft Ansbach-Bayreuth: Eine Vorgeschichte der Universität Erlangen, Band I, Bis gegen 1560, Quellen und Forschung zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte (Leipzig: A. Diechertsche Verlagsnuchhandlung Werner Scholl, 1917), p. 8; hereinafter referred to as Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung.

arranged that upon his death his 'teutschen Lessbücher' (German reading books) would be given to a city or a monastery."[1]

John, the Alchemist, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, son and successor in the highlands to Frederick I, reigned from 1440 to his resignation in 1457. He was known as "the one with the preferences of a scholar." Following his resignation, he busied himself with alchemy, smelting, and analytical chemistry. This occupation by the Margrave John "must not be interpreted merely as a superstition, but also as a positive motive, and one should not fail to recognize a positive motive, the trend to intellectual research and pursuit."[2]

Humanism was brought very early to the Franconian lands, "the earliest of all Germany." John, with his brother during their youth, had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and had come in contact with Italian Humanism. The Italian, Arriginus, the first scholar of classical antiquity in Germany, was brought into the service of Margrave John. He gathered together during the years 1456-57 a number of ardent students and established a humanistic school at the Plassenburg. The purpose of the school was the introduction of the language of Virgil and Cicero and the humanistic training of qualified chancellory officials who understood the "neue Schreibart" (new style of writing).

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[1] Ibid., p. 9.

[2] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 10, my translation.

Jordan remarks that it is unknown what lasting effects were produced by Arriginus, but cites correspondence to the Palatine Count Frederick on February 13, 1457, wherein he congratulated him on his humanistic efforts for Heidelberg. Jordan also refers to correspondence between Arriginus, his students, and the famous humanist, Peter Luder (d.c. 1475) as interesting evidence of the humanistic life in the Margravate. He also suggests that Arriginus and the circle about him on the Plassenburg were concerned about the intellectual training of the princes and princesses, who were there in 1463. Jordan asks: "Or is the school on the Plassenburg already older? We know that Barbara, the daughter of John the Alchemist, who in 1433 married the young Margrave of Mantua, was very learned and spoke German, Italian, Latin and Greek."[1]

John's brother, Albert Achilles, who reigned in the lowlands from 1464 and also the highlands from 1471 to 1486 as Elector of the entire Hohenzollern lands, left behind for his son, John Cicero (1455-1499), Elector Brandenburg (1486-1499), a bidding to establish a university on his land. Albert, in his later years, spoke of his unreadable handwriting and lamented his scanty knowledge of Latin.

John Cicero was required to learn Latin. The Golden Bull prescribed, since 1467, the knowledge of Latin for the young Electors. His teacher was Dr. Johannes Stocker from Hof, who had studied in

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 12-13.

Leipzig, 1457-1460, where he had received his baccalaureate. Stocker had studied further at Bologna and had become a Doctor of Canonical and Imperial Law. He later served John Cicero in the Mark Brandenburg.

Jordan relates: "In any case, Margrave Frederick I was anxious that his sons, especially those not destined to reign but to attain ecclesiastical positions, should receive a scholarly education."[1] He identifies Ulrich Seger, Magiter Artium liberalium, as a tutor and taskmaster for Frederick's sons. Seger had matriculated at Leipzig in 1493, then went to Paris where he received his baccalaureate in 1497, then on to Leipzig for his master's.

Albert, the oldest of Frederick's sons, born in 1490, became an Order's Master in Prussia; John Albert, born 1491, was a Coadjutor for the Bishopric Magdeburg and Halberstadt; Frederick, born 1497, was Provost of the Würtzburg Cathedral; William, born 1498, was Archbishop of Riga; and Gumbrecht, born 1403, was Provost of Komburg. Frederick and William studied at Ingolstadt from 1514 for several years, and then as was the custom of the time, were also Rectors there. Margrave Frederick became Rector in 1515 of the Ingolstat University and his Vicar was the famous Balthasar Hubmair. William became a Rector in 1516. Ingolstadt was at that time the eminent university, in which next to the theology students, future civil servants studied in

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[1] Ibid., I, 12.

particular jurisprudence.[1]

The interest in furtherance of learning in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries lay first of all fundamentally entirely in the hands of the Church. There was now, however, only one church in the Margrave Ansbach-Bayreuth. The territory was divided into large or small parts in which the Bishoprics Bamberg, Eichstätt, Würzburg, and Augsburg had control of the religious life and were influential in the scholarly learning. The education of clerics and teachers, the formation of parish schools and seminaries, and the attendance of universities with church prebends, is a part of the history of the bishopric, which had control of the particular part of the territory.

The monastery and cathedral schools were filled not merely with children from the Margravate, but often from outside the territory, and the territorial students also attended schools outside the area. The noble youths particularly attended the cathedral schools in nearby Bamberg and Würzburg.

"The cloisters were numerous in the territory. At the beginning of the Reformation there were twenty-four cloisters, of which fifteen were monasteries and nine were convents. In addition there were the cloister colleges at Feuchtwangen and St. Gumbrecht in Ansbach."[2] Jordan suggests that if one attempts to discover to what extent

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 13-14.

[2] Ibid., I, 16.

one or the other of the cloister contributed to the intellectual life, one places first of all the Cistercian Cloister at Heilbronn and the two cloister colleges at Feuchtwangen and Ansbach. He notes that the Franciscan Monastery, St. Jobst (Jodocus), near Nemmersdorf not far from Bayreuth, founded in 1514 and secularized in 1529, had a library. This library was brought to the city hall at Bayreuth and eventually to the University Library at Erlangen. Libraries are also known to have been in the Franciscan Monastery at Hof, the Benedictine Monastery in Heidenheim, the Augustian Monastery in Kulmbach, and the Franciscan Monastery at Riedfeld. The library at Heilsbronn was based on a scholarly study for theology, but in the sense of the scholasticism of the late Middle Ages.[1]

There were from 125 to 130 students or educated people from the Margravate cloisters to the time of the Reformation: sixty from Heilsbronn; Heidenheim and Langenzenn five each; Wurzburg two; Hof two; Munchsteinach one; none from Munchaurach, Auhausen, Solnhofen, Sparneck, Riedfeld, St. Jobst, Anhausen, and Neudstadt on Kulm; five to ten from the cloister at Feuchtwangen; and about thirty-nine from the Ansbach cloister.

Students from the Mark Brandenburg since the days of Charles IV, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1347-1378), attended the university at Prag until 1409, at which time they attended the nearer

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[1] Ibid., I, 15-18.

university at Leipzig, then to Erfurt.[1]

Statistics for the number of students attending universities (1409-1517) from the nine Margravate locations, Ansbach, Bayreuth, Gunzenhausen, Hof, Kitzingen, Kulmbach, Schwabach, Weissenstadt, and Wunseidel are as follows:[2]

Years	Erfurt	Heidelburg	Ingolstadt	Leipzig
1409-1420	4	1		15
1420-1440	11	6		27
1440-1464	22	4		88
1464-1471	44	6		74
1471-1486	29	9		93
1486-1517	14	17	20	122

Jordan extended his research in university matriculation. This research shows that at least 2,001 students from a minimum of forty-four locations in the Margravate continued their education in at least twelve German and five foreign universities before 1528.[3] He points out that:

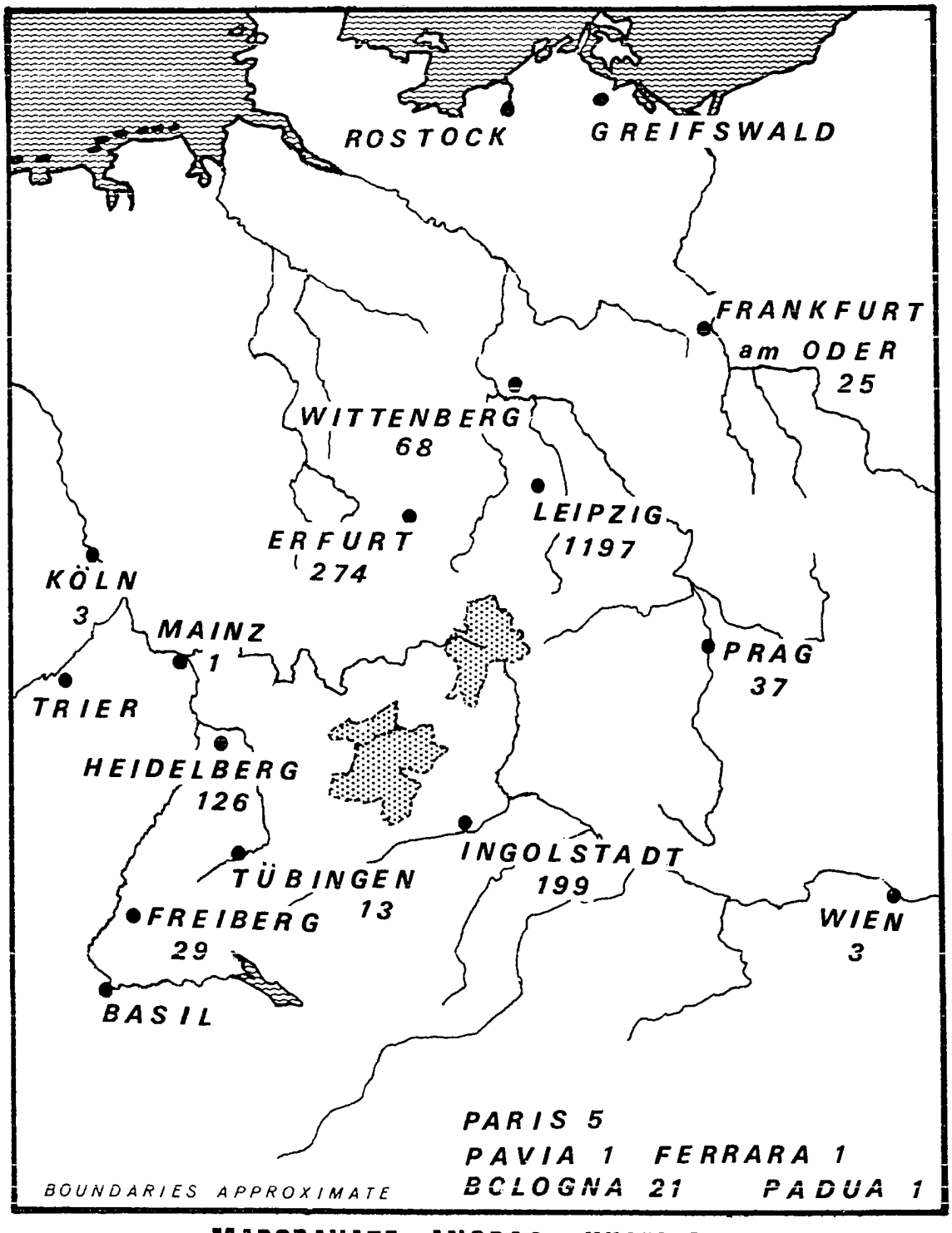
> The attendance at particular universities is natural, also contingent upon local circumstances. That is why almost overall the most students went to Leipzig. The Gunzenhausen students preferred studying in nearer Ingol-

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[1]The provision for a scholarship appears for the first time under Elector John Cicero (1486-1499) when the Brandenburg Cathedral Chapter set aside (1497) the sum of 24 Rhine Gulden for some students to study in the universities.

[2]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 38.

[3]Map 3, Margravate Ansbach-Kulmbach University Matriculation to 1528, infra, p. 39.



MARGRAVATE ANSBACH-KULMBACH
UNIVERSITY MATRICULATION
TO 1528

Map 3.

> stadt, the Crailsheim students in nearer Heidelberg. The Kitzinger students appear to have been the least bound to one particular school.[1]

The investigation of what social classes furnished the students disclosed that,

> One can give a general answer, from all classes. We find numerous paupers, of whom it says by the matriculation, "owes nothing"; townsmen's and officials' sons; however it appears few peasants' sons. The attendance from cities and the larger places appears to be much greater than those from the flatlands. We find nobles and non-nobles.[2]

The nobles, until the fifteenth century, usually studied for the clergy at foreign universities and then obtained high church positions. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, the nobles began to study jurisprudence and increasingly entered the government service of the territory. It is difficult to determine exactly how many nobles studied in the universities, as many attended without the use of their titles.

The rather strong attendance at the universities by the young people of the Margravate indicates that there existed a school system of some degree in the Margravate. A knowledge of Latin was required for attendance at the universities, so it is possible to assume that there existed a Latin school in some form. The information regarding these schools is scanty; however, they are confirmed by the

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 50.

[2] Ibid., I, 51.

literature available.

Outstanding among the schools preparing students in the Latin language was St. Gumbertus at Ansbach, whose existence is traceable from 1058. This school was not only for the actual or future inhabitants of the seminary, but also for the public.

A school also was connected with the seminary at the Feuchtwangen. The great number of scholars from this seminary in the Middle Ages is well known. The cloister was so solicitous for the instruction of the Feuchtwanger children that to the time of the Reformation there was no parish school.

The large number of students from the Cloister Heilsbronn who graduated especially from Heidelberg--many after a short time--placed the cloister in a high standing as an instructional institution in the late Middle Ages.

The Franciscan Cloister at Hof did not maintain a cloister school for the public. However, arrangements were made with the Carmelite Cloister in Neustadt on the Kulm whereby six priests, two novices, and a school master were provided.[1]

Jordan commented on the findings of his research of the number of students and educated people in the cloisters and seminaries to the time of the Reformation: "It is easy to observe that the number of cloister students increased towards the end of the fifteenth century and

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[1]Ibid., I, 76-79.

in the beginning of the sixteenth century; also here the modern times was heralded."[1]

Other schools, as the choir and singing schools, required from the earliest times the elements of the Latin language.

The city and parish schools were also providers of instruction in the Latin language. The Hof school was first mentioned in 1451 and then in more detail in 1479. It was much older, however. The school was originally connected to the Lorenz Church, then with the Michael Church, a result of association with the singing school. According to the number of university students from Hof, it is quite plausible that a Latin school existed at least since 1415. After the middle of the fifteenth century, the city council gained influence, so that it was not necessary to establish a separate city school. The school must have been especially good by the end of the fifteenth century as it was richly supplied with teachers. In addition to the schoolmaster, there were six teachers, of whom three were from the older students. It was a Latin school which led from reading and writing to Latin grammar and the reading of Latin books. Greek was also taught from 1515.

A Latin school in like manner was in Kulmbach during the Middle Ages. A headmaster is mentioned as early as 1393, a schoolmaster and his assistant in 1482, and a master or rector in 1494. The early application of the Latin school in Kulmbach corresponds to the

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[1] Ibid., I, 36.

number of university students since the beginning of the fifteenth century.

It is definitely known that a Latin school was established in Bayreuth according to a school ordinance for the year 1464.[1] There were three teachers--a schoolmaster, a Junior Master, and the locals--who instructed the students in four classes. It was a city school but served the church purposes. There were forms and adjustments which tied to the church. According to the number of university students from Bayreuth, the school had existed at least from 1420.

A schoolmaster in Weissenstadt was mentioned as early as 1410. He fulfilled a church service and at the same time was in the city service as city clerk.

Schoolmasters were found in Wunsiedel, 1426; Neustadt a. Aisch, before the Reformation; Schwabach, 1443; Kitzengen, 1477; Langenzenn, 1499; and in Obernbreit in 1520. Students from Gunzenhausen were attending universities in 1445, from Uffenheim in the second half of the fifteenth century, which is indicative of there being Latin schooling available in these locations. A school ordinance existed in Crailsheim from the year 1480, and the school had a Rector and a local. It must have existed as early as the first half of the fifteenth

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[1]Karl Fries, Geschichte der Studien-Anstalt in Bayreuth: Einladungs-Schrift zur 200 Jährigen Stiftungs Feier des Kgl. Gymnasiums und zu den Schlussfeierlichkeiten des Jahres 1863/64 (Bayreuth: Heinrich Höreth, 1864), p. 1; hereinafter referred to as Studien-Anstalt in Bayreuth.

century, as the number of students attending universities, especially Leipzig and Heidelberg were numerous.

Jordan calculates that there were at least fifteen Latin schools in the Margravate Ansbach-Bayreuth by 1450.[1]

The foregoing account of the educational development of the Hohenzollern Franconian Margravate Ansbach-Bayreuth through the Middle Ages to the advent of the Reformation discloses that it possessed the same general characteristics as education held in the neighboring states of the Holy Roman Empire. It has been shown by the participation by the various members of the family and their sponsorship that the Hohenzollern family undoubtedly held education in high esteem. It does appear that their attitude toward education was overly conservative as might be expected in this era. It is particularly observed that they espoused the introduction of humanism at a very early date and that the structure of the educational institution in the Margravate changed with the times and kept pace with their neighbors.

The German Reformation and Education

It is generally understood that the Reformation refers to the revolt against the Roman Catholic Church during the sixteenth century. The publications of the ninety-five theses by Martin Luther (1483-1546) in 1517 served as the immediate impulse that set the Reformation into

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 80-84.

motion. Luther held that salvation came not as a result of good works alone, but from faith. "In its origins the Reformation was a learned movement, an academic affair, a scandal in a university, begun by a professor and spread by his colleagues and students."[1] Luther, a humanist, intended to start an academic debate on a point of theology and church practice in a similar manner to that which he had accomplished at Wittenberg on scholasticism. His first attack on scholasticism resulted in a curriculum change in the spring of 1518, "which provided for adequate instruction in Greek and Hebrew (and led to calling Melanchthon to join the faculty)."[2] Student enrollment immediately boomed at Wittenberg. In addition to Luther's books, his students were soon the chief propagators of his ideas. Most of the younger humanists embraced the Reformation without realizing the dangers it posed for the new learning. "The theological debates and political disputes it brought in its train dominated public attention to such an extent that the humanist cause was inevitably neglected."[3] Anti-intellectualism in some centers, the confiscation of church property, and the "limiting of ecclesiastical authority by the reformers were disasterous to education, and schools and colleges were emptied with terrifying rapidity. . . . It looked as if

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[1]E. Harris Harbison, The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), p. 112.

[2]Ibid., p. 113.

[3]Weimer, Concise History of Education, p. 47.

humanism would be ruined by its alliance with the Reformation."[1]

Paulsen, in his writing of this period, states:

> The first effect of these events on the educational institutions was destructive; the old schools and universities were so bound up with the Church in all respects--socially, legally and economically--that they could not but be involved in its downfall. . . . Then followed the peasant's war, with its unmerciful devastation on both sides; and thus it came about that the ten years between 1525 and 1535 resulted in a depression of learning and education which is without parallel in history. The figures of attendance at the universities were reduced to one quarter of their former amount, and the same was probably the case with the schools, so that Erasmus could exclaim: "Wherever Luther prevails, the cause of literature and learning is lost!"[2]

A great part of the battlegrounds of the Peasants War lay within the boundaries of Franconia and its neighbors. Forty-six cloisters and castles in central Germany were burned to the ground during the spring of 1525; "violence and rapine reigned supreme with all the ferocity characteristic of class warfare."[3] Estimates are that perhaps as many as 100,000 peasants perished.

Attendance at the universities during the first decades of the Reformation dropped sharply because of the various military campaigns and civil strife throughout the area. The Reformers had expected an increase of revenues for educational purposes to be allotted from the confiscated church estates, but found that the Princes drained off the

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[1]Ibid., pp. 47-48. [2]Paulsen, German Education, p. 54.

[3]Preserved Smith, The Age of Reformation, Vol. I: Reformation in Europe (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 81; hereinafter referred to as Reformation.

greater portion for personal use.[1] Attendance at the universities by the Margravate youth continued through the Reformation period. It is noted that during the period 1528 to 1560, the matriculation from the Margravate Ansbach-Bayreuth attained a total of 544.[2]

Jordan comments on the attendance at the beginning of the Reformation:

> Before all it is doubtless, that the troubled epoch of transition of 1517-1528 had reacted genuinely unfavorably on the university attendance and we have in the given number, i.e., in appearance, that after 1517 the number of university students sank to some two-thirds of the late Middle Ages height.[3]

Luther was aware that the religious revolution and the welfare of the people and state depended upon educated people, so he threw his energies into the formation of a secular-sponsored Christian school system. He strove for the establishment of schools by the state or the people themselves and endorsed compulsory schooling for the benefit of church and state. The Reformation brought about secular control of education, which lead to the present-day national and state educational systems. It was not, however, his intention to separate the public-supported schools from church control.[4]

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[1]Will Durant, The Story of Civilization, Vol. VI: The Reformation (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), pp. 786-87; hereinafter referred to as Reformation.

[2]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 337-38.

[3]Ibid., I, 339.

[4]Atkinson and Maleska, Story of Education, p. 56.

Luther was supported in his educational efforts, not only by the rulers of the protestant German states and municipalities, but also by his scholarly contemporary and friend, the humanist, Melanchthon (Phillip Schwarzert, Schawrzerd, Blackearth) (1497-1560).

Melanchthon came to Wittenberg in 1518 to accept a position as professor of Greek, and "became the most eminent teacher" of the university, "and after 1525, the foremost theological representative of Lutheranism in the councils of the world."[1] He, in conjunction with Luther and with the assistance of the reformer Spalatin (Georg Burckhardt) (1484-1545) at the electoral court of Saxony, accomplished a humanistic reform of the university.[2] He traveled about protestant Germany consulting with the ruling princes and providing them with guidelines for the establishment of their secular schools, especially for the reform of existing universities and the establishment of new protestant universities. "The establishment of a scholarly education in the sense and mostly under the council of Melanchthon followed immediately the accession to the Reformation in all of the territories."[3] The direction

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[1]Holborm, History of Modern Germany, I, 194-95.

[2]Paulsen, German Education, pp. 54-55.

[3]Friedrich Paulsen, Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts: auf den Deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart, Hsgb. von Rudolf Lehmann (3. erweiterte Auflage; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1960), I, 218, my translation.

of this new education was determined by three principles: (1) the study of the ancient languages was basic to the understanding of the "Holy Word," (2) the secular rulers were duty bound to establish schools, and (3) education should be open in some measure to all social classes.[1]

"Never was the name of honour better deserved than that which the grateful pupils of Master Philippus bestowed on him at the end of his life, so overfull of toil and trouble: Praeseptor noster communis, praeceptor Germaniae."[2]

The first of the new protestant universities was founded at Marburg (1527). The establishment of Konigsberg (1544) and Jena (1558) followed within the lifetime of Melanchthon.[3] Additional protestant universities were founded later at Helmstadt, 1575; Altdorf, 1578; and Paderborn, 1584.[4] Protestant reforms were introduced at Wittenberg,

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[1]Edgar Bradshaw Castle, Educating the Good Man: Moral Education in Christian Times, Collier Books (New York: Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., 1962), p. 71.

[2]"Our universal teacher, teacher of Germany," my translation, Paulsen, German Education, p. 55.

[3]Ibid., p. 58.

[4]Preserved Smith, The Age of Reformation, Vol. II: The Social Background of the Reformation, Collier Books (New York: Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., 1962), p. 198; Paulsen, Geschichte, pp. 308-09, states that the Poetenschule founded in Nurnberg, 1526, was moved to Altdorf, 1575, and established as a territorial school for the city (Nürnberg). An Imperial Charter (1578) granted the institution the right to confer Baccalarien and Magister degrees in philosophy. The status of the school was raised to university in 1622. The right to award the Doctorate of Theology was granted in 1696. Anton Ernstberger,

Tübingen, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Greifswald, Rostock, and Heidelberg under sponsorship of the respective protestant secular rulers.[1]

The Roman Catholic Church was not unheedful of the lost universities and reorganized those remaining under Catholic control. In addition, some new universities, "though not important ones," were founded. The Catholics "concentrated their efforts on the endeavor to found new 'colleges' at the old institutions."

Painter, in his work, Luther on Education, writes:

> An examination of Luther's pedagogical writings, shows that he had in mind three classes of schools, and thus a comprehensive system of education: 1. The Latin Schools, to which he gave most prominence; 2. The universities, which he wished to see reformed; and 3. Schools for the common people, in which they might be fitted for the various callings of life. The fundamental principles of Protestantism, as we have already seen, logically issue in popular education--a fact Luther clearly recognized. He repeatedly urged the establishment of schools for girls, which besides religious instruction were to include reading and writing.[4]

Luther, in his "An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation"

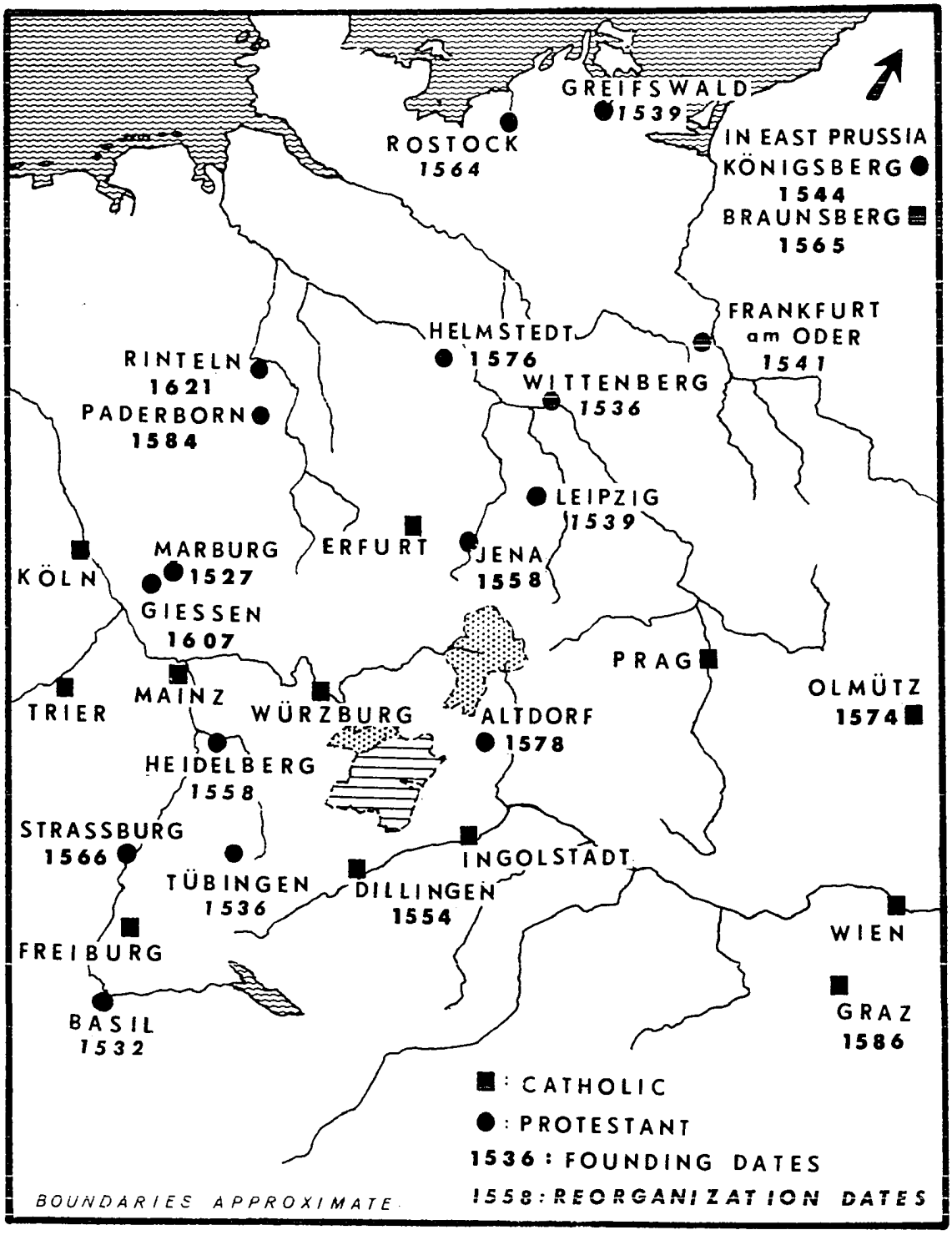
"Die Feierliche Eröffnung der Universität Altdorf (29 Juni 1623), "in Jahrbuch für Frankische Landesforschung, 11/12, Hsgb. von Institute für Frankische Landesforschung an der Universitat Erlangen (Kallmunz-Obf.: Verlag Michael Lassleben, 1953), pp. 109-10 places the inaugural on 29 June 1623.

[1]Paulsen, Geschichte, pp. 216-66; see infra, p. 47, Map 4, Post Reformation German Universities to 1621.

[2]Preserved Smith, Age of Reformation, II, 198.

[3]Map 4, infra, p. 47.

[4]Painter, Luther on Education, pp. 166-68.



POST - REFOMATION GERMAN UNIVERSITIES TO 1621

MARGRAVATE ANSBACH

MARGRAVATE BAYREUTH

Map 4.

(1520), (referred to as either "Address to the German Nobility" or "Epistle to the Christian Nobility"), insisted on the reform of the grammar schools and universities on humanistic and Protestant lines. He further insisted that the study of the Scriptures and of languages be the basis of all knowledge. In his "Epistle to the Burgomasters and Councillors of Sundry Cities in German Lands" (1524), he presents two arguments: (1) study, principally the study of languages, was indispensible for an understanding of "the Holy Scripture, and therefore the preservation of the Gospel, i.e., of the new doctrine," and (2) "the duty of the cities, and of secular authorities in general, to provide good schools and to encourage attendance." Later in his "Discourse on the Duty of Keeping Children in School" (1530), he recommended to the authorities to bring clever boys to the pursuit of learning, even at public expense and by compulsory means, "in order to provide competent men to fill the public offices."[1]

Painter summarizes the education endeavors of Luther by the following comments:

> Looking back over the ground traversed, we realize that the great Reformer accomplished scarcely less for education than for religion. Through his influence, which was fundamental, wide-reaching, and beneficent, there began for the one as for the other a new era of advancement. Let us note a few particulars:
> 1. In his writings, as in the principles of Protestantism, he laid the foundation of an educational system, which be-

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[1]Paulsen, German Education, pp. 56-57.

gins with the popular school and ends with the university.
2. He set up as the noble ideal of education a Christian man, fitted through instruction and discipline to discharge the duties of every relation of life.
3. He exhibited the necessity of schools both for the Church and the State, and emphasized the dignity and worth of the teacher's vocation.
4. With resistless energy he impressed upon parents, ministers, and civil officers their obligation to educate the young.
5. He brought about a re-organization of schools, introducing graded instruction, an improved course of study, and rational methods.
6. In his appreciation of nature and child-life, he laid the foundation for educational science.
7. He made great improvements in method; he sought to adapt instruction to the capacity of children, to make learning pleasant, to awaken mind through skillful questioning, to study things as well as words, and to temper discipline with love.
8. With a wise understanding of the relation of virtue and intelligence to the general good, he advocated compulsory education on the part of the state.

In view of these facts, Luther deserves henceforth to be recognized as the greatest, not only of religious, but of educational reformers.[1]

This investigation of the development of education in the Hohenzollern Franconian lands has progressed to that point in time when a definite inquiry was made regarding the use of the confiscated church estates within the boundaries of the Margravate Ansbach-Bayreuth, and recommendations were made and efforts repeatedly initiated toward the establishment of a university within the boundaries of the Margravate.

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[1] Painter, Luther on Education, pp. 166-68.

The Reformation in the Margravate and Thoughts on Founding a University

The Reformation did not break suddenly over the Margravate Brandenburg-Ansbach-Bayreuth, nor did the territory turn to protestantism abruptly. It was a prolonged process in both Brandenburg and Ansbach-Bayreuth, because the Hohenzollern family exhibited a long-standing family characteristic, fidelity to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and held back from any action that could be interpreted directly as disloyalty to the Emperor. The Franconian Hohenzollerns, however, did embrace protestantism earlier than the Brandenburg Electoral Line of the family in Berlin.

Frederick IV, Margrave of Ansbach and Bayreuth, became mentally deranged and was forced to abdicate in 1515 by two of his sons, Casimir and John. Whereupon, the Estates forced Casimir and John into exile for three years and placed the territory under a regency. The brothers returned at the end of the exile period and the reign was held jointly by the three older brothers: Casimir, George, and John. However, George and John spent most of their time outside the lands, and "the supreme power actually lay in the hand of Casimir."[1] Casimir is probably most widely known for his suppression of the Peasants War

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[1]Christian Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft Nürnberg und der Späteren Markgrafschaft Ansbach und Bayreuth, Tübingen Studien für Schwäbische und Deutsche Rechtsgescichte Nr. 5, Band 11, Hsgb. von F. Thudichum (Tübingen: Verlag der H. Laupp'schen Buchhandlung, 1908), p. 102, my translation.

in east Franconia, Bamberg, Schweinfurt, and Rothenburg, and for his activity as the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Forces in the campaign against the Hungarian Revolt.

"Thoughts, plans and attempts to establish a university in the Brandenburg lands appear in a long chain from 1525 to 1742."[1] The use of the confiscated cloister and convent estates for the support of a university was first expressed by Johann Freiherrn von Schwarzenburg, an important jurist, politician, and poet, who since 24 April 1524 was an advisor to Margrave Casimir. Schwarzenburg collaborated with the highest Secretary, later Chancellor, George Vogler in the opinion before the Augsburg Reichstag of 1525 on the question of the confiscation of cloister estates.[2]

Ranke comments upon the subject of the confiscation of Church property at this time as follows:

> In a project drawn up towards the end of the year 1525, and discussed at one or two meetings of the empire, it is assumed in the outset, that the property of the church is no longer of any use or benefit either to religion or to the empire: that some change in the disposition of it is therefore indispensable; that this must not, however, be left to the common people, but must be undertaken by the supreme authorities; i.e. by the emperor and the temporal estates.
>
> People no longer scrupled to propose the secularisation of all ecclesiastical property.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> With the funds so obtained, the first care must be to

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 85.

[2] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

> supply the new spiritual wants; . . . and lastly, to establish a high school in every circle, in which the languages and the esposition of the Holy Scriptures according to their true sense, should be taught.[1]

Margrave Casimir held a diet of his estates in Ansbach during October 1526. The resolutions passed at that diet are considered more ambiguous than those passed in the Recess of Sipre; however, "it is impossible to doubt their evangelical tendency."[2] Casimir raised no opposition to the new Lutheran Reformation, but remained devoted to the old Church to his death in 1527."[3]

The Hohenzollern Franconian lands were divided upon the death of Casimir. His brother, George the Pious (der Fromme),[4] also

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[1]Ranke, History of the Reformation, I, 366. The term "high school" used in this translation is not to be confused with the same term used in the United States. The term used by Ranke is "hohe," the feminine gender of hoch, whose literal translation is the English word "high." The German word, hochschule, literal translation highschool, is applied to an institution of higher learning, comparable to an academy, college, or university in the United States. Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte, I, 386; Hehlmann, Wilhelm, Wörterbuch der Pädagogik (6. neubearbeitete Auflage; Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner verlag, 1960), pp. 228-229.

[2]Ranke, History of the Reformation, II, 470, my translation.

[3]Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 106, my translation; Friedrich Stein, Geschichte Frankens, Band 2: Die Neue Zeit (Neudruck der Ausgabe Schweifurt 1886, Scientia Verlag AAlen; Darmstadt: Reprografischer Betrieb GmbH, 1966), pp. 14-15, my translation.

[4]Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 101.

referred to as "the Confessor" (der Bekenner),[1] received the lowlands with residence in Ansbach and at the same time assumed the regency of the highlands for Casimir's five-year-old son and heir, Albert (Alcibiades). "With his accession, the zealous evangelical councillors, Hans von Schwarzenberg and George Vogler, acquired unobstructed influence."[2] "The great church reformation of Luther reached a swift and general introduction in both principalities under George."[3]

George turned his attention to the utilization of the church estates almost immediately upon assuming the reign over the Ansbach and Bayreuth Margravates. Vogler and Althamer served as a center from which flowed ideas for the use and improvement of the cloisters as educational institutions. Vogler and Spengler on 15 June 1528 had sent a memorandum for the Schwabach Convent setting forth the design for a church ordinance. It ended with a reference to the support of university studies and the assignment of lecturers in the cloisters. Many of the ideas furthered by Vogler and Althamer were incorporated into directives by the Margrave George. Notable among these was the Visitationsbescheid von 1528, Inspection Decree of 1528, issued person-

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[1] M. Joh. Willen, "Das Teusche Paradeiss in dem vortrefflichen Fichtelberg," in Archiv für Geschichte & Altertumskunde von Oberfranken, 15. Band, 1. Heft, Hsgb. von Historischen Verein von Oberfranken zu Bayreuth (Bayreuth: Th. Burger, 1881), p. 33.

[2] Ranke, History of the Reformation, II, 470.

[3] Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 109; Stein, Geschichte Frankens, II, 23.

ally by Margrave George in the presence of a notable gathering including Chancellor Vogler and Pastor Althamer.[1]

Jordan sees "the line as always to obtain qualified preachers and personnel, through investiture of seminary and cloister personnel, through university studies, or eventually even the use of duress, for the advantage of the land."[2] To attain the aim, Jordan states that it was also necessary to develop education from below, through the establishment and endowment of Latin schools. The Latin school at Ansbach had been brought into being previously, between May and August, 1528. The Council Board at Kitzingen had called George Siegfried in 1524 as Master of their Latin school. Both he and the Latin school were endowed from church monies. Crailsheim had equipped their school from church finances in August, 1528.

A number of important clergymen, pastors, and preachers from the Margravate, including Althamer, were assembled in Ansbach on 3 December 1528 by order of the Margrave George. They presented their common proposal on advancement of scholarly pursuits, solicitude for the schools, founding of a library, and the appointment of learned men in the Margravate.[3]

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 99.

[2] Ibid., I, 100.

[3] Ibid., I, 101.

Chancellor Vogler, on instructions from the Margrave, asked Brenz, Pastor at Schwäbisch-Hall, in May 1529, for an opinion on the question of the cloister reform. In his answer on 1 June 1529, Brenz included in his comments: "It is however not sufficient, that one can the entire Bible read or hear read, but that they also understand Christianity." Brenz also included recommendations that thirty or forty young boys or adolescents from the schools of the entire principality be placed in the seminaries or cloisters for instruction. Further, "that lecturers be placed in the same seminaries and cloisters to give daily lessons on speech, fine arts, theology, and jurisprudence, that in time one may see the entire principality furnished with counselors, pastors, preachers, state clerks, schoolmasters, and other authorities from the same grown-up youth."[1] Brenz concluded with a recommendation that the Latin language should be preserved.

Jordan analyzes Benz's suggestions with the following comment:

> The closing paragraph of this opinion shows however that Brenz already desired a broader reaching plan to advance the seminaries and cloisters to the category of college. He, in addition, no longer thought merely upon gymnasiums, but with actual reference to colleges with by all means three faculties: theology, jurisprudence, liberal arts and what pertains to that; medicine not being mentioned. The aim is not to qualify for a university from these colleges, but to furnish the principality with counselors, preachers,

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelahrte Bildung, I, 106-08.

> teachers, etc. The instruction will be prepared as a lecture. Particular is that the students should live in a commons.
>
> That is absolutely distinctly a university plan in a nut, yet bound in the current circumstances and closest practical aim, however still in any case a new suggestion in this direction in the Franconian lands.[1]

The Margrave obviously considered the matter important enough to ask still another authority. Perhaps the Margrave was not fully satisfied with Benz's suggestions with his strong conservatism for the old ways. Margrave George wrote Luther from the Plassenburg, 15th June 1529, and enclosed a copy of Brenz's proposals.[2] He requested Luther's recommendation for cloister reform, especially "how the confiscated convent and monastery estates could be put to the best use pleasing to God."[3] Luther delayed his answer, as he had much to do and no trustworthy messenger. He eventually secured the services of George Slagel (later Pastor at Erlangen). Luther recommended in his letter, 18th July 1529, following consultation with Melanchthon, to use the income from the convents and monasteries for the establishment of schools, particularly a college, on a proper place or two.

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 108-09.

[2] Ibid., I, 108.

[3] K. W. Aign, "Die Friedrichs-Academie zu Bayreuth," Archiv für Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Oberfranken, Hsgb. von Historischer Verein fur Oberfranken zu Bayreuth (Bayreuth: Lorenz Ellwangen, 1918), p. 1, hereinafter referred to as Friedrichs-Academie; Jordon, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 109-10; Jordan quotes the original text of Margrave George's letter to Martin Luther.

> That one learn not only the Holy Writ, but the law and a variety of arts, out of which schools one took learned people skilled as preachers, pastors, clerks, counsellors, etc., for the entire principality. The monastery and convent ground-rents should be prescribed hereto. That one should engage good learned persons with uprightness, 2 theologians, 2 jurists, 1 physician, 1 mathematician, and for grammar, dialetics, rhetorics, etc., four or five persons.[1]

Luther further advised not to establish the college in a solitary monastery but rather in a city where many students could come together and thereby stimulate their studies.[2]

Jordan interprets Luther's recommendations in contrast to the recommendations by Brenz. He states:

> He thinks even on the possibility of two colleges, but obviously not like Brenz on boarding-school like colleges, but directly on one or two universities like Wittenberg. He recommended also to turn over the wealth of the monasteries into university scholarships. It is a matter by way of a much far-reaching change and direct seizure of the convents and monasteries and about the recommendations for the founding of a genuine university.[3]

Jordan further points out that everything was in readiness from all directions for the founding of a Margravate university, and that the location should be in the capitol city, Ansbach.[4]

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 111.

[2] Aign, Friedrichs-Academie zu Bayreuth, p. 1.

[3] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 113.

[4] Ibid., I, 113.

Aign states that Luther's proposal was earnestly considered. The Margrave planned, in the same year, to establish a college in his capitol city, Ansbach, in connection with Cumbertus Seminary, already located there. Several teachers, who already held lectures for priests and canons, as well as for theological students, were designed as lecturers. The incorporation of medical and jurist chairs was also considered. Nevertheless nothing came out of the promising beginning. "It was the passive resistance of the canons, who did not want to know about the new doctrine, as well as monetary difficulties, which brought about the failure of the work after a decade of efforts."[1]

Jordan gives extensive details pertaining to the proposed plans for the gymnasium and eventual establishment of a college in Ansbach, including the founding document of Margrave George, 8 November 1529.[2] This document provides for the establishment of a new college out of the St. Gumbrechts Seminary in Ansbach and identifies prospective faculty members. The purpose is to form cloister personnel, clergy, and others, that they be useful in spiritual and world affairs in order to so further the Evangelical Faith that it would be certain not to decline. Lectures were to be given in the "Hauptsprachen und anderen Künsten" (principal languages and other arts), as well as lectures in

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[1] Aign, Friedrichs-Academie zu Bayreuth, p. 2.

[2] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 117.

Imperial Law and medicine. Jordan comments that this "deutet tatsächlich auf die Absicht der Gründung einer Hochschule" (actually points out the intention for the founding of a college).[1] Due to persistent financial difficulties in the Margravate and the dispersal during the decade of the proposed faculty members, the plans for a college at Ansbach came to an end in the year 1539/40.[2]

The attempt to develop a university in the second canonical seminary in the Margravate at Feuchtwangen paralleled in many respects the development in Ansbach. The City Council of Feuchtwangen in 1532 petitioned the Margrave to locate the proposed college in their city. Jordan states: "It is also certain that it was decided in 1539 to establish the university in Feuchtwangen, but we hear next to nothing of the carrying-out of the thoughts."[3] Aign relates that the proposal was hindered by the uneasy events of the times.[4] These were the last years of Margrave George's reign. Albert Alcibiades, at nineteen years of age in 1541, took over the reign of the Margravate in the highlands, "and with that began a time of unrest, in which we hear little of the project until 1546."[5]

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[1] Ibid., I, 180. [2] Ibid., I, 212-13.

[3] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 262.

[4] Aign, Friedrichs-Academie, p. 2.

[5] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 262.

Difficulties reached a crisis on the 30th of November 1546 and the following days when Feuchtwangen was plundered by soldiers of the Spanish Colonel Baron Egmont Buren. Karl V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, himself came to Feuchtwangen, at which time the Deacon John Dietrich, the Chapter of the Seminary, the Mayor and the City Council of Feuchtwangen petitioned him among other things for the establishment of a university. "The wish for the fulfillment of the ideas for a university was certainly in these martial moments abundantly bold, and we nevertheless must take the Feuchtwangen petition, first of all, as a symptom of the already existing plans."[1] No action was taken on the petition and this terminated the movement for the founding of the university in that location. "So the Reformation had brought as yet no university to the Margravial territories."[2]

The early years of the Reformation were fraught with a succession of politico-religious wars which repeatedly devastated the Franconian Lands. Albert Alcibiades, Der Krieger (The Warrior), Casimir's son, had reached his majority and assumed the reign over the "Highlands" in 1541. He was confronted almost immediately with the first of several wars which were to extend through his reign. He

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[1] Ibid., pp. 263-64.

[2] Aign further states: "This matter rested a century until the General Superintendent Dr. Chr. Althofer in Kulmbach seized upon it. It was during the reign of the Margrave Christian (1903-55)." Friedrichs-Academie, p. 2. Aign omits any mention of the university plans of 1594-1595 during the reign of Margrave George Frederick.

found himself captive on occasions, and eventually met his death while in exile under the Imperial Ban in 1557.[1]

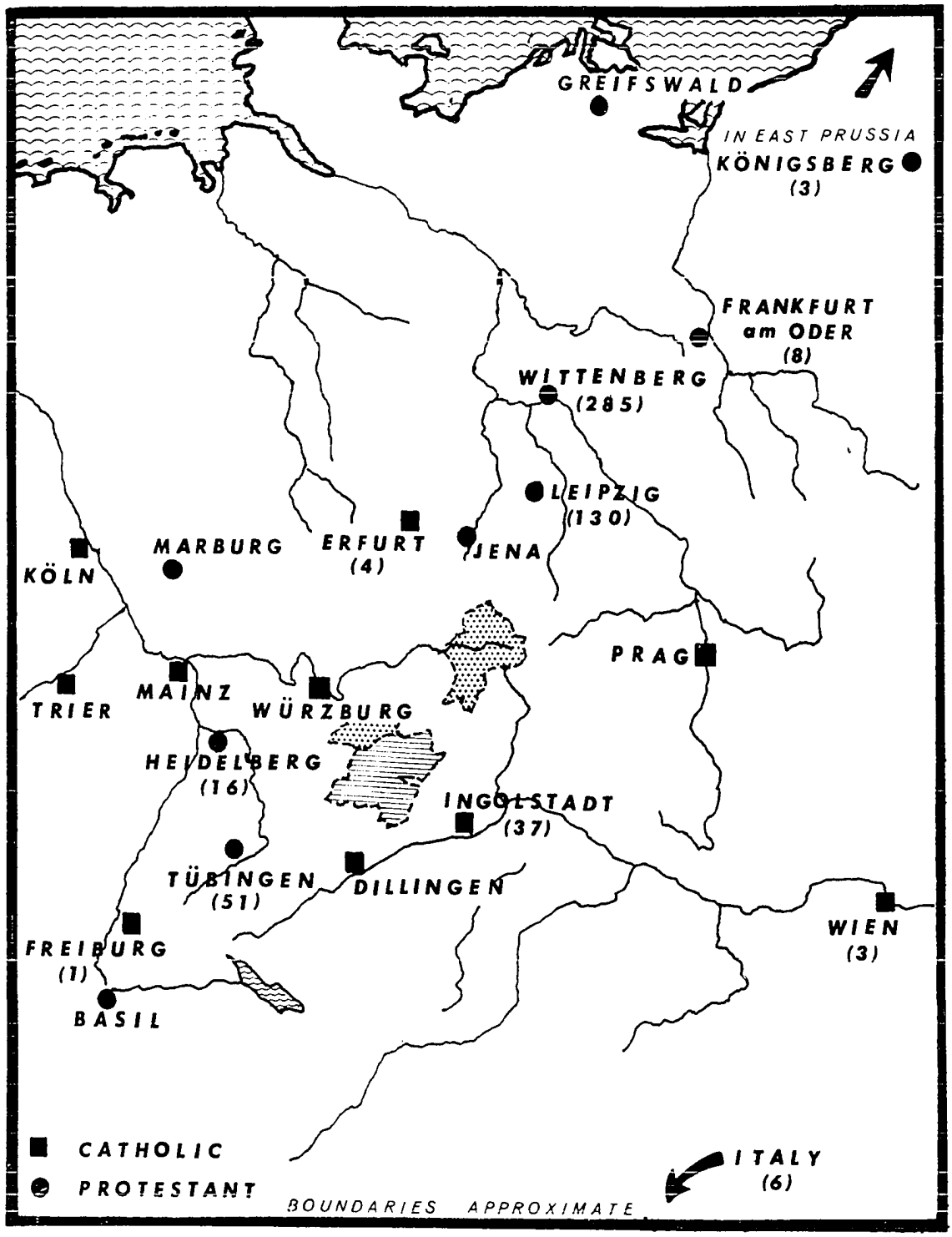
It is amazing that any thought was given to education during those years when the Franconian cities, towns, and villages were looted and burned and the land plundered throughout. It is observed that regardless of these circumstances an interest was maintained, and educational activitity did continue, although at times it was at a reduced rate.

Jordan compiled statistics on the university matriculation of students from the Margravate attending the various universities during the period 1528-1560.[2] He notes that the university enrollment from the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth declined in comparison with the preceding times, and were considerably reduced. He observes that previously the university matriculation had been principally inter-territorial and international in choice and that during the period under discussion, some universities were substantially favored, particularly from a denominational point of view. It is also noted that the enrollment was not exclusively in Lutheran universities, except for theological students. Some students of jurisprudence and medicine enrolled in Catholic universities, such as Ingolstadt and those in Italy.

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[1] Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, pp. 120-26; Friedrich Stein, Geschichte Frankens, II, 43-45, 47-55.

[2] Map 5, Margravate Ansbach-Bayreuth University Matriculation 1528-1560, infra, p. 62.



MARGRAVATE ANSBACH-KULMBACH
UNIVERSITY MATRICULATION
1528 TO 1560

MARGRAVATE ANSBACH MARGRAVATE KULMBACH

Map 5.

A comparison of the contingents at universities from the larger places during the Middle Ages and during the period 1528-1560 disclosed that they were much larger than Ansbach, Feuchtwangen, and Kitzingen in the later period. Jordan attributes the increase to the improved educational matters in those locations. He notes, however, that the enrollment from those cities were less than those from Bayreuth and Schwabach. The comparison also disclosed that the enrollments were small from a number of the average-sized places like Creglingen. Jordan comments that this condition was possibly due to variations which handicapped school matters in those locations.

Jordan considered the possibility of double enrollments and the probable enrollment from the smaller places and estimates the total enrollment during 1528-1560 to be "some 500" students. He further compares the enrollments of the late Middle Ages and the Reformation for the cities of Hof, Bayreuth, Schwabach, Kulmbach, Ansbach, Kitzingen, Gunzenhausen, Wunsiedel, and Weissenstadt, the larger towns and cities. He notes that in the last thirty-one years before the Reformation, 1486-1517, there was an annual average of 176 students from these places. In the period of unrest between 1517 and 1528, this average fell to 105 in that decade. However, the enrollment again rose in the Reformation Era, 1528-1560, to 126, a figure still not as great as that of the last decade of the Middle Ages. Considering those cities where the protestant education "with its new instruction had taken deeper

root, namely Ansbach, Kitzingen, and Hof," the average from these cities for each decade between 1486 and 1517 was 75; for the period 1517-1528 the average fell to 46; for the period 1528-1560 it again rose to 76. Jordan points out that the attendance from these three cities was higher in 1560 than in the Middle Ages. Jordan also points out that the general attendance at the German universities for each decade of the period 1486 to 1517 was an average of 20,436; for the period 1517 to 1528 the decade average decreased to 13,713; and in the period 1528 to 1560 the decade average decreased further to 8,806. It is thus noted that the general attendance at the German universities did not recover as rapidly as it had in the Franconian territories, but had sunk to one-third of the Medieval height.[1]

Jordan attributes the decreased university attendance during these years partially to the disruption of the Medieval Latin schools which had not yet begun to recover. Another factor which undoubtedly influenced university attendance from the Margravates was the Universitätsstipendien (university scholarships), which eventually were placed into ordinances and became an integral part of the educational matters. The scholarships, although in existence in the late Middle Ages as previously related, were expanded as additional funds from the cloister estates became available. Jordan reports as an example that Luther requested the Margrave to endow George Schlegel from Guzenhausen

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 333-40.

who had studied in Wittenberg since January 1529, "with a piece of the disposed prebend for his studies in Wittenberg." The Margrave, in the fall of the same year, gave George Curio of Hof, upon Luther's intercession, a prebend from Feuchtwangen that he might pursue the study of medicine in Italy. The Margravate Brandenburg chamber ordinance of 1535 placed in official form that the income from the confiscated ecclesiastical estates also should be used for the support of the students.

Margrave Albert took over the reign in the Highlands in 1541 and George died in 1543. These two events brought about a decision between the two Margravates regarding the utilization of the confiscated church estates. The Councils of both Margravates determined that the income from the Heilbronn estates in the amount of 1,000 gulden yearly would be used for scholarships, particularly universities, for both Margravates. Margrave Albert, from the year 1544, used the income from the dissolved Franciscan cloister at Hof for university scholarships. The rate was 4 to 50 florin for nobles and 2 to 40 florin for commoners, for each three years. The number of scholarships increased from year to year; in 1544 the amount was 280 florin for six scholarships, in 1546 the scholarships increased to twenty, in 1549 they decreased to ten, and in 1551 increased again to 995 florin for twenty-four students.

"The cities also soon realized their task in the advancement

of the studies."[1] A youth, Paul Eber, had asked the Council of his "Father City," Kitzingen, about a scholarship in 1532 before he went to the university in Wittenberg. The following year, 1533, Hieronyms Kumpf and his wife bequeathed 1,000 gulden with 50 florin yearly interests, with which two or three youths in Kitzingen could continue their studies. These scholarships carried an obligation that the student must serve the city of Kitzingen. The endowment was enlarged by 1553 to about 4,500 florin, which gave about 225 florin annually for each student. The city of Bayreuth as early as 1538 utilized the church endowments for scholarships for the city children with the obligation to serve the schools and church.

Jordan comments that the various scholarship acts permits "a rich enough outline picture," in order to show that "the territory and the city of both Margravates during the time of the Reformation recognized the task of financial advancement for the scholarly studies."[2]

The Beginning of a General Organization for Education in the Margravate Ansbach-Bayreuth

> The decades from the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War (1618) were the most fortunate years which were bestowed upon the German people. . . . The Religious Peace of Augsburg offered the possibility to some extent for peacable coexistence

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 321-33.

[2] Ibid., I, 333.

> for the denominations and the territories. In spite of the lasting and often sharpening of antagonisms of the denominations, these now could develop in the territories completely undisturbed, and brought about a new basis for spiritual and organizational consolidation through the Reformation Movement. The Protestant Territories created their consistories, organized more and more their church and school affairs, firmly interrelated with the state and could now also carry on endeavors, which were aimed at expansion and improvement of scholarly learning.
>
> One can also observe this development in the Margravate Ansbach-Bayreuth. The 40th and 50th years of the Reformation Century had been for both Margravates times of change, in part unrest.[1]

The difficult times under the reign of Albert Alcibiades were brought to an end by his early death in 1557. The young Margrave George Frederick, son of George, "The Devout," was four years old (1543) when he inherited the Margravate Ansbach. The territory was placed under a regency until George Frederick attained a declared majority in 1556. The two Margravates, Ansbach and Bayreuth, were united again following the death of Alcibiades, who was sonless. Twenty-one years later, 1578, George Frederick assumed the Governorship of the Duchy of Prussia, for his ill cousin, the Duke Albert Frederick.[2]

Jordan comments on the reign of George Frederick: "There may be no question, that this time, the almost half century of his reign, represents an extraordinarily diverse and fortunate development for

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 1.

[2] Ibid., II, 2; Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 127; Stein, Geschichte Frankens, II, 80.

both of the Margravates."[1] He apparently did much to improve the general conditions within his territories, particularly for education. Margrave George Frederick collected about himself and throughout his domain a group of distinguished learned gentlemen and eminent scholars to serve in his government, churches, and schools. He sent a statement of his decisions to the assembled theologians at the Synod of Ansbach on the 7th October 1556, stating the formation of the Chapter, Superintendency, and other church affairs, and also for the schools and educational affairs.

"The tone of his decision lies quite obviously on the establishment of village schools, i.e., schools in the considerably larger villages."[2] These schools were to be not merely German language schools, but also offer the Latin language and the first preparation for higher schools. Official clergy, school teachers, and learned men from the country-side were to be summoned. "It is further important that the trouble for the school and church developed on the one side in the resumption of the medieval union of the school and church, and in the placement of the pastor and school under the ecclesiastical Consistory of the Margravate."[3] Further organizational directives were contained in the Margrave's statement that the chaplains and sextons should replace any lacking of schoolmasters; the pastor should be the school

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 2.

[2] Ibid., II, 7.

[3] Ibid.

superintendent and the schoolmaster placed under him. The appointment and dismissal of the schoolmaster were to be made only with the knowledge of the Council and the wishes of the pastor. It was not designated in this statement who would appoint and dismiss the schoolmaster; however, it was probably the Margravate government through its subordinances, the chief officials, and, in cases of embarrassing conduct, even the pastor. "The statement intended then also the higher education, in that it recommended to establish some cloister schools after the Saxon model and to transform the endowed school into classical schools."[1]

The Margrave George Frederick had a series of studies conducted by various individuals and governmental councils in order to provide the basis for his decision and eventual decree pertaining to educational matters. The decree was issued on the 20th of August 1563, and established scholarships for the schools in Ansbach and Hof and for the theological students from both of the Margravates who were studying at Wittenberg. It failed, however, to provide for a genuine university or a higher school, but did provide the beginning of an organization of state-supported educational matters.[2]

Several studies, inspections, and recommendations were made during a period of more than two decades relative to the utilization

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[1]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 3-8.

[2]Ibid., II, 8-18.

of the Heilsbronn school.[1] Margrave George Frederick issued a charter for the establishment of a higher school, Heilbronn Fürstenschule, Prince's School, dated in Prussia on 19 July 1581.

The general features set out in the charter were:

> The schools should be a "Christian seperatist school," in which the students will be instructed in "God's word and proper protestant doctrine, also become educated in the languages and liberal arts, in order that when a shortage of personnel for the churches and schools occurred, a supply of learned people "with God's grace and blessings" could be collected.[2]

The Prince's School was duly opened and served the Ansbach territory for approximately 150 years by providing a flow of students to the various universities.[3]

The Margrave George Frederick enacted a Consistory ordinance on 21 January 1594, which for a century formed the basis for the church's position and regulated not only the church affairs but also those of the school. The entire educational matters were placed under the Margravial Consistory. This act completed the centralization of educational matters in the Ansbach and Bayreuth territories.[4]

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[1]Ibid., II, 19; Jordan cites Büttner, Materialien zur Ansbacher Geschichte u., 1807, I, 25-28, that a plan was fostered in 1566 for a university at Heilbronn. Jordan states that he (Jordan) does not have any documentary evidence on this statement.

[2]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 20.

[3]Ibid., II, 18-30.

[4]Ibid., II, 35-41; Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, pp. 128-29.

The University Plan of 1594-1595

A movement was under way for the establishment of a university in the Ansbach-Bayreuth territory before the Consistory Ordinance of 1594 was enacted. Thoughts were to locate the university either in Heilsbronn or Feuchtwangen. Both of these locations were abandoned when the costs of housing in Heilsbronn and the cost of provisioning in Feuchtwangen were studied. Foremost among other sites considered were Culmbach and Bayreuth.

"A denominational element also entered the consideration of the plan at this time, the thought of intercession of the conservative Lutheranism against the Jesuits on the one side, and Calvinism on the other. Of the two universities in Franken, one located at Würzburg was occupied by the Jesuits, and the Calvinists prevailed in the other, Altdorf."[1]

The provisions of this plan included the elements of a genuine university. The faculty of theology was to be formed by three professors, to which a Deacon or endowed professor of the Hebrew language, or another professor were to be added. Consideration was also given to including four special theologians. The faculty of jurisprudence would have six jurists. The faculty of medicine were allotted three professors with a total sum of 300 Gulden. The faculty of medicine should be six professors who quite properly would occupy the chairs of (1) ethics,

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 42.

(2) history, (3) mathematics, (4) poetry, (5) eloquence and oratory, and (6) Greek language. It is noted that philosophy and natural history are not mentioned. Jordan states that he does not know what opposition hindered the completion of the project nor why it was not pursued further.[1]

Centralization of Control Over the Latin and German Schools in the Margravate Ansbach-Bayreuth

There was not a common school ordinance concerning the Latin schools during the reign of Margrave George Frederick. Individual schools, however, did have their school ordinances. The Ansbach German School Ordinance was developed soon after 1552, and a second one, the Latin School Ordinance in 1573. The first published school ordinance for the Latin schools in the Margravate Ansbach was in 1692. The Ansbach Gymnasium, however, was placed under the inspection of the church authority by a school ordinance in the sixteenth century. The village schools were mentioned in Consistory ordinances through the years 1613, 1623, 1631, 1663, and 1718, progressively bringing them under the authority of the church.[2]

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[1] Ibid., II, 60-66; Jordan presents the University Plan of 1594-1595 in its original form, II, 44-66.

[2] Ibid., II, 69-70.

Thoughts on Founding a University in the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth, 1603 - 1655

"A long span separated the last reported university plans from the next which will be produced, a full half century."[1] George Frederick died sonless on the 26th of April 1603. This brought to an end the old Margravial line of the family in Franconia.[2] The inheritance reverted to the Brandenburg line of the family, and the two territories, the Highland and the Lowland, were again divided. Christian, the second son of John George, Elector of Brandenburg, received the Highlands with the seat of government in Kulmbach. The third son of the Elector, Joachim Ernest, ruled the Lowlands from Ansbach.[3] "Both of these had studied jurisprudence and history in Frankfurt a.O. and were educated princes."[4] Christian moved his residence to Bayreuth (1604), and from that time on the princes of the Highlands were no longer known as Margraves of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, but by the title "Margrave of Bayreuth."[5]

Christian with his brother, Joachim Ernest, joined the Union of Protestant Princes, which was formed on the

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[1] Ibid., II, 71.

[2] Stein, Geschichte Frankens, II, 81.

[3] Ibid., II, 447.

[4] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 71.

[5] Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 131.

> 14th of May 1608 at Ahausen (former Benedictine Abbey on the south border of the Ansbach Principality). Almost his entire reign was occupied with the horrors of the Thirty Years War.[1]

Both of the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth suffered severely throughout the Thirty Years War, as these lands lay in the paths of both the Protestant and Catholic armies. It is hardly imaginable that any thought or effort was extended to educational matters at this time because of the difficult situation which confronted these lands. However, this was not the case.

Margrave Christian, as had his immediate predecessor, gathered into his entourage a group of distinguished scholars. Foremost among these learned men was Christopher Althofer, who was born in the neighboring Nürnberg territory and educated in Jena and Wittenberg where he received his Doctor of Theology. Althofer joined the faculty at Altdorf University where he attained eminence through several religious disputations. Margrave Christian called Althofer to Kulmbach in 1644, where he became the General Superintendent of the Margravate. "In Kulmbach we encounter now the 39-year devoted work for their university."[2] Nicholas Crinesius, Privy Councillor, was next to Althofer of importance in the university plans.

A plan for the establishment of a university was outlined

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[1] Ibid., p. 131.

[2] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 79.

some time prior to 26th October 1646. The prominent features set forth were: (1) the number of professors for jurisprudence were to be three or four; (2) for the philosophical faculty there were to be five or six; (3) there were to be nine professors for logic, metaphysics, ethics, mathematics, oratory, poetry, history, Greek language, and Hebrew language; (4) provisions for a faculty of medicine; (5) the annual cost was to be 3,000 florin gold and a stipulated amount of wheat, barley, or corn, ". . . so that we find here already the tendency to reduce the enormous cost through provisioning";[1] (6) transfer of some of the scholarships was also listed; and (7) considerations were also given for the improvement of the lower schools.

The Chancellor von Freilitzsch appears to have endorsed the entire project and agreed to submit it to the Margrave. The plan was submitted to Margrave Christian in October, 1645. The Margrave answered the problem concerning the university some time before the 26th of October 1645. He expressed his approval of their efforts, but pointed out that due to the continued hostilities such an extensive project would doubtless fail and requested further planning.

Althofer, Nicolaus Crinesius, Andreas Schwalbe and Friesen submitted a protocol on the 26th October 1645, setting out in extensive detail the formation for a university. This plan enumerated the faculties and salaries which were: three theologians, four jurists, three medicals,

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[1] Ibid., II, 82.

five philosophers, and fifteen professors. This was more than that suggested by Luther in 1529. Provisions for financing were also detailed, which included among others, a tax on beer from the city and district Kulmbach. The plan was returned again in October 1646 with a request for a further testimonial. Plans were submitted, but as the financial problems were not satisfactorily solved and the ever-increasing troubles of the Thirty Years War were present as late as 1648, they could no longer win the wishes of the Margrave Christian.[1]

The Prince's School in Heilsbronn

The Consistory in Kulmbach, on 20 October 1651, had proposed and advised that the Heilsbronn Prince's School be dissolved. They further proposed to divide the income from the cloister between the two Margravates in order that the Margravate below the mountains might use their half for the improvement of the school in Ansbach, and that the Margrave Christian might use his portion to establish a gymnasium in Kulmbach. However, the difficulties of the times compelled more frugal arrangements. Thoughts were again turned toward the re-establishment of the Heilsbronn school which had been "very ravaged through the war, and for 24 years had been interrupted, shut down and fallen in ruins."[2] The opinions of the Kulmbach Vice-Principal, pub-

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 71-108.

[2] Ibid., II, 109.

lished 25 August 1654, do not mention a university plan but only to again establish an ordinary gymnasium having a lesser sphere than earlier. The school was to take in merely half the earlier number of teachers and students.

The school began again during the days between 26-31 January 1655, with two teachers and fifty students. Previously the school had had six classes, now there were only two, and the German Schoolmaster had a third. A third genuine class was added in 1658. The Ansbacher Consistory in 1658 recommended (1) a third teacher should be employed in the school, a Wittenberg scholarship recipient, as the German Schoolmaster could no longer administer these functions, and (2) each principality should send three students to the schools, for whom 600 florin would be designated.

Following the division of the common property in Heilsbronn between the two principalities in 1719, whereby the Gymnasium remained a common institution, the Margrave George Frederick Carl of Bayreuth proposed a division of the gymnasium. This was effected (1736) through the transfer of the Highlands portion to Bayreuth, Margrave Carl William Frederick of Ansbach, 1 March 1737, directed the transfer of the twenty-five Heilsbronn boarding students to the Ansbach Gymnasium, which now was improved.[1]

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[1]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 109-111.

> On the 30th May 1655, shortly after the reestablishment of Heilsbronn, Margrave Christian has died. Before him (1649) the Chancellor Feilitzsch had died, who had identified himself with such great warmth for the university plan; Crines (1659) and Althofer (1660) departed from this life. With that, the eager promoters of the university plans passed away. Their inspiration was not lost. The future would show it.[1]

Education in the Margravate Bayreuth 1655-1735

"A new time began after the Thirty Years War had finally been brought to a settlement, also a new time in the fields of educational endeavors."[2]

The period following the end of the Thirty Years War was marked by an intensive devotion to sustaining life and eventually to the recovery of the land. Jordan characterizes it as "a time of work in greater faith."[3] The efforts of all people were turned to the great task. The Prince, his council, and officials gave the guiding principles

> The learned men, pastors, and the schools working in their seclusion with their schoolmasters, who were poorly rewarded and lesser esteemed, were outstanding. They helped the German people again to decency and order, and have blessed the spiritual bread, which can again strengthen them.[4]

The authorities and public interests pushed the demon for education into

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 111.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

the foreground. "The pedagogics were again closely allied with piety, were both restored."[1]

The Latin school could no longer fulfill the needs of these times.

> One saw also, that the Latin school only too poorly prepared one for the university. . . . Attention in Bayreuth was turned toward the gymnasium illustre. . . . The Knight's Academy came forward to undertake what appears impossible for the university. . . . One needed its training for the practical life. . . . The old schools could only provide dried-up dusty wisdom, which was not suitable for the practical life.[2]

Christian Ernest, the grandson of Christian, succeeded to the reign of the Margravate Bayreuth upon Christian's death in 1655. Christian Ernest's father, Erdmann August, had passed away previously in 1651. As a youth of eleven years, Christian Ernest was placed under the guardianship of "The Great Elector" of Brandenburg and the Margrave Albert of Ansbach. He received his first educational instruction in Halberstadt and Berlin. He then attended Strassburg University and went on the Grand Tour to Rome. He became of age in 1661, and "soon found his entire life consumed in foreign war service."[3] He was appointed Commander of the Imperial Armies in 1707.

Christian Ernest interspersed his military efforts with personal directions and activities for the improvement of his homeland.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., II, 112.

[3] Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 132.

He welcomed and provided a haven for a group of French Huguenots following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Most of these refugees settled in and about Erlangen, the home of the future university. He had a new city constructed adjacent to Erlangen which was named Christian Erlangen, since referred to as the "new city." Later, in 1700, he had a castle constructed in the center of the new city, which today serves as the university administration building.[1]

Christian Ernest was not unmindful of the need for education for his countrymen. He established the Gymnasium illustre Christian-Ernestinum in Bayreuth by a writ of 29 June 1664, as the people in the highlands did not have a genuine gymnasium. The gymnasium at Hof, which had been founded by the city council, was changed in form to a Prince's state school by the Margrave George Frederick in 1577-1579. The new school in Bayreuth was definitely an institution of higher learning above that of the Latin school. One could matriculate in the upper class who had completed work in the lower class in logic, rhetoric, ethics, politics, physics, and metaphysics. "It is the system of the medieval triviums and quadriviums."[2] The higher class also required disputation every eight to fourteen days, classes in rhetoric and logic, and extensive study in history. The study of history reflected the personal

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[1]Ibid., pp. 132-33.

[2]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 115.

inclinations of the Margrave, and included church history, world history, and emphasis on the old and new history of Germany. The border between the gymnasium illustre and the university was not clear. One, who completed this course of study in the higher school, was expected to enter government office in conformity to the old tradition. Theology and philosophy were offered in shortened courses.

Christian Ernest issued a decree on 15 August 1687 granting the right to the French refugees in Erlangen to establish schools for their use. However, no action was taken on this matter.

The first institution of higher learning in Erlangen was an academy which was founded through the efforts of Baron Christopher Adam Gross of Trockau to Zeulenreuth, Trendel and Trautskirchen, who had been appointed High Governor of the French colony at Neustadt-Erlang (New City Erlang) in 1692. The thoughts of the founding of the academy appear to have come from Dr. Martinus Lutherus Fasterling from Nürnberg. Baron Gross opened an Auditorium publicum in Erlangen on 17 July 1696, "an institution about which we do not know much."[1] It reached its end by 1702, probably on the opening of the academy.[2] Aign relates that Baron von Gross had established a Ritter-akademie (Knights Academy) in Erlangen, intended for the training of

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[1]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 118.

[2]Ibid., II, 115.

noble youths. It was opened on 2nd of January 1702 in a new building, and was financed from the personal funds of the Baron and an annual donation of 1,500 florin from the Margrave. "With this creation, the thinking turned again to a proper university."[1] The Margrave Christian Ernest in an undated letter to King Frederick I of Prussia wrote ". . . resolved in the name of God to endow a formal university out of the local Knights Academy," and to support it from the territorial revenues to an annual amount of 6 to 8,000 florin.[2] The academy soon reached full bloom and attracted many foreign students. However, it encountered financial difficulties and began to decline. The annual 1,500 florin donation from the Margrave was not sufficient additional support to maintain the institution. Margrave Christian Ernest died in 1712. Baron von Gross took more from his personal fortune to maintain the school and stipulated in his will that his fortune should be given to the institution upon the death of his wife.[3]

George William, Christian Ernest's son, succeeded to the

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[1]Aign, Friedrichs-Academie zu Bayreuth, p. 4.

[2]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 122-25. Jordan presents the original text of this letter from Margrave Christian Ernest to King Frederick of Prussia.

[3]Aign, Friedrichs-Academie zu Bayreuth, p. 4; Georg Schanz, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Universität Erlangen," in Archiv für Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Oberfranken, Band XV, Nr. 3, Hsgb. von Historischen Verein für Oberfranken zu Bayreuth (Bayreuth: Th. Burger, 1883), pp. 98-99, hereinafter referred to as Universität Erlangen.

reign of the Margravate Bayreuth upon his father's death (1712). His teachers were the professors Hagen and Schard from the Bayreuth Gymnasium. Learning was difficult for him in his youth, therefore he had not attended a university.[1] He was interested in all things military. Like his father, he served in military campaigns for Austria and the Empire as a cavalry commander.[2] "His reign exhibited a great love for splendor; expensive buildings were erected; great sums were used on a large and gorgeous court, although he held for simplicity on the part of the commoners. . ."[3] He abolished the influence of pietism, and as a model of the absolute ruler, his moral faults had an effect in Bayreuth as "an unrestrained and lascivious tone marched in."[4]

He expressed a friendly care toward educational matters and became the second endower of the Christian-Ernst-Gymnasium in Bayreuth, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary during his reign in 1714.[5] The Heilsbronn Cloister estate was divided between Ansbach in Bayreuth in 1719. George William used his portion for scholarships and other school affairs.[6] Margrave George William, toward the end

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 125.

[2] Stein, Geschichte Frankens, II, 131.

[3] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 125-26.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Fries, Studien-Anstalt in Bayreuth, pp. 30-31.

[6] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 126.

of 1715, decreed the further payment regularly of the 1,500 florin for the support of the academy, appointed new teachers, and made the noted historian, Johann Heinrich von Falkenstein, the Vice Director. Many noble sons again came to the academy, especially from Silesia. "It was not peaceful under Bornier, the director at that time. Among the teachers there was always bickering and biting."[1]

An opinion signed in the same year (1715) by a "J. Freher" suggests that the academy be raised to university status. Conditions in the school changed rapidly, and by the following year difficulties were encountered again due to the lack of proper preparatory training of the students. A Latin Seminar was added (1717) as a basic remedy, Aufbau (entrance hall). The Latin Seminar was essentially a Latin school. The seminar had seventy students in 1717 and the academy had experienced a new decline and had only twelve enrolled. Not a single noble enrollment more was recorded in 1718.[2]

There exists a petition to the Margrave George William in 1718 from the "Town Fathers" of Erlangen, in which they requested that the Knights Academy be changed to a university, and that it be located in their city. The reasons stated for the establishment of the university are presented more explicitly and "straight-forward" in this

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[1]Georg Schanz, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Universität Erlangen," in Archiv für Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Oberfranken, Band XV, Nr. 3, Hsgb. vom Historischen Verein für Oberfranken zu Bayreuth (Bayreuth: Th. Burger, 1883), p. 99.

[2]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 126-28.

document than may be found elsewhere. It is presented for that reason and follows.

> Since His Serene Highness from the beginning of his prosperous reign has made felt his inclination to bring the town of Erlang[1] into better renown, there has arisen the encouragement to present this petition. With all humility and conscious of being completely unable to judge whether it should not be the most practicable and perhaps easiest way, for the purpose, to change the academy into a university.
>
> 1. This town is thought to be the most convenient by all those who know what the establishment of a university requires. Besides this, all the necessary requisites are already existing there. So the work in sight could be done with more facility, because
> 2. the auditorium and other indispensable academy buildings are already at hand, not to speak of the fact that they really are much better shape than in many renowned universities.
> 3. It has been confirmed that there is plenty of opportunity to house a considerable quantity of students in this town's private dwellings. In addition, the citizens of the town are delighted about it and show themselves willing to provide food and other commodities to the future students.
> 4. It would be of advantage to create new housing for students.
> 5. this would attract businessmen and other foreigners to the town and give them the possibility of building in the town and give them the possibility of building in the vacant places that are left.
> 6. This again would cause a flourishing of commerce and trade, which always has been the purpose for the establishment of Erlang.
> 7. There are no more than two universities closer than Jena and Strassburg, a distance of sixty miles, i.e.,

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[1]The location of the present city of Erlangen has been referred to through the years as Erlang, Christian-Erlang, and Erlangen. Erlangen originated from the knightly family Erlangen who built a fortress castle in the area of the "old city." The name Christian-Erlang originated from the new city which was erected by Margrave Christian for the French refugees.

> Altdorf and Tübingen, which are poorly frequented. Whereas in Saxony over an area of only a few miles, there has been established four universities whose attendance taken together and summed up would amount to 12,000.
>
> Not to mention all the other advantages, the entire venture is of little expense. Besides the admitted 1,000 Imperial thalers, which graciously have already been granted. There are costs to meet that arise from the employment of jurists and other professors who have taught cum applausu at other universities. This adds up to 3,000 Imperial thaler a year. This is quite considerable. However, if these costs are compared with the resultant income from the institution, it can justly be stated that there is little or no proportion between expense and profit. This would be that great. The establishment of the University of Hall in Saxony might serve as an example. The initiation of it required 18,000 fl., but now brings in 45,000 Rthlr. to His Majesty in Prussia. For it is well known that students carry a lot of money into the universities and that, on the other hand, they take away very little with them. All these advantages are not as much when compared with the imperishable glory and fame such a work would bring His Majesty with posterity. To the town concerned, it would bring God's Blessing and great prosperity. It would be then without any doubt that those beneficiaries who receive the scholarships at the rate of 100,000 Gulden on account of their belonging to the nobility, could easily be drawn to Erlang.
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> The authors of this petition have in mind only glory and renown for His Highness and the common good. They live in subservience to the hope that their proposal, put forward with the best intentions, will be received by His Highness' Grace, and hope he will take it into his enlightened considerations.[1]

The Margrave received the petition favorably but, due to the splendid household which he maintained, his financial situation could not bear the expense which would be incurred by the project.[2]

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[1] Schanz, Universität Erlangen, pp. 99-101.

[2] Ibid.

A proposal was made the same year to change the Academy into an excellent gymnasium. The Margrave also received this proposal favorably. However, as with many previous suggestions nothing materialized. Baron Gross offered a new plan shortly before his death, 21 February 1724, but could not win the approval of the Margrave. The expense of supporting the Knights Academy was too much for such a small territory; further, it was impossible for the nobility to support their sons at such an expensive school which accomplished so little.[1]

Margrave George William died sonless in 1726 and was succeeded by a distant cousin, George Frederick Carl. He attended the University of Utrecht, 1704-1708. As a man he was quiet and retired, morose, and strangely unbalanced of character. He was devoted to Pietism, but still he was a drunkard and divorced his wife, whom he persecuted with quenchless hatred because she supposedly had been unfaithful. He showed little energy during his reign and withdrew from those affairs toward the end of his life.

"The Erlangen problem in all its hopelessness soon confronted him. He benevolently assured the professors of the continuance of their salaries on the 7 August 1727."[2] He must have learned, as he busied himself with the school affairs, that there was not a single

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 129-130.

[2] Ibid., II, 130.

academy student present, nor a professor who did not also teach in the seminar. In addition, the seminar was also in a bad condition. Jordan states that he has not learned of any inspection of the seminar with a view towards its improvement, and "it certainly needed a stronger hand than George Frederick Carl had."[1] He did, however, take appropriate action in regard to the scholarships. He prohibited (1727) the granting of scholarships to those under twelve years of age. This action was followed (1730) by further improvements in the dispensation of the scholarships.

The Margrave founded the Collegium Georio-Fridericianum in Neustadt-on-the-Aisch (1730). That same year, George Sarganeck, a Silesian pietist, was brought to the school. Under a later superintendent, Lerche, the school gained an international fame for its physical and natural science collections.

It was decided in 1735 to establish a Chancellory Library to which the ecclesiastical and government officials must contribute. However, it remained for the Margrave's son, Frederick, to carry out the plans under his reign.

George Frederick Carl died the 17th of May 1735. Aign states that the last words of the dying Margrave, "'Alas, especially

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[1] Ibid., II, 131.

embrace the schools, love God, that surely those in the land will improve,' made a deep impression on his son and successor Frederick."[1] Jordan writes that the Margrave on his deathbed recommended to his son that he establish a university.[2]

Education and the Founding of Friedrichs Universität, 1735 - 1743

Frederick, the oldest son of George Frederick Carl, succeeded his father in the reign (1735-1763). His reign, described as one of great splendor,[3] was also the reign in which all the attempts, disappointments, failures, and frustrations of two centuries eventually culminated in the establishment of a genuine university of their own for the Margravate.

Jordan states that Frederick's father permitted him only a modest education. He was sent to Altdorf at the age of seven, but was brought home as his father felt that it was difficult to maintain him there. Frederick attended the university at Geneva for eleven years, and then toured France and Holland. Jordan remarks that ". . . still with his knowledge it appears that he was only moderately cultured, . . ."[4]

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[1] Aign, Friedrichs-Academie, p. 5.

[2] Jordan, Reformation and Gelehrte Bildung, II, 132.

[3] Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 134.

[4] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 142.

He married Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, Royal Princess of Prussia, the liebling Schwester (favorite sister) of Frederick the Great, 20 November 1731, approximately three and one-half years prior to his reign. "He showed himself in his reign to be not even an important and prominent man, but still a friendly and kind prince. He extended an active interest in the arts, was morally weak, and not reluctantly permitted himself to be led by superior personalities."[1]

He was confronted with educational matters immediately upon assuming his new duties. An improvement was made in the Volksschulen (elementary schools). There remained the ever-present "insoluable" Erlangen problem. Frederick's first action, in an attempt to solve the problem, was to combine the Knight's Academy as a Classis selesta with the highest classes of the seminar, and at the same time add a lowest class. The Margrave, in his consideration of the number of secondary schools in the territory, determined to close the Erlangen Knight's Academy, and sent a letter to that effect to the Prefect von Montmarin in Erlangen, 15 December 1741, converting it into a regular common school.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ernst Mengin, Die Ritter-Academie zu Christian Erlang: Ein Beitrag zur the Geschichte der Pädagogik Erlangen (Erlangen: Verlag von Palm & Enke, 1919), pp. 54-55; Friedrich Wilhelm Rücker, "Geschichte des Gymnasiums zu Erlangen," in Jahresbericht von der Königl. Studienanstalt zu Erlangen in Mittelfranken (Erlangen: Kunstmann'schen Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1845), pp. 18-27.

The gymnasium in Bayreuth also had its troubles, principally the control of the young noble students. The Margrave determined to change the gymnasium Christian-Ernestinum into a new academy in Bayreuth, and to transfe the emouluments of the former Erlangen academy to the new one. His intention was announced in the above mentioned letter of 15 December 1741 to Erlangen. The Director of the new institution was Daniel de Superville, Acting Privy Councillor, Director of Mines. He had come from Berlin in 1739 as the personal physician to the Margravine.[1]

Margrave Frederick issued a patent for the new school, Friedrichs Akademie, on 14 March 1742. The patent provided for the combining of the gymnasium Christian-Ernestinum with the new institution. The purposes for the establishment of this institution as set forth in the patent are of interest as they demonstrate reactions to the educational and other social conditions of the period.[2] The patent states in substance as follows: (1) There has been a failure to consider that the numerous gymnasiums endowed within the territory are not achieving their directed purpose; (2) The plurality of gymnasiums in the territory are more detrimental than productive; (3) Some of the students do not

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[1] Fries, Studien-Anstalt in Bayreuth, pp. 32-35; Aign, Friedrichs-Academie, pp. 6-12; Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, pp. 141-43.

[2] Margraf Friedrich von Bayreuth, Patent für die neue Akademie zu Bayreuth, 14 Marz 1742, Universitäts-Bibliothek Erlangen, 15 (Nr. 51); hereinafter referred to as Patent die neue Akademie.

received a sufficient foretaste for the higher disciplines; (4) The combining of languages and other propaedeumatum (preparatory studies) has caused a neglect of the latter as well as the former; (5) Most of the young people out of ignorance, obstinancy, presumption, and principally out of preference for a freer way of living, after attending a gymnasium a couple of years, hasten to the university, where they fail in the highest principiis (ranks) and resources and in attaining to the higher faculties; (6) When this occurs, the parents bear unnecessary and ill-used expenses; (7) We get back many ignorant persons and inefficient Subjecta in our lands, also indeed churches, schools, and Dicasteria (courts) become burdened with them.

The patent continues with a statement that it is resolved to take action about the abuse and decline. It is intended to establish an academy in the capitol city, Bayreuth, which will be beneficial to the parents, and the students will devote themselves to their Studiis. The academy will not solely, regularly, and thoroughly dociret (teach) and take advantage of all higher disciplines and sciences, but also the French language and Exercitia (exercises) as riding, fencing, dancing, etc., in order that young people of noble and non-noble positions may become basically excoliret (cultured). It will not be necessary to attend and complete all their Studio at a university, except for those who wish to acquire an academic degree or to gain special instruction under an illustrious scholar.

The document also states that the institution is named Friedrichs-Academie, and that Daniel de Superville will be the Director. It also lists the following positions of professors and Exercitien-Meister to be appointed: (1) two professors of theology, (2) two professors of jurisprudence, (3) one professor of medicine, (4) one professor of oriental languages, (5) one professor of eloquence and poetry, (6) two professors of philosophy and mathematics, (7) one professor of history, (8) one professor of Greek language and antiquity, (9) one lecturer of western languages, (10) one horseman, (11) one fencing master, and (12) one dancing master.

The Margrave reserved to himself the right to appoint the Director from among his Privy Councillors, who would have direct access to the Margrave on important matters. The inspection of the academy was removed from the State Council for all time. The Director had (1) the superintendency over the entire university matters, (2) supervision of the professors and the conduct of the students, especially the children from the Margravate, (3) responsibility for the professors' proposals and the review of the publication of writings, and (4) to bear on the whole the welfare of the entire institution.

The Council of Professors was to choose each year at Easter a Rector from their midst, alternating among the faculties. The Rector was to be in custody of the matriculation and the university seal. He was charged with examining, with the assistance of two professors,

those who wished to matriculate, reading the statutes of the institution to those who had qualified, and to giving them good admonition. The Rector was charged with the conduct of the students. Two Assessors appointed by the Director were to report to the Rector once weekly to dispose of the unimportant matters and smaller discipline matters. The entire Council had to decide on coarse excesses and important occurrances. The Rector was to hold an oration after the Easter holidays and at that time introduce his successor as well as any new professors.[1]

The statutes of the institution also present interesting insight to the times.

> They exhort to piety, to obedience and respectfulness toward superiors, and to courtesy towards everyone. They warn against misuse of swords in the auditorium or on the house grounds, against brawling and dueling, against nocturnal noise making and shrieking. Precipitating brawling would be punished with 24 hours incarceration on bread and water; for deliberately brawling one would be expelled. They forbid carousing, especially by arriving and departing by festive marching, or drunken frolicing or gambling in a public house or bar. They should not take lodging in an inn, and should methodically pay their rent and ruin nothing.[2]

The new academy at Bayreuth was inaugurated on 21 March 1742. It was soon observed that Bayreuth was not the fitting place for a university. This city, in which a brilliant court was in its full bloom,

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[1]Markgraf Friedrich von Bayreuth, Patent die Neue Akademie; Aign, Friedrichs-Academie, pp. 8-9.

[2]Aign, Friedrichs-Academie, p. 9fn.

did not have the necessary lodgings for the students. This situation brought about friction between the student body and the courtmen and officers. A marked decline in discipline occurred, including a brawl of some significance between the students and city authorities. The situation did not improve. A conflict existed between the Director, Superville, and the Senate regarding the authority over the Academy. In addition, there was resentment on the part of the Consistory Council because they had demanded the Director of the Academy be one of the Lutheran faith, and a Reformist, Daniel de Superville, had been appointed. These circumstances were proving the situation in Bayreuth untenable. Plans were initiated towards the transfer of the Academy from Bayreuth.[1]

An Imperial Charter for a university in the Margravate Bayreuth was finally granted by Carl VII, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, 21 February 1743.[2] This charter granted the same rights and freedom as those possessed by the universities at Ingolstadt, Köln,

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[1] I. G. Veit Englehardt, Die Universität von 1743 bis 1843: Zum Jubiläum der Universität 1843 (Erlangen: J. J. Barfus'schen Universitätsbuchdruckerey, 1843), pp. 5-6; hereinafter referred to as Universität.

[2] Carolus VII, Kaiser Heiliges Römanisches Reich, Bestätigungsurkunde die Erichtung der Universität, 21 Februar 1743, Universitäts-Bibliothek Erlangen, 16 (Nr. 52), Hereinafter referred to as Bestätigungsurkinde der Universität.

Heidelberg, Halle and Göttingen. The professors were given the authority to teach and to conduct all academic business, especially the right to grant academic degrees, baccalaureos, magistros, licentiatos, and doctores. In addition, the faculty could elect from their midst a Rector and Chancellor, provided the Margrave did not reserve this right for himself and his successors, in which case they could elect a Vice-Rector and Vice-Chancellor.[1]

The Margrave quickly followed the receipt of the Imperial Charter with an enactment, 13 April 1743, of a new charter for his higher institution. This charter provided for the transfer of the institution to Erlangen, and the name was to remain Friedrichs-Academie. However, this document is considered the founding charter for the university.[2] It broadened the authority of the Director, and placed the Rector under the college board. The institution was granted independent jurisdiction and the right of asylum. The faculty was set as follows: (1) the faculty of theology was to have two Professores ordinarii and one or two Extraordinarii and one Philosophis, (2) the faculty of jurisprudence

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[1]Carlos VII, Bestätigungsurkunde; Aign, Friedrichs-Academie zu Bayreuth, p. 23.

[2]E. Sehling, Daniel von Superville: Das Kanzeleramt an der Universität Erlangen (Leipzig: Verlag von Voit & Comp., 1893), p. 20 fn, hereinafter referred to as Superville. "The hohe (higher) school was still called 'academie'; the title 'university' is first found after the transfer to Erlangen. Compare the Founding Documents of 13 April 1743 and 27 September 1743; . . ."; Aign, Friedrichs-Academie, p. 27, "So then the Margrave decreed through the Patent of 13 April 1743, the transfer of the university to Erlangen. . .;" trans. and emphasis mine.

was to have two Professores ordinarii, (3) the faculty of medicine, two Professores ordinarii, and (4) the faculty of philosophy, four Professores ordinarii. The decree also covered the contingency should it become necessary to increase the number of chairs in the faculty.[1]

The Friedrichs-Academie was closed in Bayreuth, 4 July 1743, with a ceremony and a festive procession. The professors and students were transferred to Erlangen, the books and collections were conveyed there.[2] The inaugural date for the opening of the university, 4 November 1743, was set by decree on 19 August 1743.[3]

Wilhelmina, the Margravine of Bayreuth, donated her personal library to the new university, 30 August 1743.[4]

A second edict about the rights and establishment of the university, 27 September 1743,[5] all the special privileges and amnesties which the founder had previously granted his school, were restated. The Margrave also announced that henceforth he would hold the position of Rektoris magnificensimus and that the position would be retained by

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[1]Aign, Friedrichs-Academie, p. 27.

[2]Ibid., p. 28.

[3]Sehling, Superville, p. 28.

[4]Wilhelmine, Markgräfin von Bayreuth, Schenkungs-Brief, 30 August 1743, Universitäts-Bibliothek Erlangen, 15 (Nr. 51).

[5]Friedrich, Markgraf von Bayreuth, Edikt über Rechte und Begnadigung der Universität, 27 September 1743, Universitäts-Bibliothel Erlangen, 15 (Nr. 51).

his successors. He appointed Superville anew as Directori et Cancellario.[1]

The Margrave proceeded to appoint the appropriate professors for the four faculties: theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy. The faculty for the fall of 1743 was formed as follows: (1) theology, three; (2) jurisprudence, five; (3) medicine, five, and (4) philosophy, three, and in addition shared one from theology and two from jurisprudence.

The Friedrichs-Universität was formally inaugurated on 4 November 1743, and was attended by the Margrave Friedrich and Margravine Wilhelmina, both of whom participated in the three-day festivities.

Summary

This investigation of the development of education in the Margravate Bayreuth discloses that there existed from a relatively early time an interest in scholarly learning within the territory. This interest, as related by Jordan, stemmed from the court, the monasteries,

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[1] Aign, Friedrichs-Academie, p. 27.

[2] Justizrat Dr. Stein and Lehrer L. Miller, Die Geschichte von Erlangen in Wort und Bild (Erlangen: Junge, 1898), pp. 130-36, hereinafter referred to as Geschichte von Erlangen; Ferdinand Lammers, Geschichte der Stadt Erlangen: von Ihrem Ursprunge Unter den Fränkischen Königen bis zur Abtretung an die Krone Bayern nach Urkunden und Amtlichen Quellen (Erlangen: J. J. Palm und Ernst Enke, 1834), pp. 108-18; hereinafter referred to as Stadt Erlangen; Englehardt, Universität, pp. 9-12.

the church in general, the cities, and the nobility.

It is evident that the Franconian Hohenzollerns from the time of Frederick I, Elector of Brandenburg, possessed an appreciation for learning. The number of margraves who attended a university is remarkable considering the customs of the times. Probably more remarkable is the active interest taken by many of these margraves in the scholarly life and in the improvement of education in their lands, even in the face of the adversities of repeated wars which affected their lands.

It is also observed that the educational pattern in the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth followed the general educational pattern that was found in the other Germanic states. Of particular interest is the founding of a Latin school in Ansbach as early as 1058, and the establishment of the "Humanistic School" at the fortress-castle, Plassenburg in Kulmbach, in 1456-57.

An observation of interest is the increase of elementary and preparatory schools throughout the territory. The centralization of control over the German and Latin schools, and eventually the village schools tended under the circumstances to raise their standards and thus prepared a greater number of students capable of attaining admittance in the higher institutions.

The margraves, almost without exception, collected about themselves a number of learned scholars, both from within and from

without their lands. These gentlemen were active in the propagation of education throughout the territory, through both church and state incentives. It is noted that those scholars who were members of the court but not directly connected with educational responsibilities also participated in the planning for and promotion of educational development and expansion.

The university attendance during the Middle Ages may be considered extensive for so small a state and in respect to the customs of the time. The decrease of university attendance during the troubled times of the early Reformation (1520-1560) does not appear to be unduly large in relation to the adjacent areas which were also afflicted with the various wars in central Germany. Jordan's comparison of decade average attendance figures at the universities for the three margravate cities, Ansbach, Kitzingen, and Hof, shows an increase by 1560 above that of the Middle Ages. He also notes that the general attendance at German universities did not recover as rapidly as it had in the Franconian territories, but had sunk to one-third of the Medieval height.

The incentive for the establishment of a genuine university in the margravates is generally credited to Martin Luther's letter (1529). It is observed, however, that Albert Achilles approximately fifty years earlier had left a recommendation to his son, John Cicero, to establish a university in his territory.

Margrave George the Pious earnestly considered Luther's

recommendations, but his endeavors failed due to financial difficulties and the plague of wars. It is further noted that from the time of this attempt at establishing a university through the succeeding reigns, there was almost continuous planning and repeated attempts were made towards the founding of an institution of higher learning until the final success in 1743. Many of these earlier movements which failed in the attempt to establish a genuine university did culminate in some cases in the founding of a higher school, i.e., academy, gymnasium, or similar institution. The founding of these substitute institutions provided another step in the furtherance of education.

It appears that the advancement of education at one level, i.e., elementary, preparatory, or higher, served as an incentive towards the expansion and extension of education at the other levels. The activities in the promotion of education by the educated gentlemen at court may be indicative of the force of education. The increase in educational opportunities and the improvement of educational standards at all levels, particularly the constant striving for the founding of a genuine university, also may be considered in some measure a result of the force of education itself.

One may contemplate the thought that education, like a living species, propagates itself.

CHAPTER III

EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ECONOMY OF THE MARGRAVATE BAYREUTH

General Economic Conditions and Policies of the Era

The German economy in the first half of the eighteenth century reflected the interaction of various social forces which bore the imprint of the previous two centuries of devastating wars. The absolute state evolved during these conflicts and had emerged by the beginning of the eighteenth century in complete control of the life in the individual states, especially within the boundaries of the area referred to at that time as Germany. The economy of these individual states was dictated by the absolutist rulers and followed in a general manner either identical or very similar courses.

The economy of the German States had lapsed into a decline following the discovery of the new trade routes during the fifteenth century, and the subsequent transfer of the trade centers from the German cities, especially from Augsburg, Nürnberg, and the Hanseatic cities. Day points out that it was not only the opening of the new trade centers that contributed to the decline of German trade, but the combi-

nation of several additional subsequent factors: the internal dissension inside the cities and between the cities of the League; the Hanseatic League's monopoly in the Baltic was broken in 1535 by Denmark and Sweden; and the political weakness of the Germanic States, which had dissipated their resources in their quarrels with one another.[1] Further, Germany was segmented into almost 300 sovereign petty principalities,[2] and this represented almost as many toll barriers to the impediment of commerce. Conditions deteriorated even more as a result of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) which Day estimates cost Germany as much as two centuries of development, and caused its commerce to remain depressed throughout the eighteenth century.[3]

The Germanic states during the seventeenth century and the greater part of the eighteenth century conducted their commerce under the principles of mercantilism as did the other great powers of Europe.[4] The basic aim of mercantilism is to sell more abroad than is imported and is conducted under the government's direction. Its procedures varied somewhat in the different countries, and from one century to

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[1]Clive Day, A History of Commerce (New York: Longmans, Green & Co,, 1916), pp. 252-55.

[2]Reinhardt, Germany, I, 290.

[3]Day, History of Commerce, pp. 256-57.

[4]George Rudé, ed., The Eighteenth Century, 1715-1815 (New York: Free Press, 1965), p. 10.

another, but the basic aim remained unchanged. In Germany it was called camerlaism, and in France, colbertism.[1] Economics in Germany continued to be a part of political theory as it had not become a systematic branch of knowledge. Cameralism as developed in Germany was centered around a public official, a camerlaist, who advised the sovereign on fiscal matters and customarily directed those matters in conformance with the decrees handed down by the sovereign.[2] The exponents of cameralism saw it as a means for recovery from war damages and the enhancement of the state.[3]

The Margravate Bayreuth followed the general economic pattern set by the larger German states, particularly that of its close relative, Prussia. Dörfler relates in his discussion of the economics of the Margravate Bayreuth:

> In the scope of economics the state aligned itself to the theory of mercantilism which attempted to achieve the welfare of the people through utilization of the home production, and in commerce with the exportation of all sorts of things and moreover the lowering of imports.[4]

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[1]Harry Elmer Barnes, An Economic History of the Western World (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942), pp. 27-28.

[2]Eduard Heimann, History of Economic Doctrines: An Introduction to Economic Theory, Galaxy Books (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 28.

[3]Herbert Heaton, Economic History of Europe (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1936), p. 386.

[4]Hans Dörfler gen. Six, Aus der Geschichte der Landwirtschaft von Oberfranken (Bayreuth: Julius Steeger & Co., 1962), p. 12, my translation; hereinafter referred to as Geschichte der Wirtschaft.

A close look at the economic status of the Margravate Bayreuth during the first half of the eighteenth century and the period of time immediately preceding is necessary to determine what that economic situation was, and to determine the possible influence it may have had upon the Margrave in arriving at the decision to establish the university. Unfortunately, precise statistics pertinent to the question are not available. Many of the records of the Margravate Bayreuth were destroyed or scattered during the frequent wars which plagued this territory.

Fortunately, a few works by contemporary writers still exist and scholars during the intervening years have produced studies which give a rather vivid picture of the different facets of the economic conditions at that time.[1]

Economic Assets of the Margravate

In examining the early eighteenth century economy of the Margravate Bayreuth, first consideration is given to the source of the assets possessed by the Margravate. The territory embraced by the Margravate was not a contiguous area.[2] The principal portion was

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[1]Dörfler-Six, Geschichte der Landwirtschaft, pp. 13-14; Hellmuth Rössler, "Geschichte Entwicklung von 15. Jahrhundert bis 1815," in Franken, Hsgb. von Conrad Scherzer (Nurnberg: Verlag Nurnberg GmbH & Co., 1962), II, 71-110, hereinafter referred to as Geschichte Entwicklung.

[2]Map 6, Margravate Bayreuth Physical Features, infra, p. 106.



MARGRAVATE BAYREUTH PHYSICAL FEATURES

HIGHLANDS:
- ❶. FICHTEL MOUNTAINS
- ❷ FRANCONIAN SWITZERLAND

LOWLANDS:
- ❸. REGNITZ VALLEY
- ❹. AISCH VALLEY

Map 6.

situated in the northeast corner of Franconia in the highlands of the Fichtelgebirge (Fichtel Mountains) and the Fränkische Schweis (Franconian Switzerland). A smaller portion was located in the lowlands of central Franconia, extending southwestward from the Fränkische Schweiz across the valley of the Regnitz River. A third area lay along the valley of the River Aisch separating the Margravate Ansbach and the Bishopric Bamberg. In the smaller area, in the vicinity of and including the town, Streitburg, lay in the Fränkishe Schweiz on the Wiesenthal, completely surrounded by the territory of the Bishopric Bamberg. In addition, three small areas, Eschenau, Osternohe, and Hoenstadt, lay within the territorial limits of the Imperial City, Nürnberg. Also the enclave Neustadt-on-the-Kulm lay within the Bavarian area of the Pfalz. In a similar manner, there were enclaves of independent territories within the Margravate lands, principally that of the Imperial Voigtland Knighthood.[1]

The exact boundaries and area of the Margravate are difficult to determine prior to the transfer of the territory to Prussia in 1791. The Margravate Bayreuth at this time consisted of seventy-two square German miles, and equivalent to approximately 1,524 square U.S. miles,[2] an area only slightly larger than that of the state of Rhode

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[1] Dörfler-Six, Geschichte der Landwirtschaft, p. 13.

[2] Stein, Geschichte Frankens, II, 392.

Island, and less than that of Delaware.

The soil and climate of the highlands and the lowlands are very dissimilar. The area of the highlands about Bayreuth and Kulmbach is mostly hilly, stony, and clayey, while the lowlands are flatter, sandy, chalky, and nitrous. Summer and the harvest are eight days earlier in the low flat lands than in the rugged highlands. "Often the ground from Hof to Streitburg, a track ten miles long, was still frozen and snow-covered, but below Streitburg it had thawed already and was green."[1] Only high small beds with deep furrows were used in the cultivation of the highlands, because of the very deep snow and the flood waters which washed away the top soil. Dörfler writes: "Notwithstanding, the land is fertile and produces, in addition to wine and salt, everything in the way of food and the necessities of life in the highlands."[2] In the lower area, the pattern of cultivation followed that of Lower Saxony and the Rhineland. There one needed only to harrow and scythe for the production of grain in comparison to the need to "plowunder" the seed in the highlands.

The principal cultivated crops were wheat, corn or rye, barley, oats, whortleberry or buckwheat, potato, cabbage, roots of fibre plants, garden produce, and fruit. Spelt (a wheat grown principally

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[1] Dörfler-Six, Geschichte der Landwirtschaft, p. 18.

[2] Ibid.

in Germany and Switzerland) was cultivated more in the lowlands, and a flour produced from it was exported through the highlands to Saxony and Hamburg. Dörfler relates: "Both winter and summer wheat was distributed overall and probably was exported to foreign lands."[1] Much of the barley went to the breweries; however, the husks were generally returned for cattle feeding. The difference in the soil and climate of the two regions provided for adjustments between the dry and wet years, and "there were no crop failures throughout the lands, not only by the cultivated fields but also the meadows."[2]

The cereal yield was seldom a sixth of the crop, and in many places in the highlands not even a third. It was much better in the lowlands. The cause for the inferior yield in the highlands was not the soil, nor the peasant's lack of understanding of tillage, but principally because of the almost daily compulsory labor, both hand labor and with teams required by the manorial household and building projects.

Margrave Christian Ernst (1655-1711) introduced the potato into his lands, and among the German princes.[3] The potato or "earth-apple" was utilized not only as food for people, but also as feed for hogs, chickens, and ducks.[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 19. [2] Ibid., p. 18.

[3] Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 133.

[4] Dörfler-Six, Geschichte der Landwirtschaft, p. 19.

Hops cultivation was developed after the citizens gained the right to brew. Previously hops were imported from Bohemia; however, following the development of hops gardens in the Margravate, a foreign market was developed with their former supplier, Bohemia. Flax and hemp were also produced. The best flax was used for the home spinners and the domestic mills which were in their infancy. This saved the importation of foreign yarn. A surplus was exported to Bamberg and Nürnberg territories. The seeds from the flax and hemp were processed into oil for illumination and wagon grease. Garden and fruit culture also flourished, but not in sufficient quantity for the home consumption, so that imports of these products were secured from the neighboring Bishopric Bamberg. Horse breeding developed into an important business and brought considerable money into the land. Cattle breeding tended primarily to the raising of oxen which were required for soccage labor and fulfilled all the work in the fields and on the meadows. Bee culture approximated 3,000 hives, but there was little yield. Fish culture was extensive in the large ponds, rivers, and brooks. The principal fish were pike, carp, and perch. There were also in the lowlands graylings, eels, and crabs. Pearl fishery in the brooks about Berneck, Marktleuthen and Hohenberg were under the control of the sovereign.

Forests which earlier had covered about one-fourth of the country were still in great volume, but declining because of the great

amount consumed by the building of farm houses, bridges, piers, and fences. Other extensive consumption of wood was in the forges, blast furnaces, and glass factories. Wood was also exported in quantity along the river courses as far as Holland. Moreover, improper management of the forests also added to their decline.[1]

One of the most important commodities or assets in an economy is the producer, in this case the peasant. The peasant during this era was generally bound in serfdom. "At that time the situation of the 'lowest position,' i.e., the peasants' was not exactly admirable."[2] Dörfler quotes Meyern's "information of the Political and Economic Administration of the Principality Bayreuth," 1780, in a description of the life of the peasant in the highlands:

> The peasant lives simply and frugal. Milk, potatoes, kraut, barley-meal dumplings, dried peas and lentils, oat grits, and cheese are the main foods. Garden produce seldom comes into the kitchen, and home butchered products are very little known. One finds no smoke house, for one has an aversion for smoked bacon. Butter is seldom eaten with bread. One buys fresh meat for the family only at high feasts, and sometimes on Sunday. Normally water is the drink. One gets a krug of brown hops beer from the tavern only at times of heavy work and the harvest. One seldom drinks brandy, and coffee is not brought into the peasants' farmsteads. Women and maid servants go mostly barefooted. Only by going to the city does one see

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[1]Otto Brandt, Staat und Kultur der fränkischen Markgrafschaften im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen (Erlangen: Verlag Palm & Enke, 1932), p. 19; hereinafter referred to as Staat und Kultur.

[2]Dörfler-Six, Geschichte der Landwirtschaft, p. 14.

shoes. The men frequently wear boots without socks and the shoeshop carefully covers the soles with nails.[1]

Rössler, in his description of the highlander peasants, states: "The peasants remained on the nobles' property in an apparent benevolent serfdom, hard and frugal. One describes them as peaceful, hardworking and sober, in addition indeed highly self-willed, superstitious and adhering to the old times." He describes the lowlander as "not so humble as the highlander, but rather proud and irritable, less diligent, and exhibited sociability, extravagance and helpfulness, and was more open-minded and witty."[2] No accurate population figures can be given, even today.[3] The first genuine census (1754), eleven years after the founding of the university, places the population at 105,000 without the knight's farmers.[4] Brant states: "The inhabitants consisted substantially of peasants, who lived in a primitive-patriarchal mode. The degree of freedom of the peasant, however, even now fails close scrutiny."[5]

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[1]Ibid., p. 22.

[2]Helmut Rössler, Fränkischer Geist--Deutsches Schicksal: Ideen-Kräkte-Gestaten in Franken 1500-1800, Band IV Die Plassenburg Schriften für Heimatkunde und Kulturpflege in Ostfranken, Hsgb. im Auftrage des Vereins "Freunde der Plassenburg E.V." durch Stadtarchiv Prof. Dr. Georg Fischer (Kulmbach: Verlag E.C. Bauman KG., 1953), pp. 70-71, my translation; hereinafter referred to as Fränkischer Geist.

[3]Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 14.

[4]Rossler, Fränkischer Geist, p. 76.

[5]Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 14.

Although the margravate was primarily an agricultural state, "the rough heights of the Bayreuthian Fichtel Mountains offered to eager energies the opportunities for the treasures of the earth."[1] Fuckner relates that Goldkronach on the western slope of the Fichtel Mountains was the center of gold mining, and the prospectors' bases were located at Goldberg, Goldmuhl, Zoppaten, Brandholz, Degmann, Röhenhoff, and Föllmar. The deposits however were depleted by the fifteenth century and the miners were forced to clearing agricultural lands or to migrate.[2]

Louis XIV, King of France (1643-1715), revoked (1685) the Edict of Nantes, which had permitted freedom of worship within certain prescribed limits. The revocation marked the beginning of extremely repressive measures against the protestants. Their worship was forbidden, and their church buildings were demolished. Protestant ministers were forced to leave the country within fifteen days, leaving behind any child over seven years of age. Any other French protestant caught attempting to leave was subject to a sentence of the galleys.[3] These harsh measures accelerated their migration.[4] Some 400,000 of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Helmuth Fuckner, "Erdgeschichte und Landschaftkunde," in Franken: Land, Volk Geschichte, Kunst und Wirtschaft, Hsgb. von Conrad Scherzer (Nürnberg: Verlag Nürnberg GmbH & Co., 1962), I, 178.

[3] Knapton, Europe, II, 338.

the million and a half Huguenots who had been living in France in 1660, escaped at the risk of their lives in the decade before and after the revocation.[1] The Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640-1688), through his Edict of Potsdam, invited the French refugees into Brandenburg. Some 20,000 settled in the Hohenzollern territories.[2] Margrave Christian Ernst, like his cousin, the Great Elector, gladly granted refuge to the French Calvinists, to whom he opened a place in Erlangen, the site of the future university in the Bayreuthian lowlands.[3] The French refugees in Erlangen soon rose to a certain prosperity through their stocking, glove, and hat factories. However, the desired good French financiers, whose preference was England and the States-General, were not attracted to the Margravate.[4] Weiss, in his history of the kid-glove industry in Erlangen, presents some statistics on the number engaged in some of the industries in Erlangen during the period under discussion. He shows for the year 1723 two Masters and one to three Journeymen were engaged in the kid-glove industry. The same year there were (1) two French white

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[1] Will and Ariel Durant, The Story of Civilization, Vol. VIII: The Age of Louis XIV (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), pp. 72-73.

[2] Hajo Holborn, A History of Germany, Vol. II: 1648-1840 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 23.

[3] Stein, Geschichte Frankens, II, 130.

[4] Rössler, "Geschichte Enetwicklung," in Franken, II, 98.

leather dressers, (2) five German and two French hat makers, (3) sixty-three German and ninety-five French stocking workers. The figures had increased by 1751 to (1) five Masters in the glove industry, (2) five French white leather dressers, (3) eighteen German and five French hat makers, (4) 102 German and forty-seven French stocking workers.[1]

In addition to the industry located in Erlangen, there were also in the margravate marble and porcelain works in St. Georges; textile manufacture in Hof, Wunsiedel, and the capital city, Bayreuth; and the manufacturing of mirrors, glass, potash, and iron products in various towns of the margravate. The mulberry tree had been introduced for the use of the silkworm culture. Brant writes: "The entire factory and manufacturing system of the margravate was in conformity to the principal of mercantilism under state patent and in part completely monopolized."[2]

Transportation must be assessed in any evaluation of the economic status of an area. It can be a definite asset or a liability to the internal movement of persons and distribution of products, as well as in the movement of goods for export. As related previously, water

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[1]Anton Weiss, Geschichte der Erlanger Glacéhandschuhfabrikation: einer von der Hugenotten nach Deutschland gebrachten Industrie (Mindelheim: Druck der Alois Facler'chen Buch- und Akzidendruckerei, 1909), pp. 20-21.

[2]Otto Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 20.

transportation was used for the movement of woods to Holland and stone products to Turkey.

One might imagine that the roads of this area would have been improved to a considerable degree, as they had served as the principal trade routes from the south (Italy and particularly Venice when it was at its height as a trade center) to the north of Germany. They still served as the principal routes from South Germany, and the east-west routes between the Lowlands on the English Channel and central Europe.

Some rather vivid descriptions of the conditions of the roads, not only of the Margravate Bayreuth, but also in the neighboring territories, are given by Margravine Wilhelmina in her "Memoirs."

The Margravine's wedding trip from Berlin to Bayreuth, a distance of approximately 220 U.S. miles by present autobahn, required twelve days' travel. Numerous delays were occasioned by snow and the coach breakdowns. She writes of the trip:

> I arrived safely the same evening at Closterzin, which is the first stage. The second was not so fortunate as the first. The coach broke down on my side: two loaded pistols, and two heavy trunks, which they had fastened there, I don't know why, fell on me without doing me the least harm. . . . The Margrave carried me over a field covered with snow; he froze as he walked; and my shoes were frozen to my feet. . . . After some time the coach was repaired, and we proceeded on our journey. [1]

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[1] Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, Princess Royal of Prussia, Margravine of Baireuth, Sister of Frederic the Great (London: Cox and Bayles, 1812),

Of the trip between Leipzig and Hof, she wrote:

> I set out at length to pursue my journey, which passed well enough, with the exception of the fears which I entertained at times, from our approaches to rocks and precipices. The roads were abominable, and although the cold was excessive, I preferred walking to the chance of being overturned.[1]

On a trip from Bayreuth to Berlin in 1733, which she had intended making in five days, she did not arrive at Hof until eleven o'clock the first evening. It was only a distance of about twenty-eight U.S. miles. At one station the postmaster begged her not to proceed as it was getting dark and the route passed through a heavy woods "where people were daily being robbed and murdered, . . ." They had torches with them, but unfortunately, they went out as they entered the woods; however, they did pass through unharmed. On the return trip to Bayreuth, she relates that the coach overturned and she received scratches about the face and several contusions about the head.[2]

The following January (1734), enroute from Bayreuth to Ansbach, before arriving at Bairsdorf, the Margravine encountered more travel difficulties and relates:

II, 4-5; hereinafter referred to as Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina.

[1]Ibid., II, 4-5.

[3]Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, Memoirs of Wilhelmine, Margravine of Baireuth, trans. by H.R.H. Princess Christian of Schleswig Holstein, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland (London: David Scott, 1887), pp. 268-69; hereinafter referred to as Memoirs of Wilhelmine.

> In passing over a frightful precipice, the fore wheel went out of the track, and we should have been overset, if my heydukes had not held the coach by the hind wheels. The Margrave la Marwitz and my governess got out with difficulty, as a rock would not allow the door to be completely opened. My servants, imagining that we had all got out of the carriage, let go of the wheels. Fear gave me strength and agility: I sprung at one leap out of the carriage, but my feet slipped, and I fell under it the moment it started to move. La Marwitz and a Prussian officer who followed us, laid hold of my dress, and extricated me, otherwise I would have been crushed to death. As I was very frightened, they gave me some wine to recruit my spirits; after which we continued on our journey.
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> A thaw had come on the preceding night. The sun began to give way to darkness, to speak in the language of romance, and we had a river to pass. This river was frozen over; but we had scarcely begun to cross it, when the ice broke, and the horses and coach stuck fast. We were extricated by means of ropes, and with the utmost precaution, otherwise we should infallibly have been drowned. [1]

Such road conditions as described by the Margravine surely were not of a quality to provide adequate means for transportation of merchandise, or enhance the promotion of development of industry and commerce.

Demands on the Margravate Resources

In considering the economic status of an area, it is necessary to investigate the demands made upon the available resources and to balance one against the other. The financial strain upon the resources

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[1] Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, II, 182-83.

of the Margravate had been of considerable proportions and duration prior to the reign of Frederick, the founder of the university.

Brant asserts that it is not his intention to argue against the idea that the economic and commercial policy of the Margrave was definitely an honest endeavor to serve his subjects' welfare, as was repeated in numerous decrees. "However, at this time the pretentions of a magnificent household and the ambitious desire for gorgeous buildings, a well-known passion of the then princes, and the furthering of arts and sciences, in the doing decidedly failed as a 'Mäcenatentum' (maecenas, benefactor)."[1] Rössler writes that mercantilism was the password of the economic policy.

> The prince no longer strove after 1550 in developing cameralism, to carry on an economic policy, which covered the need of the princely household and administration of the state alone through increase of the income value of the princely crown lands, domainds, and regalia.[2]

Rössler differentiates between the meaning of the terms "cameralism" and "mercantilism."[3] He writes: "While cameralism had tried to lift up the economic strength of all classes from the noble to peasant and townsman, mercantilism had governmental goals."

Rössler describes these governmental goals:

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[1]Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 20.

[2]Rössler, Geschichte Entwicklung, p. 98.

[3]Ibid.

> The treasury of the princes and his states should be filled with precious metal: to that end only the development of state industries and the furtherance of their export was important, not only the stoppage of importation, which could injure the industry of the land and for all the manufacturing of the states.[1]

The passion for the building of magnificent palaces and public buildings, the keeping of a splendid court, and luxurious entertainment was not an innovation of Margrave Frederick and his consort Wilhelmina. His predecessors had expended tremendous sums and incurred staggering debts in the renovation and expansion of existing palaces and the construction of new ones. The fortress palace, Plassenburg at Kulmbach, was repeatedly subjected to attack and destruction, followed by reconstruction, improvements, and enlargements. Durant relates that "the Margrave of Ansbach-Bayreuth[2] spent 237,000 florins ($30,000,000) on his Plassenburg Palace, in one of the poorest principalities in the Empire."[3] The Plassenburg was again rebuilt by Margrave Christian (1603-1655) following its destruction in the Margravian War. Christian removed his residence from the Plassenburg in 1604 to Bayreuth, where he occupied himself with the renovation and new construction of the "Old Castle."[4] Margrave Christian was succeeded

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[1] Ibid.

[2] George Frederick (1557-1603).

[3] Will and Ariel Durant, The Story of Civilization, Vol. VII: The Age of Reason Begins (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), p. 549.

[4] Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 130.

by his grandson, Christian Ernest (1655-1712), whose almost entire life was spent in foreign war service. However, he built a new city, Christian Erlangen, for the French Huguenot refugees colonized at Erlangen. He also found time to construct the "Castle Church" in Bayreuth. In addition, the construction of the palace in Erlangen (now the Administration Offices of the University) was begun by Christian Ernest, but remained to be finished by his son, George William (1712-1726). His financial difficulties drove him into alchemist adventures. One Baron Cronemann was "conspicuous through brass" and was elevated in 1679 by the Margrave under the title "Supreme President." Eventually after seven years, the fraud was exposed and he atoned for his offense on the gallows.[1] George William, in his short reign of fourteen years, was the founder of Georgenvorstadt, a suburb of Bayreuth, the builder of the pleasure palace Eremitage on the outskirts of Bayreuth,[2] as well as the Orangerie, Riding Hall, and Theater in Erlangen. This construction in addition to other extravagances by "the gay and music enthusiast" created additional indebtedness, to already extremely high debts.[3]

Margrave George William died sonless (1726), so the Mar-

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[1]Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, pp. 130-33.

[2]Stein, Geschichet Frankens, II, 131.

[3]Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 74.

gravate passed to the George Albert collateral line of the Hohenzollern family, in the person of George Frederick Carl. Previously, his father, Christian Henry, had entered into an agreement with King Frederick of Prussia in 1703 (at a time when it appeared most unlikely that the line of succession would pass to the George Albert line of the family) that the line of succession would revert to the primary (Prussian) line of the family. The agreement was signed and sworn to by Christian Henry and his two sons in 1704.[1] The remuneration is stated by the Margravine Wilhelmina in one of the manuscripts of her "Memoirs" as being 400,000 thalers, and a regiment for each of the sons.[2] In another manuscript of the "Memoirs," the Margravine describes the remuneration as "a considerable pension and a regiment for the second of his sons. After long preliminaries the treaty was concluded, and the two eldest sons of the unfortunate Henry were sent to study at the University of Utrecht. On their return, they found their father on the point of death, and their family disconsolate because the conditions of the stipulation had been left unperformed, and two-thirds of the pension deducted."[3] Later,

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[1]Rössler, Frankischer Geist, p. 74.

[2]Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, Memoiren der Königlich Preussischen Prinzessin Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine, Markgräfin von Bayreuth Schwester Friedrichs des Grossen: Vom Jahre 1709-1742 (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Barsdorf, 1892), p. 177-78; hereinafter referred to as Memoiren der Preussischen Prinzessin.

[3]Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, Memoiren von Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine Markgräfin von Baireuth Schwester Friedrichs des Grossen vom Jahre 1706 bis 1742, trans. by Th. Hell (Braunscweig:

supported by the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, they succeeded in getting the treaty cancelled and the right of inheritance restored. The terms of the agreement were that "George Frederick Carl promised to pay to the King an annual sum of thirty thousand gulden, or a lump sum of five thousand gulden, '5 tonnen gold'."[1] Shortly thereafter, the Margravate devolved to Prince George Frederick Carl, "who found everything in great confusion; many debts, little money, and a corrupt administration."[2] C. Meyer describes Margrave George Frederick Carl as "a sullen humored, outwardly thrifty man, who knew how to unite a vast pleasure for the drinking cup to Pietistic trends."[3] Rossler relates that he attempted to reorganize the finances and to raise the economy.[4] The Baron von Pöllnitz, the "German Casanova." wrote of Margrave George Frederick Charles:

> . . . an act of generosity that perhaps is not to be paralleled, and which I relate to you as the most Authentic Testimony that can be of his good Nature and Integrity. His predecessors had left an empty Exchequer and a great many debts, and the Margrave, at his accession to the Regency, was obliged to pay the King of Prussia 26,000 florins (many a

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Verlag Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1845), pp. 294-95; my translation.

[1]Edith E. Cuthell, Wilhelmina, Margravine of Baireuth (London: Chapman and Hall, 1905), I, p. 46; hereinafter referred to as Wilhelmina.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 134.

[4]Rössler, Frankischer Geist, p. 74.

year's income) upon the conditions that His Majesty would renounce any Pretensions he might have to the Margravate by virtue of the Resignations of all Right to the Succession which had been made by the Margrave of Culmbach, his father, in favor of Frederick I., King of Prussia.

To raise this sum on people already overburdened by the enormous taxes was to seek their ruin. The Margrave, in pity of their miserable condition, chose rather to borrow this money in the State of the Circle of Franconia at great interest; when he found himself in peaceable Possession of his Dominions by this payment made to the King of Prussia he undertook to pay off not only his own, but the debts of his Predecessors. To enable himself to do this, he began by turning off his Court, kept but a small number of Counsellors and gentlemen, and disbanded 3,000 men of the troops which the late Margrave kept in pay to no purpose.

He reduced his table to the greatest frugality; his clothes were plain, and he avoided magnificence and gaming. Some time after, he made another reform in his House and kept up but a very small number of Domesticks. He established a council of Regency, and, to save expenses which his rank as a Sovereign would have engaged him in whether he would or not, he left his Dominions and went to live incognito with the Hereditary Prince, his son, at Geneva. I believe that both of them are actually at Montpellier. He is resolved not to return to his dominions till all his debts are paid off. Meantime his subjects wish for his return with impatience, for has such a kindness for them, and governs them with such mildness, that they look on him as their Father and Benefactor. This retirement of the Margrave from the Splendour of Sovereignty is more to be commended because 'tis absolutely voluntary; he was not at all obliged to pay the debts of his predecessors, for they were of such nature as not to be ranked among the debts of government. Nevertheless it was a pleasure to do it, he chose rather to abridge himself of the charms of sovereignty than that people, whom Faith in the Government had made them part with money, should have these debts. Such a glorious action as this, is in my judgement equal to the Laurels of twenty victories: This was owing to his virtue, whereas Victory is generally the consequent chance and Fortune.[1]

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[1] Cuthell, Wilhelmina, I, pp. 235-36.

The Margravate heir apparent, Frederick, was married on Tuesday 20 November 1731, to the Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia, daughter of King Frederic William I, the liebling Schwester (favorite sister) of Frederic the Great. A month following the wedding ceremony, the Princess Wilhelmina upon questioning learned the terms of her marriage treaty. Wilhelmina enumerates the terms of the treaty in her Memoirs:[1]

> The marriage treaty contained the following articles. The King lent the Margrave of Baireuth 260,000 thalers, without interest, to pay his debts. After two years had elapsed, he was to commence repaying the sum in instalments of 2500 thalers. This was the great mark of favour promised me. My dowry was 40,000 thalers, to which the King added 60,000 thalers of his own free will in order to make good what I had lost by giving up my claims to my mother's fortune. My jointure amounted to 16,000 thalers, and our joint income with which to meet our household expenses, etc., was 14,000 thalers. Of this last sum 2,000 thalers were for my own use, out of which I had to pay all salaries, so that I could really dispose of only 1,200 thalers for my private use. My dismay is easily to be understood.[2]

Frederick, the founder of the university, began his reign on the 17th of May 1735. "The new Margrave and Margravine succeeded to a mass of debts and difficulties. . . . Money was so short that the Margravine, herself, had to defray the expenses of the Ministers sent

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[1]Markgräfin Wilhelmina, Memoiren der Preussischen Prinzessen, I, 205-06.

[2]Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Wilheline, pp. 210-211.

to Berlin and Denmark."[1]

Writers agree that Frederick's reign was one of splendor, extravagance, and debt. It could hardly be considered otherwise, as the physical evidence, in the nature of the magnificent buildings and parks, remains intact today. Stein writes:

> His (George Frederick Carl) son Crown Prince Frederick, 1731, had married at Berlin the oldest daughter of King Frederick William I of Prussia, Wilhelmina, and through her the princely household experienced under Frederick the most splendid time. . . . She caused indeed an expense, which did not correspond to the scanty income of the small land. . .[2]

Brandt's comments upon this subject are:

> The earlier margraves, especially Christian Ernest and George William have here in Bayreuth laid the foundation for courtly culture; built the Eremitage, the Palace Zoo, Himmelskron, and St. George. Those parts which were planned by Decker and Rantz are accomplishments of unusual originality. . . . The French architect, St. Pierre, through the construction of a great new opera house; through enlarging and beautifying the Eremitage, whereby he skillfully used possible ways and means from nature, at the same time for the fountain; and especially through the grandiose creation of the new residence, had without doubt first of all made unperishable the recollection of the brilliant time of the Bayreuthian Court, which has acquired generally a permanent worth about the present day fashioning of the City of Bayreuth.[3]

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[1]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 5-6.

[2]Stein, Geschichte Frankens, II, pp. 132, 170.

[3]Brandt, Staat und kultur, p. 22.

Rössler sees the influence of the Enlightment and the French Spirit reflected in the activities of the Margrave Frederick and Margravine Wilhelmina:

> The new Margrave Frederick (1735-67) in Altdorf and Geneva had gone over from paternal Pietism to the Enlightment, and from this his cheerful life emotional temperament was just as on wings, as his wife Wilhelmine, the spirited-intriging sister of Frederick the Great. So they both went various ways, the French spirited woman and the strong, zestful Margrave, the aim for them both the improvement of Bayreuth, the city as well as the territory, the foremost expression of their princely desires. When for that purpose the little court was expanded splendidly, when Bayreuth was adorned with a wreath of pleasure castles. So one energetic with that and by that also the lands culture and economy, which were increasingly commercial, were monopolized by the state. Who summoned Italian and French artists for the adornment of the castles, to transmit not only a wealth of arts and accomplishments to the land, also would establish drawing and sculpturing academy, after the model of Berlin and Paris, for the teaching of the land's children.[1]

Meyer gives an equally interesting and interpretive description of the spirit of Frederic's and Wilhelmina's reign:

> His son and successor Margrave Frederick . . . has become well-known in the history of the Bayreuthian lands, especially however, in his capital, through his love of splendor, he expressed particularly in a series of majestic buildings. His household was one of the most luxurious and extravagant of the 18th century. Bayreuth teemed under his reign with Italian and French architects, painters, stucco workers, stone cutters, stone markers, paperhangers, chefs, gardeners, barbers, etc. A new exciting opera house was built, whose equal in Europe is looked for, and is still today the wonder of foreigners. Abilities of the first degree, as Grassi and of the Turkotti and Gueri,

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[1]Rössler, Fränkischer Geist, p. 75.

> worked therein; the French comedy consisted of a troupe assembled in Paris; in the Ballet, names shone like Balbi and Bigatti. After the burning of the Old Palace, a new magnificent building was erected after the model of Versailles (1753), a wreath of pleasure-seats (Eremitage, Sanspareil) in likewise luxurious style surrounded the Residence. And all this from a land not excessively rich by nature, covered with a population of less than half a million. Chamber Moors, court Turks and court Cossacks were not lacking in the dazzling city. Margravine Wilhelmina, the oldest daughter of King Frederick William I of Prussia and the favorite sister of her great brother Frederic, shared and assisted the inclination of her husband for pomp and grandiose living.[1]

Further information relative to the theater, ballets, musicals, operas, and other court entertainment will be presented in more detail in a later chapter pertaining to the court life.[2]

The financial situation was in a constant state of disorder and the purse depleted. The Margravine relates in her Memoirs that when her father, the King, requested her to travel to Ansbach prior to a visit to Berlin, she lacked the necessary finances, having "exhausted my purse for the prince, and nobody would lend me." She eventually secured 2,000 crowns from M. de Voit, "which he borrowed in his own name."[3]

Financial matters reached a crisis in 1739, a not unusual

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[1]Meyer, Geschichte der Burgrafschaft, pp. 134-35.

[2]Infra, pp. 206-207.

[3]Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, II, 71-72.

state of affairs. Frederick had appointed Ellerot, his late father's secretary, as his secretary. He was a man supposedly well acquainted with the affairs of the country. Upon assuming his duties as secretary, he found all the departments, especially the finances, in great disorder. M. de Dobenek, in charge of the details of finance, was dismissed at the direction of the Margrave, who placed the margravate finances and the privy purse directly under the supervision of Ellerot. He devoted considerable attention to the finding of financial resources, revived considerable claims which he was able to collect and increased the support of the expenses. He rendered considerable services, both in internal and external affairs, to Margrave, who appointed him his referendaire intime (confidential secretary).

"The ministry cried out loudly against this innovation, which was clipping their wings, and depriving them of part of their authority." General animosity developed toward Ellerot and resulted in the Margrave using rather harsh words to the ministry. Soon after, word was being passed that persons in office were not being paid, and that two and three quarters years pay was due them. Upon the recommendation of Wilhelmina's personal physician, Superville, a Berliner, Hartmann was brought in to take over the finances. "Hartmann confirmed the public rumors and assured the Margrave that his finances were in the most terrible confusion, and that a half year's arrear was due all the persons in his service." It was further alleged that Ellerot

had been selling offices to the highest bidder.

Ellerot learned of the accusations and personally appealed to the Margrave, protested his innocence, and begged for a full investigation into the affair. The Margrave immediately appointed a four-man commission, who absolved Ellerot. "His antagonist was sent to the fortress (Plassenburg)."[1]

To continue an enumeration of the extravagances and the financial difficulties disclosed in the investigation would be superflous for the purpose of this study. It suffices to say that the financial troubles were not disposed of prior to the termination of Frederick's reign, as extensive construction and the keeping of an extravagant court continued unabated.

Summary

The foregoing investigation of the early eighteenth century economy of the Margravate Bayreuth discloses that it reflects the interaction of various social forces dominant in the era of absolutism, and was in conformance with the general economic pattern of the other Germanic states, i.e., mercantilism.

The economic assets of the Margravate are disclosed to be primarily agricultural, the productivity of which varied between the

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[1] Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, II, 220-223.

two dissimilar areas--the highlands and the lowlands--of the territory. These areas provided a balance of products and a substantial variety, at least for home consumption, except for garden and fruit products. Surpluses available for export were few with the exception of some wheat and hops. In addition to these two crops, the export of horses brought considerable money into the land, and at time, large quantities of wood was exported as far as Holland.

The producers of the income, the peasants, existed in the lowest position, generally bound by serfdom. The peasant lived a simple frugal existence and subsisted almost exclusively upon only that which he raised. Accurate area and population figures are not available; however, a fair estimate is that the Margravate approximated the area of the State of Rhode Island, and had a population of slightly above 100,000.

Recovery of mineral resources was slight; however, quarrying of stone provided employment for "a few hundred persons," and stone products were exported as far as Turkey.

In addition to the above recounted productivity, there was a budding industry, centered primarily in Erlangen (the future home of the university), where the French Huguenot refugees had introduced the making of gloves, hats, and stockings. There was some production of porcelain, textiles, glass, mirrors, and other products at various locations throughout the Margravate. All industry was "under state

control and in part completely monopolized."

The demands upon this "land not excessively rich by nature, covered with a population of less than half a million, did not correspond to the scanty income of the small land," continued throughout several reigns including that of Frederick, the founder of the university. Excessive construction of castles, pleasure seats, parks, public buildings, as well as the maintenance of an exquisite court forced the land further and further into debt. The demands far exceeded the assets.

This investigation does not profess to be a complete audit of the assets and expenditures; however, it suffices to show the indications of the need for adjustment and reform, a need for trained personnel, not only in all phases of production, particularly at the managerial levels, so that there might be economical management and increased production from the land; but also in finance, that there would be a wiser dispensation of the available monies, and a stricter control and accounting of expenditures.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY AS SOCIAL FORCES AFFECTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRIEDRICHS UNIVERSITÄT

Religious Influence in the Development of Education in the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth in the Pre-Reformation Era

The two social forces which influenced education the most throughout history were probably philosophy and religion. Formal education in Germany had its beginning, as related in Chapter II, during the early Middle Ages when Christianity was introduced into Germany by Wynfrith (Saint Boniface), the "Apostle to Germany." Boniface personally established, with the help of Karlmann (Carloman) (?-747),[1] the Bishoprics of Würzburg and Eichstadt (741). Numerous cloisters were immediately established throughout western and southern Franconia by the Benedictines, among which were the cloisters at Ansbach (748), Feuchtwangen (817), and Kitzingen (745).[2] The Bishopric Bamberg

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[1] Karlmann, eldest son of Karl Martell, as Mayor of Austrasia ruled Austrasia and the German duchies. He maintained the close relationship of his father with Boniface.

[2] William Kraft, "Geschichte Frankens," in Franken, Hsgb. von Conrad Scherzer (Nürnberg: Verlag Nürnberg GmbH & Co., 1959), I, 381; hereinafter referred to as Geschichte Frankens; Mattheus

was established through the efforts of King Heinrich II (Henry II), 1007. A considerable number of new cloisters were established during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries throughout the territory that was to become Hohenzollern Franconia. Noted among these cloisters were: Birkenfeld (12 C); Heilsbronn (1132); Himmelskron (1279); Langenzenn (13 C); Műnchaurach (1035); Műnchsteinach (1102); and Riedfeld (11 C).[1]

The church held a monopoly of education and book-learning for centuries throughout the Middle Ages.[2] Two aspects of the domination of education by the Church, which presupposed an afterlife and was based upon transcendentalism, are apparent.

> . . . Firstly, general education, comprising the moral and intellectual culture of the whole community, including the training of the youth, was of an exclusively religious and ecclesiastical character; it was education by the Church and for the Church--not for this life, but for eternity. Secondly, the clergy were the only class provided with special educational facilities, with public institutions for moral and intellectual training. The education given and received by the regular and secular clergy was the only professional education in the proper sense imparted in public establishments. The laity had no special schools of their own, and it was not until towards the close of the Middle Ages that the first beginnings of such schools became discernible. Until then the laity had to depend, so to speak, on the hospitality of the clerical schools,

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Merian, Topographia Germaniae: Franken 1656, Faksimile-Ausgabe; Kassel & Basel: Bärenreuter-Verlag, 1962), p. 51.

[1]Kraft, Geschichte Frankens, pp. 384-85, 401-03.

[2]W. H. Bruford, Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 235.

> and had therefore, as guests, to submit in every respect, to the rules of the house laid down by the clergy in regard to the subjects and methods of doctrine and discipline.[1]

Education of the youth in the Middle Ages did not propose to transmit knowledge and learning as it does today but aimed towards the training of the will and the affectations. "By education was understood above all the moulding of the inner life of man into an attitude of belief and obedience--belief in the doctrine of salvation, obedience to the Church, and faith towards God and man."[2]

The clerical estate which occupied the first place among the four estates came to represent learning in general, and the monastery, the cathedral, and the college schools were developed to meet the needs.

Paulsen states that medieval education is distinguished by two great epochs, the "first, extending until the twelfth and a second extending until the fifteenth century."[3] He characterizes the first period as one

> . . . determined by the purely receptive attitude of the German people, towards the Church and classical antiquity. As faithful pupils they receoved the sacred doctrine, offered to them by the Church, together with the treasures of classical culture, which the Church had half reluctantly assimilated in the country of its origin. During the second half a greater striving for independence manifested itself. There was an attempt to comprehend the sacred doctrine by the exercise of individual reasoning and to permeate it with secular science and philosophy. The great systems of

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[1] Paulsen, German Education, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] Ibid., p. 8.

> scholastic philosophy and theology are the outcome of this striving.
>
> Intellectual was closely connected with social development. The vigorous upgrowth of city life prepared the soil for the new intellectual movement. In the domain of education these changes immediately revealed themselves in the development of two new types of educational institutions--the universities and the city-schools, both of which had their roots in municipal life. The universities soon pushed the old monastery and college schools into the background, while the city-schools the advance of the bourgeoisie into the domain of intellectual culture found a visible expression.[1]

Changes also took place in the monastic orders. New orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, developed in the thirteenth century. These new orders differed from the older ones, as they tended towards establishment in the cities rather than the rural areas, and they sought to bring the surrounding world under their influence rather than withdrawing from the outside world. "They aimed not merely at saving their souls but at regenerating the world by their teaching and preaching."[2]

> . . . The order of the Dominicans deserved the name of a teaching and preaching order above any other; they were in that respect the predecessors of the Jesuits. The Dominicans and the Franciscans counted the most eminent of the great teachers and systematic philosophers at the medieval universities amongst their ranks. Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and also Master Eckart were Dominicans; Bonaventura, dun Scotus, Roger Bacon and Occam, Franciscans.[3]

The Monastery Schools had their beginning as institutions

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[1]Paulsen, German Education, pp. 8-9.

[2]Ibid., p. 9. [3]Ibid.

for the training of future members of the respective monastic orders. The Cathedral Schools developed to fulfill the bishop's duty to train the secular clergy of his diocese. College Schools developed in a like manner as centers for the training of the clergy of the collegiate churches.

The course of study in these early cathedral and monastery schools was arranged with the aim to obtaining "the scientific comprehension of divine wisdom as revealed in the Holy Scriptures; for Sacra theologia was looked upon as the highest science." In the preparatory courses, consisting of the Trivium and Quadrivium, all teaching was towards the furtherance of clerical aims. All "secular sciences were subservient to the ultimate goal. . ., to theology, the scientific knowledge of revealed truth. . . . In theory all these secular arts, of pagan parentage as they were, had no right to exist except insofar as they served theology."[1]

The universities which arose during the thirteenth century were founded as independent corporations of the students and teachers "invested with certain privileges by the secular and spiritual authorities."[2] The right of teaching, holding examinations, and conferring the degrees of Baccalaurius, Magister, and Doctor were always vested in them by the spiritual authority, the Roman Curia. The Chancellor of

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[1] Ibid., pp. 10-12. [2] Ibid., p. 21.

the university was a Church dignitary and his concurrance was necessary in granting the license.[1]

Instruction in the universities was generally determined by tradition. "In the theological faculty the substance of the doctrine was laid down by the Holy Scriptures and the dogma of the Church; only in the task of interpreting, systematizing and confirming those doctrines was there scope for individual thought."[2] The subject matter taught in the legal faculty was determined in a like manner--"ecclesiastical law by the canons and decrees of the councils and the Roman Curia; Roman law by the code of Justinian. Nothing was left here either for the teacher to do but to interpret and systematize."[3] Individual thought may have been granted a somewhat broader scope in the two lower faculties; however, even here an approved doctrine was set forth in standard textbooks. "In the medical faculty the writings of Hippocrates and Galen enjoyed a sort of canonical authority, exactly like those of Aristotle in the philosophical faculty; to acquire a knowledge of their contents was the essential object of these studies.[4]

The medieval university, in Germany particularly, had developed

> . . . without exception, on ecclesiastical soil and under the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

[2] Ibid., p. 23.

[3] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

> patronage of the Apostolic See. The doctrine of the Church formed the fundamental canon of their teaching; the language of the Church was their language. The members of the universities, teachers and students alike, were mostly incumbents or expectants of clerical livings; the university chairs were, at least in Germany, endowed for the most part as canonries without compulsory residence. The international character which the universities had in common with the Church and its religious orders fostered alike in teacher and student the habit of migration and the spirit of adventure. . . .[1]

The position of the Church and the division of episcopal control of various parts of the Margravate Ansbach-Bayreuth between the Bishoprics Bamberg, Eichstätt, Würzburg, and Augsburg has been related previously, as well as their control over the formation of parish schools, the education of the clerics and teachers, and the attendance at the universities with Church prebends.[2]

Occasionally one found educated persons, even Doctors, as pastors. However, Jordan warns one not to be misled as the reports of Visitierten (inspection) from the beginning of the Reformation show the lesser clergy were inferior in intellectual advancement.[3] This conforms with the generally accepted opinions regarding the clergy at this period of time. There existed, indeed, a need for a general improvement of scholastic training of the clergy during the late Middle Ages.

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[1] Paulsen, German Education, p. 27.

[2] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, pp. 14-18; (see supra, pp. 31-33)

[3] Ibid., p. 57.

Philosophical Influence in the Development of Education in the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth in the Preformation Era

"The historian knows well that there has been no one Christian philosophy. There have been many called by that name."[1]

Western North Africa was the birthplace of Latin Theology and Carthage rivaled Rome in the formation of Christian thought in the West. Tertullian of Carthage, Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (160-220), exerted an enormous influence on Christian thought.[2] His dominant doctrine was "an excessively dogmatic position toward faith," placing it above reason.[3] "Thus did a spirit of anti-rationalism enter into Catholic orthodoxy and a rule of faith take the seat of honor."[4] Tertullian viewed the whole existence of man's life as a preparation for the secure post-existence. He held that man must bend completely to the sovereignty of God "since man is condemned to torment because of inherited sin and guilt."[5]

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[1] Vergilius Ferm, "Early Christian Philosophy," in A History of Philosophical Systems, ed. by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), p. 144.

[2] Ibid., pp. 146-47.

[3] Ralph B. Winn, "Tertullian," Dictionary of Philosophy, ed. by Dagobert D. Runes (15th ed.; New York: Philosophical Library, 1960), p. 316.

[4] Ferm, Early Christian Philosophy, p. 147.

[5] Ibid., p. 148.

Alexandria in Eastern North Africa was the seat of another development of Christian philosophy. It was in this center that a Christian philosophy developed which was "eminently speculative and embedded in Greek thinking."[1] The Anti-Gnostic Father Clements of Alexandria, Titus Flavius Clemens (150-217), President of the Alexandria theological college, "sought an alliance with the philosophers." "Philosophy, he said was to the Greeks what Jewish law was to the Jews; both philosophy and Jewish law were preparatory for the Christian faith. . . . Philosophy is to be used as an ally to theology." Clements' religious philosophy differed in sharp contrast with that of the Carthaginian. Two dominant differences were: (1) "Men need only to be shown the way to the good life and they will follow after it, for man has the divine image in his rational make-up. No taint of original sin mars this divine nature of man." (2) "The Christian faith for him was not a religion reserved only for the rank and file (whom he called 'simple believers'), not to literal fundamentalists whose straight-jacket thinking would prevent the use of reason."[2]

Saint Augustine of Hippo, Aurelius Augustinus (345-430), was one of four men called the Doctors of the Western Church. Augustine is of particular interest to the scholastic world, as he "fixed the theology

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ferm, Early Christian Philosophy, pp. 148-50.

of the Church until the Reformation, and, later, a great part of the doctrines of Luther and Calvin."[1] This theology formed the basis for Christian education for centuries through the "Dark Ages." It must be noted that there is actually no Augustinian "system," as "his personality was a criss-cross of many currents . . . He fits no one mould; he is now this and now that."[2] The different schools of thought quoted him to their advantage, taking only what suited their purpose. For this reason, he is sometimes classified as an eclectic. "What came to be called Augustinianism is the selection of those facets of his thought which lent support to the growing orthodoxy."[3] Augustine appears to have been excessively guilt conscious because of the activities of his youth. He dwelled extensively upon the subject in his "Confessions." The position which he finally accepted upon the doctrine of original sin was carried through the centuries, used chiefly by scholastic philosophers, and influenced the general conduct toward child and man. He held that "the human will is from birth inclined to evil, and can be turned to good only by the gratuitous act of God. Since we are all children of Adam, Augustine argued, we share his guilt, are, indeed,

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[1]Bertrand Russell, A History of Western Philosophy and Its Connections With Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), pp. 334-35; hereinafter referred to as Western Philosophy.

[2]Ferm, Early Christian Philosophy, p. 152.

[3]Ibid., p. 153.

the offspring of his guilt; the original sin was concupiscence."[1] Durant evaluates two of Augustine's works as classics of world literature. The first one, "Confessions, is the first and most famous of all autobiographies," and he calls it "Poetry in prose." The second one, "City of God," he classifies as philosophy in history. This work is his reply to the attacks upon Christianity to which the pagans attributed the fall of Rome. Augustine in his answer points out that it was not the lack of worship of the pagans in their temples that brought about the fall of Rome, but it was their worshiping in those temples that was the cause. He stated that there were two cities, the earthly city and the City of God. Augustine's answer "developed a complete Christian scheme of history, past, present, future. It was an immensely influential book throughout the Middle Ages, especially in the struggles of the Church with secular prices."[2] The philosophy as expressed by Augustine in his De Ordine praises Platonic and Pythagorean wisdom, and comes "very close to the Pagan tradition of his time."[3] Augustine held that "the person capable of forming a consistent unity out of all art and knowledge deserves the title of 'educated.' Such a person will also

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[1] Will Durant, The Story of Civilization, Vol. IV: The Age of Faith (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), p. 69.

[2] Russell, History of Western Philosophy, p. 355.

[3] Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought (New York: American Book Co., 1950), pp. 81-84.

experience the essential unity between reason and faith."[1] He turned to "the Artes liberales, with some variations," to attain "inner unity and spherical harmony of the world. . . . To understand and be immersed in this unity is . . . the highest goal of all mental endeavors."[2]

The philosophical-theological expressions of Augustine, and modified by the Church Fathers, formed the basis of educational philosophy through the "Dark Ages," and a foundation upon which Scholasticism could build.[3]

"Scholasticism was the philosophy of a Christian society which transcended the characteristics of individuals, nations, and peoples. It was the corporate product of social thought, and as such its reasoning respected authority in the forms of tradition and revealed religion."[4] Platonian and Augustinian systems "as sifted, adapted and absorbed through the many centuries formed the tradition. The history of scholasticism, although it roots in the "Dark Ages," did not have its proper beginning until the Carolingian renaissance in the ninth century, the beginning of the "Middle Ages." One of the many "Great Scholars

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] Richard J. Thompson considers the period of the "Dark Ages" as an era of "Early Christian Scholasticism" and not so "dark" in philosophical achievement; see "Early Christian Scholasticism," in A History of Philosophical Systems, ed. by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), p. 185.

[4] Hunter Guthrie, "Scholasticism," Dictionary of Philosophy, ed. by Dagebert D. Runes (15th ed.; New York: Philosophical Library, 1960), p. 280.

of the early Middle Ages," Pierre Abelard (1049-1142), "crystallized the Scholastic method,"[1] He held with Aristotle that our ideas do not exist as such outside of the mind."[2] His Sic et Non solving of theological contradictions set a pattern for philosophical methods in problem solving for some centuries in the medieval universities.

"The Golden Age of Scholasticism" in the thirteenth century is marked by an increased interest in philosophy, which evolved from the discovery and translation of Aristotelian literature from Arabic, Jewish, and original sources. Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225?-1274), philosopher, theologian, and Dominican monk, opposed Augustinian Platonism and supported Aristotelianism. He held that "philosophy is based on natural data, theology on supernatural data, hence it has its own being. Man is a person and as such has rights beyond the temporal and political and is like God, and yet he is limited and dependent." Aristotelian philosophy was reinterpreted and its principles were integrated into Scholasticism by Aquinas and his followers. Basic interpretation was that "the existence and nature of God as creator and end of all things, from which he is essentially distinct, can be demonstrated inductively by reason alone. Philosophy and theology are in method and object

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[1] Ibid., p. 282.

[2] John J. Fitzgerald, "Scholasticism," An Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 695.

formally distinct. Both issue in valid conclusions which are in no wise contradictory."[1] Aquinas held that the Christian thinker must "discover the meaning of reason and the conditions of true thinking."[2] The culmination of his work is in his expression of harmony between faith and reason, which constituted a defense of Christian humanism and was one of his "most enduring contributions to European thought."[3]

The contributions of the cited scholars were melded into the educational philosophy which predominated in educational thinking and efforts to the advent of the "Humanist" at the "Dawn of the Renaissance."[4]

Humanism as an educational movement and its progress in Germany and introduction into Hohenzollern Franconia, "the earliest of all Germany," by Johan the Alchemist, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, has been discussed previously.[5] The mind of Italy "was turned from religion to philosophy and from heaven to earth. . . . The proper study of mankind was now to be man, . . . as most abundantly

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[1]Leo R. Ward, "Aquinas, St. Thomas," An Encyclopedia of Religion (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945, p. 34; Fitzgerald, Scholasticism, pp. 695-66.

[2]A. C. Pegis, "Aquinas, Thomas," Dictionary of Philosophy, ed. by Dagobert D. Runes (15th ed.; New York: Philosophical Library, 1960), p. 17.

[3]Ibid.

[4]It is not intended to ignore or bemean the efforts of the many scholars of the "Early Ages," who made valuable contributions to the field of philosophy and who are not mentioned herein.

[5]Supra, pp. 23-31.

revealed in the literature and art of ancient Greece and Rome. This was humanism."[1]

The Renaissance, "a revival of ancient civilization after a long decay," extended from the mid-fourteenth century into the early decades of the seventeetth century.[2] The principal current of thought was revitalized Aristotelian, which was closely tied to the teaching traditions of the medieval universities, and remained unchanged throughout the Renaissance.

Durant comments on philosophy during the Renaissance: "At first glance the Italian Renaissance does not seem to offer a reasonable harvest of philosophy. Its product cannot compare with the heyday of French Scholasticism from Abélard to Aquinas, not to speak of 'the school of Athens.'" He continues with the statement that Giordano Bruno (1548?-1600)[3] is the Renaissance's most famous name in philosophy, if the time limit is extended, and concludes with: "Pomponazzi[4]

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[1]Will Durant, The Story of Civilization, Vol. V: The Renaissance (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), pp. 77-78.

[2]Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Rennaisance Philosophies," in A History of Philosophical Systems, ed. by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), p. 227.

[3]Giordano Bruno, a Dominican monk converted from Christianity into a naturalistic and mystical pantheism by the Renaissance and particularly by the new Copernican astronomy. Burned at the stake for his opinions.

[4]Pompanazzie, Pietro or Pereto (1462-1524), Professor of philosophy at Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna. Closely related to the Averroistic traditions.

remains; but who now does reverence to his poor heroic skeptical squeak?" It appears philosophical endeavors were limited primarily to the conflict between the Platonist and Aristotelians and between the orthodox Aristotelians and the Averroistian divisionists.[1]

Kristeller comments: "In the history of philosophy, the Renaissance was a period of transition and of fermentation rather than of synthesis or of lasting achievement." He points out, however, that many of its ideas were influential in the forming of later European thought.[2]

Religious Influence in the Development of Education in the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Casimir reigned in the Margravate Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach during the early years of the Reformation from 1515 to 1527. The Evangelical movement was quite conspicuous in Ansbach by 1521 and the thoughts of the movement were dominant early in Hof and Crailsheim. Both Schwabach and Crailsheim were described as Evangelical cities as early as 1523. Followers of Luther's doctrine were found in the cloisters, especially in Heilsbronn. The seminary at Feuchtwangen,

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[1] Will Durant, The Renaissance, p. 538; "The Averroists, the followers of Averroes, Mohamed ibn Roshd (1126-1198), believed that religion expresses the (higher) philosophical truth by means of religious imagery." Rudolf Allers, "Averroes," Dictionary of Philosophy, ed. by Dagobert D. Runes (15th ed.; New York: Philosophical Library, 1960), p. 30.

[2] Kristeller, Renaissance Philosophies, p. 238.

however, still clung to the orthodox party.[1]

Casimir possessed a "completely political thinking calculating nature" and was "lacking in religious perception."[2] It was Casimir's aim to strengthen his power, to retain the Emperor's good will and the Papacy's favor, as well as to preserve the peace internally. He would not support the Reformation en masse for this reason. However, in order to preserve the peace, he made some concessions in the religious area. He appeased the people of Ansbach by permitting Johann Rurer, a "determined minded Lutheran pastor," to preach the "pure word of God," and interfered in Schwabach and Kitzengen only enough to preserve the peace.[3] He demonstrated conclusively his determination to preserve the peace when he moved ruthlessly against the rebels in the Peasants War (1524-1526).[4] The following year, 1527, Casimir died at Ofen (Buda), Hungary, during the Imperial campaign against the Hungarian Revolt.[5]

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[1]Lothar Michel, "Der Gang der Reformation in Franken," Erlanger Abhundlungen zur Mitteleren und Neueren Geschichte, Band IV. Hsgb. von Bernhard Schmeidler und Otto Brandt (Erlangen: Verlag von Palm & Enke, 1930), p. 35, hereinafter referred to as Reformation in Franken; supra, p. 50.

[2]Michel, Reformation in Franken, p. 39.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, pp. 106-09; Stein, Geschichte Frankens, pp. 26-31; Gunther Franz, Der Deutsche Bauernkreig (München u. Berlin: Verlag von R. Oldenburg, 1933), pp. 342-43, 348-50.

Casimir's brother, George the Pious, also regent to Casimir's five-year-old son, succeeded to the reign of both the lowlands and highlands. "The change of government was a change of doctrine."[1] George is described by Michel

> . . . as a follower of Luther, seized by the truth of Evangelicalism, inspired by a great belief in God, and imbued with the responsibilities of his undertakings. The solution of the religious question was to him an inner need and ruler's duty; so he wanted to introduce the Evangelical doctrine in his land.[2]

Hans von Schwarzenberg and George Vogler, two zealous Evangelical councillors, as reported previously,[3] attained unobstructed influence under George's rule. George joined with neighboring Nürnberg in setting up a protestant church constitution for the two areas, and from the time of his reign, the Hohenzollern Franconian lands were primarily Lutheran and were a haven for protestant refugees.

Education in the Margravate was necessarily disrupted initially during the early years of the Reformation as a result of the Peasants War, "as numerous cloisters, castles, and villages lay in ashes."[4] George, however, did not permit this misfortune nor the financial difficulties of the times to prolong the disruption of education. George turned to the church for advice and assistance. He issued an

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[1]Michel, Reformation in Franken, p. 39.

[2]Ibid. [3]Supra, pp. 52-54.

[4]Meyer, Geschichte der Burggraftum, p. 109.

Inspection Decree 1528 and assembled the same year a number of eminent clergymen at Ansbach to receive their proposals for the advancement of education. The following year, 1529, he directed Pastor Brenz at Schwabish-Hall to draw up a proposal for the cloister reform. George forwarded this proposal to Luther in June for his comments and recommendations. Luther replied to the Margrave the following month with the recommendation that the income from the cloisters be used for educational purposes, including the founding of one or two institutions of higher learning.[1]

The quality of education possessed by the clergy at the time of the Reformation is interesting in determining the need for education in the Margravate, particularly for the appointment of clergymen to pastorates. Jordan provides vital information pertaining to this matter.[2] He states that from his research, it is not clear "forthwith" the number of educated protestant clergy that were needed to replace the uneducated Catholic clergy in the Margravate. A number of learned clergy were brought into the lands from outside and a number of native youth returned from Wittenburg to assume clerical posts in their homeland. "A great number of the clergymen in the land professed willingly, half willingly, or reluctantly to the Reformation, others relinquished

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, I, 106-13; (see supra, pp. 55-57.

[2] Ibid., I, 298-302.

their pastorages."[1] It was necessary that new pastors be produced, not only for those who relinquished their posts, but also for those older ones, who were dying out. Jordan estimates that there may have been probably some 400 clerical positions in the land during the decades between 1540 and 1560. He comments that it is not remote to think that all pastorates which became vacant could not be filled by educated Evangelical pastors, and that he repeatedly found instances where a pastor had to serve more than one pastorage. This condition was not during the first years alone, but continued for some time. Contemporary writings show that the shortage of qualified pastors was so acute that it was not uncommon for a workman, who was spiritually capable, to be appointed to the pulpit. Jordan, in his study of the educational preparation of the Evangelical pastors, failed to discover any rural pastor who had matriculated in a university. He found that only about 28 per cent of the Evangelical pastors serving the Ansbach-Bayreuth area in 1540 had positively matriculated, and the percentage in 1560 had risen to 32 per cent. He notes that: "It is quite obvious to notice that the educated clergy are found particularly in the cities and larger places."[2] It was also noted that a number of uneducated clergy were appointed during the reign of Margrave George's successor, George

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[1] Ibid., I, 298.

[2] Ibid., I, 301.

Frederick, 1556-1603.[1]

The period of 1528-1556 under the reign of Margrave George was not a period of growth per se, but rather a period of establishment of the general educational endeavor, which was so "essential for the government, officials, and powers." The endeavors which were begun under Margrave George were firmly fixed in an ordinance following the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555,[2] at which time "the Evangelical territories had surrendered the (educational) task, their ecclesiastical and related matters."[3]

Margrave George Frederick issued a decree on 20 August 1563 establishing scholarships for the schools in Ansbach and Hof, and for the theological students from both margravates attending Wittenberg University. The endowment for these theological students was set at the following yearly rates: (1) ten students at forty florin, (2) twenty students at fifty florin, and (3) ten students at sixty florin. The scholarships for Ansbach and the school in Hof were: (1) At each school, twenty-four young boys, of whom half would receive fifteen gulden and half

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[1] Ibid., pp. 300-02.

[2] Weimer, Concise History of Education, p. 53, states: "The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) finally consecrated the principle embodied in the Latin formula 'cuius regio, eius religio,' meaning that subjects had to follow the religion of their rulers"; Durant states in The Reformation, p. 787, that German students after the Peace of Augsburg were not allowed to attend a university other than that of the faith of their territorial prince.

[3] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 5.

would receive twenty gulden "for their endeavors and being competent," and (2) should these same boys then attend the university, they would receive scholarships. The provisions were also made that forty scholarships from both margravates would be established for those students to study theology but no other faculty. These scholarships were to be: (1) ten at forty gulden, (2) twenty at fifty gulden, and (3) ten at sixty gulden.[1]

Margrave George Frederick enacted on 21 January 1594 a new Consistory Ordinance, which for a century was to form the basis of not only the church's position and church affairs but also for the schools. "We see here the complete school matters placed under the Consistory."[2] This was not the first time that they had become subordinate to the church. "The Consistory Ordinance merely sealed the development which was granted by the state since the beginning of the Reformation and in the last twenty years since the founding of the Consistory."[3]

The importance which Margrave George Frederick placed on the education of the clergymen indicates the strong ties which existed at this time between these two social forces and the resultant interdependence. The church continued through the sixteenth and seventeenth

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[1] Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 16-17.

[2] Ibid., II, 35.

[3] Ibid.

centuries (1) to supply the majority of the schoolmasters, (2) the supervision, and (3) the inspection of the schools under the decrees and direction of the respective Margravates.

Philosophical Influence in the Development of Education in the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The sixteenth century marked the beginning of "The Age of Reason," which extended through the following century. It was an age replete with newly-stated philosophical themes which only later were to influence educational matters. This era produced such eminent philosophers as the early modern rationalists among whom were: René Descartes (1596-1650), Arnold Geulinex (1625-1669), Nicole Malebranche (1638-1715), Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716). Another group of renowned philosophers, the early modern empiricists, vied during this era with the rationalist for dominance in man's mind. Prominent among these early modern empiricists were Francis Bacon (1561-1626), John Locke (1632-1704), and George Berkeley (1685-1704).[1]

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[1] Albert G. Ramsperger, "Early Modern Rationlists," in A History of Philosophical Systems, ed. by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), pp. 240-52; Douglas N. Morgan, "Early Modern Empiricism," in A History of Philosophical Systems, ed. by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), pp. 253-65; Morgan also lists David Hume (1711-1776) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) with the early modern empiricists, p. 253; A. Wolf, A History of Science, Technology and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries, Torchbooks (2nd ed.; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959), II, 629-675.

These philosophers, who later were to gain a dominant place in educational thought, did not influence education in Germany during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is particularly true in the Hohenzollern Franconian Lands. The preeminence of the Lutheran Church in the administration of educational matters in the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth determined the educational philosophy which set the course for education. Kristeller in his discussion of Renaissance philosophy states:

> Whereas Aristotelianism in Spain and Portugal was closely linked with Catholic theology, its place in the university curriculum of Protestant Germany was firmly secured by Philip Melanchton (1497-1565), and it thus provided the academic background of philosophy down to the times of Leibniz and of Kant.[1]

Both humanism, the champion of revived Aristotelianism, and Protestantism opposed scholasticism and "both humanism and Protestantism were opposed to scholasticism and its monastic champions. Both believed in the rights and responsibilities of conscience and were definitely worldly."[2]

Melanchthon, the true founder of the Protestant-humanist educational system has been described as "a humanist to his fingertips."[3] He was able to save humanism in the Protestant schools by

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[1]Kristeller, Renaissance Philosophies, p. 229.

[2]Weimer, Concise History of Education, p. 48.

[3]Ibid., pp. 49-50.

subordinating it to the religious interests. "Melanchthon's system of Protestant education prevailed in Germany until the eighteenth century."[1] One sixteenth century educational innovation, the gymnasium founded by Johannes Sturm (1507-1589) at Strassburg, reflected the Protestant-humanistic educational philosophy of Melanchthon. Sturm's educational ideas were expressed (1538) in his work De litterarum ludis recte aperiendis (On Rightly Opening Schools of Letters).[2] "His educational aims were religious piety, practical knowledge and Latin eloquence."[3] The educational pattern which Sturm set, with some modifications, has set the base for the gymnasium to this date.

Little change occurred in the university curriculum besides that in the faculty of theology, which was thoroughly reformed by the replacement of the scholastics and Church Fathers by the study of the Bible in its original languages. The former faculty of arts was renamed the faculty of philosophy. "The writings of Aristotle and the subjects of the quadrivium continued to be the sources of all worldly wisdom."[4]

Religious Influence in the Development of Education During the Early Eighteenth Century in the Margravate Bayreuth

The orthodox Luthern Faith was predominant in the Mar-

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[1] Ibid., pp. 49-54. [2] Durant, The Reformation, p. 787.

[3] Weimer, Concise History of Education, pp. 54-55.

[4] Ibid., pp. 55-56.

gravates at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some inroads, however, had been made during the later years of the previous century by Calvinism and Pietism. Neither of these doctrines gained prominence enough to constitute a threat of any appreciable proportion to the entrenched orthodoxy. This was particularly true in the field of education.

The French Huguenot refugees, who had been welcomed into the territory by Christian Ernest, were granted permission to construct a church of their faith (Calvinist) in their new city, Christian-Erlang. The cornerstone was laid in 1686.[1]

Kolde relates about the religious matter in Erlangen under Christian Ernest:

> To the end of the 17th century Erlangen was a pure Lutheran locality. Neither the Reformed nor Catholics, not to mention the Jews were permitted to establish there. With the admission first of the French Evangelical refugees it was otherwise. Soon we find in the newly erected city also Roman-Catholic inhabitants, and indeed not only such who had immigrated here from Catholic neighboring places, especially also French Catholics, who obviously on the

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[1] August Gebesseler, Stadt und Landkreis Erlangen Vol. XIV von Bayerische Kunstdenkmale. Hsgb. von Heinrich Kreisel und Adam Horn (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1962), p. 22; Justizrat Dr. Stein und Lehrer L. Muller, Die Geschichte von Erlangen in Wort und Bild (Erlangen: Junge, 1898), p. 112; Ferdinand Lammers, Geschichte der Stadt Erlangen, p. 80; both of these sources state that the church was for both French and German Reformed. Lammers relates that the Margrave Christian Ernst, his wife Sophie Louise, the Crown Prince George William and the Princess Elonora Magdalena attended the festive inaugural.

knowledge of their prosperity had followed their Evangelical countrymen.[1]

Christian Ernest in a declaration of 4 May 1711 issued the fundamental laws which were "detailed completely in the senses of the time."[2] These stated it was the intention of the government that a Catholic worship would never be tolerated in Erlangen. They also provided for children of proper Catholic marriages in order to become properly educated must attend Lutheran schools.[3]

Margrave George William granted the Catholics in Bayreuth permission in 1722 to hold public worship.

The Catholic community in Erlangen during the 1730's was determined to gain permission to erect a church of their faith. They were able to collect 150 Gulden in Erlangen and 574 Gulden 50 Kreuzer was donated in Bamberg. Erlangen at this time was within the Bamberg Diocese. Temporary or provisional permission was secured from Margrave Frederick in the summer of 1737 for the establishment of a Catholic service and to construct and maintain a house of prayer. However, final permission was not forthcoming and the matter was closed for some time when Margrave Frederick confirmed the Erlangen Charter of 1711 and "explicitly also Article 4, which regulated the Catholic's

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[1]Theodor Kolde, Die Anfänge einer Katholischen Gemeinde in Erlangen (Erlangen: Junge, 1906), pp. 1-2; my translation.

[2]Ibid., p. 2. [3]Ibid., pp. 2-3.

position," and forbade Catholic worship.[1]

The second half of the seventeenth century saw the beginning of a new religious movement within the Lutheran Church. Lutheran orthodoxy had during the past century and a half become more formalized and "channeled in rigid doctrinal and sacremental forms."[2] A reaction against this cold orthodoxy set in. Philip Spener (1635-1705), a German Lutheran theologian "known as the 'father of Pietism,' . . . influenced by the reading of the scriptures and the writing of Luther, Arndt, Baxter, and Grossegebauer . . . began to hold meetings (collegia pietatis) in his home to counteract the sterile intellectualism of the prevailing orthodoxy."[3] August Hermann Franke (1663-1727) under the influence of Spener "became one of the most vigorous champions of the movement toward a more genuine Christian living."[4] Franke was influential in Halle and introduced the Bible-centered principle into education.[5] The Pietistic movement had a "realistic and practical point of view, the interest in actual life, coupled with a profound aversion to

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[1] Ibid., pp. 4-12.

[2] T. Almar Kantonen, "Pietism," An Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 585.

[3] Ibid., p. 585.

[4] Vergilius Ferm, "Pietism," Dictionary of Philosophy, ed. by Dagobert D. Runes (15th ed.; New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 236.

[5] Kantonen, Pietism, p. 585.

pedantic scholarship and to the abstruse speculations of academic philosophers and theologians."[1] During the early years of the eighteenth century, Pietism gained considerable influence among some members of the German aristocracy. Pietism, not limited to the Lutheran followers alone, became a force among the Calvinists for the same reasons. Franke exerted great influence on the personal life of Frederick William I, King of Prussia (1713-1740) and the father of Wilhelmina, Margravine of Bayreuth.[2] Wilhelmina in her Memoirs gives a depressing account of the Court and family life.

> We lived like Trappists, to the great grief of my brother and myself. Every afternoon the King preached a sermon, to which we had to listen as attentively as if it had proceeded from the lips of an apostle. My brother and I were often seized with such an intense sense of the ridiculous, that we burst out laughing, upon which an apostolic curse was poured out on our heads, which we had to accept with a show of humility and penitence.[3]

Frederick William I supported Franke in his disputes and clashes with Christian von Wolff, Wolf (1679-1754) and in 1723 ordered Wolff charged with flagrant atheism, to leave Prussia within forty-eight hours on "pain of immediate death."[4]

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[1]Paulsen, German Education, pp. 104-05.

[2]Cutchell, Wilhelmina, I, 64.

[3]Margrafin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Wilhelmine, pp. 61-62.

[4]Paulsen, German Education, p. 105; Will and Ariel Durant, The Story of Civilization, Vol. IX, The Age of Voltaire (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), p. 402.

The Margraves Ansbach and Bayreuth also had their periods of "Pietism." Following the Thirty Years War, a period of extraordinary devoutness, the devoutness of Pietism, entered the Margravate Bayreuth, and its effects were carried into the educational matters.[1] However, there were periods of ups and downs for Pietism which had gained considerable dominance during the reign of Christian Ernest. It was rejected by his son and successor, George William (1712-1726). Jordan writes that the influence of Pietism was abolished and Bayreuth was influenced by the model of the absolute ruler and his moral faults.[2] Pietism was revived in Bayreuth upon the death of George William who had died childless. His successor, George Frederick Carl (1726-1735), from a collateral line of the family, embraced Pietism. C. Meyer, as reported previously, describes the Margrave as "a sullen humored, outwardly thrifty man, who knew how to unite a vast pleasure for the drinking cup to Pietistic trends."[3] Jordan writes of him: "As a man he was quiet and retired, morose, of strangely unbalanced character; in his court he had in the paramount position the General Superintendent Dr. Joh. Christoph Silchmüller, the leader of the Pietistic circle in Bayreuth."[4] He continues with the statement that although the Margrave

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[1]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 111-12.

[2]Ibid., pp. 125-26.

[3]Meyer, Geschichte der Burggrafschaft, p. 134.

[4]Jordan, Reformation und Gelehrte Bildung, II, 130.

was devoted to Pietism, he also was given to drinking too much and divorced his wife on charges of infidelity and persecuted her with a quenchless hatred.[1]

Change followed change. Margrave Frederick, son and successor of George Frederick Carl, had come into contact with and embraced "The Enlightment" during his education in Geneva and his subsequent travels in France and Holland. It is noted, however, that Frederick retained many of his father's advisors in his council and proved so adroit in the affairs of state that he did not alienate his Lutheran subjects (especially the pietists, whose movement was beginning to fade). He soon was called affectionately "Well-beloved."[2]

Frederick's consort, Wilhelmina, had been brought up under a strict and at times torturous discipline bordering on sadism administered frequently by her pietistic father. It is understandable that she rejected pietism.[3] She set forth her ideas about God in a letter to her brother, Frederick the Great:

> I have repented a thousand times, my brother, for having promised you my system concerning the existence of God; nevertheless, having no subject worth filling this letter with, I shall try at least to amuse you with my

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 3; Otto Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 7.

[3] One of Frederick the Great's first acts after his ascension was to recall Christian Wolff to Halle University, where Wolff was accorded a triumphant welcome.

> philosophy, which I submit entirely to your criticism, repeating yet again what a very inferior philosopher I count myself. These, then, are my principles. Everything is composed of atoms, some crooked, some pointed, and of different shapes. These atoms having a perpetual motion, happen to meet, jostle one another, hook into each other, unite, and that is what forms bodies. But they cannot have any movement of themselves, not being unlimited beings, but dependent one on another. As they cannot be motionless, according with principles of philosophy, it follows, therefore, that there must be an unlimited independent being who gives them movement, and, in consequence, this being is God; for tell me, why do these atoms, happening to meet, form a person rather than a flower? It cannot be chance, or then it might have happened that everything became flowers or animals, and there would have been no persons, so it is essential to admit a first principle, necessary in all things, who, by his universal power, directs the second principles to use them for his end. [1]

The faculty of theology continued to hold an important position, and one of highest esteem, in the structure of the institutions of higher learning in the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth during the early eighteenth century, including the newly-established Friedrichs Universität.

> The idea of the founding of a university [in the Margravate Bayreuth] encountered the greatest difficulties. Everything had nearly failed because of the opposition of the Prince's Council and the Consistory, both of which wanted to claim the superintendency over the same for themselves. [2]

Three eminent scholarly clergymen were appointed to the first Faculty

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[1] Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 20-21.

[2] Stein and Müller, Geschichte von Erlangen, p. 129.

of Philosophy at the Erlangen University, 1743; Germann August Ellrod, Joachim Ehrenfried Pfeiffer, and Caspar Jacob Huth.[1] It is of particular interest that the faculty was selected by Daniel de Superville, the first Director and Chancellor, who was a Reformist. Ellrot, the first Professor of the Theology Faculty was Lutheran with decided Pietistic tendencies. He preached the university inaugural sermon, took as his text, Isaiah xxxiii, 20, and

> . . . said that the foundation of the University must be built, not upon the discretion of human beings, but upon principles of Divine revelation. And it was not only the Freethinkers who were thus admonished. The Reformed Church was included in the "goats."[2]

The Theological Faculty was Lutheran and held to the Lutheran concepts of doctrine.[3] "But the tolerance of the new university denied any supremacy to the Lutherans";[4] however, two years after the founding of the university, the appointment of a Reform theological professor was refused, and again as late as 1756.[5]

Englehardt writes[6] that some of the Erlangen "teachers"

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[1]Englehardt, Die Universität, pp. 20-24.

[2]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 97.

[3]Englehardt, Die Universität, p. 26.

[4]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 97.

[5]Richard Fester, Die Bayreuther Schwester Friedrichs des Grossen (Berlin: Verlag von Gebrüder Paetel, 1902), pp. 119-20, my translation.

[6]Englehardt, Universität, p. 27.

were influenced by the Pietistic theologian, Buddeus (Johann Fraz Budde, one of the persecutors of Wolff [1667-1729]),[1] also Mosheim's influence was significant (Johann Lorenz Mosheim [1694-1755]),[2] and that the Wolffian (Christian von Wolff [1679-1754]) philosophy was upheld by a determined champion.[3]

Lutheranism which dominated the religious life in the Margravate Bayreuth was a strong supporter of the university idea, and established numerous universities throughout Protestant Germany during the Reformation Era.[4] The movement by the Protestant churches, supported by the secular rulers, for the establishment and support of universities continued through the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century.[5]

Philosophical Influence in the Development of Education During the Early Eighteenth Century in the Margravate Bayreuth

The first half of the eighteenth century was a period of

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[1]Hermann August Ellrod, the Pietistic First Professor of Theology, had studied at Jena and was a student of Buddeus: Englehardt, Universität, p. 20.

[2]Kaspar Jakob Huth, Professor of Theology, had studied in Rostock and Jena. "Luther was his model." He taught the history of heresy according to Morsheim: Englehardt, Universität, p. 22.

[3]Infra, p. 174. [4]Supra, p. 47.

[5]Protestant universities founded in Germany during the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century were Giessen (1607), Rinteln (1621), Strassburg (1621), Altdorf (1622), Duisberg (1655), Kiel (1665), Halle (1694), and Göttingen (1737).

transition in the educational institutions in Germany. This is particularly true of the schools in the Margravate Bayreuth as the mid-century mark was approached. The influence of the realist and empiricist philosophies began to appear in the curriculums and teaching methods of the schools. The realist ideas were melded at times into the curriculums alongside the rationalist; at other times they stood separate and distinct, or were completely lacking. This was the period of time when the first faint streaks of light were seen; it was the dawn of the deutsche Aufklärung (German Enlightment).

Paulsen, writing about the secondary schools of this period, states:

> The schools clung to the old methods with greater tenacity than the universities and were slower in abandoning them. For obvious reasons they have always been considerably later in following the general drift of progress. In some institutions, however, the first signs of the approaching modernization were early discernible.[1]

Paulsen continues his discussion of the subject and cites the Paedagoglium of Halle, (founded [1696] by Francke and became a royal institution in 1702) as a typical example of the state of education during this transition period. He points out that "the old course of instruction was still maintained, but new elements had been added to it."[2] The principal subject was still Latin, taught with the same purpose for complete mastery of the subject to attain conversational and literary

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[1] Paulsen, German Education, p. 125. [2] Ibid.

use. Some changes were made in the methods of instruction. The first teaching of reading and writing was in the German language, "while the general rules of grammar, the use of the various parts of speech and their inflections, were also first practiced in the German language with the aid of object-lessons, the intuitive method of teaching being an ideal pursued by the Halle pedaguges wherever possible."[1] The Latin grammar textbooks were written in German. Latin epistles and orations were composed and delivered by the students in the upper stages. Disputations in Latin were held and "learned periodicals written in Latin were read and discoursed upon. Latin was also the language of instruction and conversation."[2] Greek and Hebrew were added to the curriculum, as well as the modern languages French and German. However, in order that no student was over-burdened, "only two were taught side-by-side, Latin and Greek or Hebrew and French."[3]

The sciences taught were "mathematics and natural science, history and geography; stress being laid, in all cases, on the use of object-lessons and on practical applications."[4] Botany was taught in the summer, either in the field or herbary. Anatomy was taught in the winter by use of charts "and 'also now and then on the body of a dog.'"[5]

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[1]Paulsen, German Education, p. 126.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., 127.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

The instruction of history was composed of both biblical and ecclesiastical history, as well as the history of the German Emperors and of the modern states. "Geography was treated exclusively as an auxiliary subject in connection with history and politics."[1]

Religious instruction held paramount importance throughout the entire course, the real aim being "to impart a living knowledge of God, of the misery of human sin, and the salvation in Christ," which was considered a practical end. The influence of Pietism was conspicuous in the school regulations. Jordan comments: "Afterwards, a reaction set in; the generation which had been fed on religious revivals and prayers was peculiarly appreciative of the invectives of Voltaire--the age of Pietism was followed by the age of Enlightment!"[2]

Jordan summarizes with the comments:

> Thus, the Paedagogium of Halle attempted to combine the old classical course with the elements of modern languages and sciences. It may be regarded as typical of the general aims of all the larger schools during the first half of the eighteenth century. . . . The great masses of smaller grammar schools, on the other hand, were probably hardly reached as yet by these influences; with them Latin grammar and composition remained the one and all-important subject.[3]

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[1] Ibid., 128; Cordasco interprets Francke's educational system and methods as sense-realism. He states: "The first schools to embody realism were those of the Pietistic movement of Hermann Francke. . . The Real-Schulen of Germany (largely as a result of Francke's influence) date from the middle of the eighteenth century!': Francesco Cordasco, A Brief History of Education: A Handbook of Information on Greek, Roman, Medieval, Renaissance and Modern Educational Practice (Paterson, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1963), pp. 74-75.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 128-29.

The reputation of the German universities had fallen to a very low ebb by the end of the seventeenth century. "They were regarded by that age of courtly culture as obsolete and dying institutions. Vigorous personalities like Leibniz and also Lessing, kept away from them."[1] However, the German universities had risen to a leading position in the German world of intellect and science by the end of the eighteenth century.

It appears that the Margrave Frederick may have had the university of Halle in mind when he included in the patent for the new academy at Bayreuth that it "regularly and thoroughly teach and take advantage of not only alone all higher disciplines and sciences, but also the French language and Exercitia, as riding, fencing, dancing, etc., in order that young people of noble and non-noble positions may become basically cultured."[2]

This great change was brought about by a new development principally in two new universities--Halle (1694) and Göttingen (1737), which were soon followed by Friedrichs Universität in Erlangen (1743). The university at Halle, a new establishment by Wilhelmina's grandfather, Elector Frederick III (later King Frederick I), became "the first modern university, i.e., the first university in the modern sense

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[1] Paulsen, German Education, p. 116.

[2] Aign, Friedrichs-Academie, p. 8; Friedrich, Margrave von Bayreuth, Patent für Neue Akademie, p. 2.

of the word, not only in Germany, but in Europe."[1] Paulsen attributes its greatness to two features: (1) "It assimilated modern philosophy and science," and (2) "it was based on a new formal principle, that of freedom of thought and teaching."[2] Prior to the founding of the university at Halle, the principle prevailed at the Protestant no less than in the Catholic universities that the professors pledged themselves to hand down unaltered and approved doctrine. This was the case not only in theology and philosophy but also in law and medicine. The adoption of the principle of freedom of thought and teaching completely changed the character of the university. "It ceased to be a school of traditional doctrine and became the workshop of original scientific research and the pioneer of truth, taking the lead in the whole domain of intellectual life."[3]

Three professors at Halle are attributed with the principal leads in directing the university on a course to greatness: (1) Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), the "intellectual founder of the university, . . . that great hater of scholastic philosophy and 'pendantic' scholarship, a thoroughly modern man, and the first great representative of 'Enlightment,' who occupied a university chair,"[4] (2) August Hermann

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[1] Paulsen, German Education, p. 117. [2] Ibid.

[3] Jordan, German Education, p. 117.

[4] Ibid., pp. 117-118.

Francke,[1] who "introduced Pietistic theology into the teaching of the German universities, . . . imbued the preachers and teachers of Northern Germany with the spirit of practical Christianity,"[2] and (3) Christian Wolff,[3] "who was the first to found a system of modern philosophy, as based upon mathematics and natural science, which lent itself to academical teaching. . . . The fundamental principle of this new academical philosophy was identical with the maxim of all consistent rationalism 'Nothing without sufficient reason!'"[4]

Paulsen comments further that the university at Halle "became the first home of academic freedom and at the same time the stronghold of rationalism--first philosophical, and later on, during the later part of the century, also of theological rationalism."[5]

The university at Göttingen was an offshoot and a rival to the university at Halle. Founded only six years prior to the establishment of Friedrichs Universität by Caroline of Ansbach, a cousin of Wilhelmina,[6] the Halle university developed a particular merit "in scientific research in the proper sense."[7]

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[1] Supra, pp. 160-61. [2] Jordan, German Education, pp. 118-19.

[3] Supra, p. 161. [4] Jordan, German Education, p. 119.

[5] Paulsen, German Education, p. 120.

[6] Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 89.

[7] Paulsen, German Education, p. 120.

Jordan further notes that by the end of the eighteenth century all German universities were patterned after Halle and Göttingen, both Protestant and Catholic. One of the results of this transformation was "the spirit of modern philosophy and science had invaded the teaching in all faculties; first of all in that of philosophy, which, for that reason, gained the leading position during this period, having been hitherto regarded as 'the lower faculty.'"[1]

The influence exerted by the university at Halle is obvious in the charter for Friedrichs Universität, which was granted by Carl VII, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This charter states that the new university shall have the same privileges as the university at Halle,[2] and the studies may consist of "general studies, all liberal arts, and also sciences."[3] The charter further granted the freedom of thought and teaching.[4] It is interesting to note that of the eleven professors for the 1743 fall term of school, only two of them--Andreas Elias Rossman and Johann Gottlieb Gonne--both of the faculty of law, had studied at Halle.[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 122.

[2] Carolus VII, Bestätigungsurkunde, p. 4 (Supra, p. 95).

[3] Ibid., p. 6.

[4] Carolus VII, Bestätigungsurkunde, p. 8.

[5] Englehardt, Universität, pp. 20-41.

The original Faculty of Philosophy at Friedrichs Universitat was composed of three Ordentliche Professoren supplemented by one professor from the Faculty of Theology and two professors from the Faculty of Law.[1] The three regular members of the Philosophy Faculty were the physicist, Jacob Wilhelm Hofmann, the mathematician Georg Wilhelm Pözinger, and the orientalist and philosopher Johann Sigmund Krippner.[2] Hofman, born in neighboring Nürnberg, had studied law at the local university at Altdorf, then studied Wolff's mathematics and philosophy at Marburg for two years. He lectured according to "Thumiggii institutionibus philosophiae Wolfianae."[3] Pözinger, born in the capital city Bayreuth, studied philosophy, theology, and mathematics at Jena. He lectured on Wolff's "Elementa matheseos latina, a cursus philosophicus according to Thumig's institutes, elements of Euclid, algebra and pure mathematics, analytics, portions of Seneca, and the astronomical system."[4] Kripner, a pastor's son from Selb, studied three years at Jena. He taught among other subjects logic and metaphysics according to Wolff."[5] Johann Justin Schierschmidt, Pro-

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[1] Ibid., 40.

[2] Adolf Strümpell, Bericht über die Feier des 150 Jährigen Bestehens der Friedrich-Alexander-Universitäts zu Erlangen am 31. Juli und 1. August 1893 (Erlangen: Junge & Sohn, 1894), p. 21.

[3] Englehardt, Universität, pp. 40-41.

[4] Ibid., p. 41.

[5] Ibid.

fessor of Law, was at the same time a professor in the Philosophy Faculty. He was born in Gotha and studied Wolffian philosophy first at Jena, then went to Marburg in 1730 to study directly under Wolff. Three years later, he went to Leipzig on Wolff's recommendation to spread the Wolff philosophy.[1] Englehardt relates that the Wolffian method and his textbook dominated philosophy at the university until Kant's philosophy began to have effect.[2] It is obvious that the Faculty of Philosophy and the courses in philosophy taught at the opening of Friedrichs Universitat were "heavily loaded" with Wolffian philosophy.

Christian von Wolff was surely the "First Disciple" of Leibniz. He had produced in conjunction with Leipniz and was the more important contributor of Philosophia Leibniz-Wolffiana. Wolff placed the mass of philosophical ideas into a truly scientific form.[3] He wrote in German, and added new descriptive words to the language.[4]

> Nature, virtue, and reason were the three main themes of Wolff's speculation. He emphasized the equality of human nature and demanded that the precepts of moral law be equally applied to all classes. He claimed that even peasants were able to read his treatises on logic.[5]

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[1]Englehardt, Universität, p. 32. [2]Ibid., p. 176.

[3]Paul Hazard, La Pensée Européene au XVIII^{eme} Siècle: Montesquieu a Lessing (Éditions Contemporaines; Paris: Boivin et cie, 1946), II, 50-51; Paul Hazard, European Thought in the Eighteenth Century: From Montesquieu to Lessing, trans. by J. Lewis May, Meridiean Books (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1963), pp. 38-39.

[4]Smith, Reformation, p. 280.

[5]Reinhardt, Germany, I, 360.

Wolff shared with his colleague, Thomasius in the university at Halle, the honor as the father of the German Enlightment, Aufklärung.[1] His philosophy dominated the German universities until the publication of Kant's "Crituque of Pure Reason."[2] Wolff is generally classified by historians of philosophy as a rationalist, or extreme rationalist. It is noted, however, that he is also classified as an eclectic,[3] and one writer places him as an extreme rationalist with the added comment that he appealed to experience for his regionalism.[4] A. Wolf describes Christian Wolff as an empirical psychologist and en eclectic philosopher. He further states that he was:

> Founder of the so-called philosophy of the enlightment in Germany, by his consistent rationalism (in the general as well as the philosophical sense) and his insistence on the all-around improvement of man as the aim of all knowledge and all other human activities.[5]

Hubatsch wrote about Wolff:

> The actual founder of the methodology of the Aufklärung in Germany was Christian Wolf, who as a student of Leipniz, attempted to collect the loose conceptions of the Aufklärung into a firm system of a rationalist philosophy of life.[6]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Russell, Western Philosophy, p. 595.

[3] A. Wolf, A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the 18th Century, Torchbooks (2nd ed. rev.; New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1961), II, 775.

[4] Avey, History of Philosophy, p. 151; Supra, p. 5.

[5] Wolf, History 18th Century, II, 690, 775.

[6] Walter Hubatsch, Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus, 1600-1789 (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1962), p. 158.

The adherents of Wolff's philosophy (whether it is rationalism, empirical, or eclectic) occupied the Chairs of Philosophy in the German universities for several generations and were active in the establishment of universities and promotion of the university idea, freedom of thought, freedom of research, and freedom to teach.[1]

The concern which Margrave Frederick had in the betterment of religious and philosophical leadership among his subjects is found in his introductory remarks of the patent for the establishment of Friedrichs Academie, 1742, wherein he states ". . . some of the students do not receive a sufficient foretaste for the higher disciplines, . . . we get back many ignorant and inefficient 'Subjecta' in our lands, also indeed churches, schools, and 'Dicasteria' (courts) become burdened with them."[2]

Summary

This investigation of the influence exerted by religion and philosophy which contributed to the decision to establish Friedrichs Universität discloses that they were most closely allied to education from the time of the introduction of Christianity into the territory which became the Margravate Bayreuth.

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[1] Smith, Reformation, p. 349.

[2] Margraf Friedrich, Patent für Akademie, p. 2; supra, p. 92.

The Christian religion was introduced into Franconia by Boniface with the establishment of the Bishoprics Würzburg and Eichstadt in 741, and the founding of numerous cloisters, three of which were located within the future Hohenzollern Franconian lands by the year 817. The Church held a monopoly on education throughout the Middle Ages, the aim of which was not to transmit knowledge and learning as it is today, but to inculcate belief in the doctrine of salvation, obedience to the Church, and faith towards God. The clerical estate founded monastery, cathedral, and college schools to carry out their education duties. Training in these institutions was primarily for members of the monastic orders and to prepare secular clergymen. Even the Trivium and Quadrivium, the secular arts and sciences, were used to further clerical aims.

The university movement which arose during the thirteenth century as an independent corporation of students and teachers was closely tied to the church, as the right to teach, hold examinations, and confer degrees was vested in the spiritual authorities. The curriculums were oriented toward the needs of the clerics. Theology was the dominant faculty, which taught a doctrine laid down by the Holy Scriptures and the dogma of the church. Instruction in ecclesiastical law held the principal place in the faculties of law, although Roman Law according to the justinian Code was also generally presented.

This study shows that during the late Middle Ages in the lands

of the Margravates Ansbach and Bayreuth the clergy were in some cases educated persons, even Doctors. However, the lesser clergy were inferior in intellectual advancement, and there existed a need for the general improvement of scholastic training for the clergy.

Philosophy taught in the clerical institutions was consistently that dictated by the thoughts of the Church Fathers. Augustinian philosophy, modified by the Church Fathers, was dominate throughout the Dark Ages and into the Middle Ages when Aquinas opposed the Augustinian Platoism and supported Aristotelianism. Aquinas held that theology and philosophy were separate in method. He reinterpreted the Aristotelian philosophy to show that the existence of God could be shown by reason alone, and he integrated its principles into Scholasticism, which held as the educational philosophy until the advent of the Humanists at the close of the Middle Ages.

The Renaissance brought about a period of ferment, which resulted in a re-vitalization of Aristotelian philosophy based on new translations from the original works. One of the earliest humanist schools founded in Germany was in the Plassenburg, the residence fortress of John the Alchemist, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, in 1456-57.

Casimir, Margrave of Brandenberg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, ruled the Hohenzollern Franconian lands at the beginning of the Reformation, and remained true to the Catholic faith throughout his reign.

The protestant movement made headway in the principal cities and the monasteries, but the seminary at Feuchtwangen remained loyal to the orthodox party. Casimir ruthlessly supressed the Peasants War in his territory and assisted theCatholic forces in other Franconian areas.

George the Pious, Casimir's brother and successor, embraced Lutheranism and turned to the new church for advice and assistance in educational matters. He initiated local studies for educational matters, submitted one of these studies to Luther, and requested his recommendations. Luther replied with recommendations for the use of the income from the cloister properties for support of the schools and also to establish an institution of higher learning.

One authority relates that a great number of clergymen willingly, half willingly, or reluctantly professed the new faith, and others relinquished their posts. He further states it is not remote to think that all posts becoming vacant could not be filled with educated protestant pastors, a condition which continued for some time. Lay pastors, even from among the laborers, were used to fill the void, particularly in the smaller places. An investigation of the matriculation in a university on the part of the serving clergy disclosed only 28 per cent in 1540 had positively matriculated and only 32 per cent by 1560. It was also noted that a number of uneducated clergy were appointed during the period 1556-1603.

The control of educational matters which had heretofore

been almost exclusively Church responsibility passed to the secular rulers. Nevertheless, the new church continued to supply almost without exception the teachers and religious goals were placed high among the aims of education. The Margraves of the Ansbach-Bayreuth Lands during the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries devoted considerable personal attention to the development of education. Scholarships were established and a centralized control of the schools was effected through the issuance of decrees, which delegated certain authorities and responsibilities to the church consistory. The services available from the religious community were utilized, i.e., the church supplied the majority of the teachers, the supervision of the schools, and the inspections.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were marked by an increased interest in philosophy and a high production of philosophical works. "The Age of Reason" is a term justly applied to the era. This was the period of such prominent philosophers as the early modern rationalists, Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, Hobbes, and Leibniz, as well as the early modern empiricists Bacon, Locke, and Berkeley. Brilliant as the era was in philosophical contributions, education did not benefit until the eighteenth century. This was particularly true in the Hohenzollern Franconian lands where the Lutheran church held a position of preeminence in the administration of educational matters. The schools remained into the eighteenth century under the Melanchthon

Protestant humanism, and little change was noted in the university curriculum except in the Theology Faculty where the scholastics and the Church Fathers were replaced by the study of the Bible in its original languages. The Quadrivium and the writings of Aristotle remained the sources of all worldly wisdom dispensed by the Faculty of Arts, renamed the Faculty of Philosophy.

French Huguenot refugees, who were granted asylum in the Franconian lands by Margrave Christian Ernst during the late years of the seventeenth century, introduced a strong element of Calvinism. Catholicism was outlawed by decree in 1711 by Christian Ernest; however, eleven years later his successor, George William, granted the Catholics in Bayreuth permission to hold public worship. Frederick refused permission (1737) for the Catholics in Erlangen to establish a church.

Pietism made its appearance among both the Lutherans and the Reformists during the middle years of the seventeenth century, but did not affect the Bayreuthian lands until near the turn of the century under the reign of Christian Ernest. Its influence was short-lived, as it was rejected by George William, his successor. However, its influence was again injected into the lands with the next change of government, that of George Frederick Carl, and again rejected personally by Frederick when he ascended to the reign (1735). Nevertheless, the influence of Francke Pietism was still present in the person of Ellrod,

the Court Chaplain, and First Professor of Theology in the new university, which was dominantly Lutheran. Lutheranism which dominated the religious life of the Margravate Bayreuth was a strong supporter of education and a founder of universities under the sponsorship of secular rulers.

The educational institutions in Germany during the first half of the eighteenth century were in a period of transition. The rationalist and realist philosophies were influencing the schools, sometimes separately, and sometimes as an admixture. Even Francke added considerable realism to his rationalism in the educational institutions which he founded at Halle. The schools more so than the universities clung to the old methods. Prior to the founding of the Halle university, the principle prevailed in both Protestant and Catholic universities that the professors were pledged to an unaltered and approved doctrine. With the advent of Halle, the first modern university, came the assimilation of modern philosophy and sciences into the curriculums, and the adoption of a new formal principle of freedom to think and freedom to teach. These principles were strengthened by Wolffian philosophy which was basically rationalism, but blended with a touch of empiricism. Wolff's philosophy of the Enlightment dominated the Faculties of Philosophy in Friedrichs Universität and the other German universities for several decades. The influence of his philosophy is noted in the charter for Friedrichs Universität granted by Carl VII, wherein it stipulates that

the new university will have the same privileges as the university at Halle. A survey of the first Faculty of Philosophy discloses that it was dominated by Wolffian philosophy, that all three regular professors in the faculty were Wolffian-trained and oriented, and the curriculum was Wolffian.

The evidence discloses that the religious and philosophical forces through the ages to the founding of Friedrichs Universität separately and collectively supported the establishment of universities. This is noted to have been particularly true of these forces at the time of the establishment of the new university at Erlangen. Both the Lutherans and Calvinists as well as their Pietistic followers and the Wolffian philosophers were strong supporters of universities, as evidenced by their activity in the establishment of universities and occupation of chairs on the faculties. Margrave Frederick announced his concern for adequate education in these two fields in his patent for Friedrichs Academie when he stated: ". . . some of the students do not receive a sufficient foretaste for the higher disciplines, . . . we get back many ignorant persons and inefficient 'Subjecta' in our lands, also indeed churches, schools, and 'Discasteria' (courts) become burdened with them."

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT AND THE COURT AS SOCIAL FORCES AFFECTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRIEDRICHS UNIVERSITÄT

The Margravate Bayreuth Government and Its Influence on Education

The prevalent doctrine of government at the time of the establishment of Friedrichs Universität was absolutism, which in the Margravate Bayreuth had been blending for some time into that of the benevolent or enlightened despot.

The theory of absolutism, which reached its zenith in Europe during the seventeenth century, had its origin in prehistoric times when the tribal leader was viewed as a reincarnated diety. Descendants of the revered reincarnated deity were considered, therefore, to be of divine descent, and the theory of the divine rights of kings in a primitive form was generally accepted. The introduction of Christianity strengthened the idea. Definite commands of St. Peter and St. Paul added to the belief that obedience to the secular authority was a divine command.[1] "There subsisted throughout the Middle Ages a

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[1]John Neville Figgis, The Divine Right of Kings, Torch-

feeling that kings and all authority were the vicars of God, and that resistance to their commands was, in general, a damnable sin."[1] The humanist movement, champion of the Greek and Roman ideas, "reflected classical political thought," and expounded secular absolutism.[2] The Reformation not only perpetuated but strengthened this concept, and it was preached by both the Calvinists and Lutherans.[3]

Absolutism in the Hohenzollern Franconian lands had developed generally in the same pattern as it had in the remainder of Protestant Germany. The suppression of the Peasants War had sealed the fate of the peasantry, and the Thirty Years War, along with other determining factors, set the pattern for the nobility and the middle classes. The Margrave of the Bayreuthian territory emerged from the ecclesiastical-secular strife as the absolute ruler of his territory.[4] The nobility was excluded (1539) from the consultive assembly. The Landtag (Diet) for the Bayreuth territory was not completely dissolved,

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books (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965), p. 18; Barnes, Intellectual and Cultural History, I, 358-59; George H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory (3rd ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 392, cites St. Paul, Romans 13.

[1]Figgis, Divine Right of Kings, pp. 17-19.

[2]Barnes, Intellectual and Cultural History, II, 579.

[3]Sabine, History of Political Theory, p. 393.

[4]Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 14; Rössler, Franken, p. 101; Rössler, Fränkischer Geist, pp. 72-73.

but it was steadily repressed.[1] Frederick succeeded to an almost typical small state absolutist government which was constructed on the cameralist principle. The various High Departments, which had developed gradually from governmental nuclei, were located in Bayreuth. There were six Oberamter (High Departments) and six so-called Amtschauptmannschaften (prefectures) in Bayreuth.

> The High Departments acted in a manner of inspection over the Departments positioned under them, as they also possessed certain jurisdictional rights. The High Departments had the financial responsibility for the fees and salaries of the court favorites, noble office holders, and the officers. The Departments, on the other hand, local administrations had jurisdictional, policy and financial competency, still various differences also were present.[2]

A highest governmental administration board with far-reaching authority, the Privy Council or Cabinet of Ministers, was presided over by the Prime Minister in Bayreuth.

The Franconian Hohenzollerns did not prove as adept in training their state officials as their Prussian cousins in the north. These officials received a trivial salary and viewed their position simply as a possession according to civil law, so frequently arbitrary acts occurred on their part, especially the increase of fees. Frederick eventually instituted reforms for his administration regarding "confi-

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[1]Rössler, Fränkischer Geist, pp. 72-73; Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 16.

[2]Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 15.

dential passing-one, severe nepotism 'Nepoten-Despotismus' (nepotic despotism), as it was referred to in a report from the year 1793, to profiteering in a luxurious manner."[1] The continued financial distress of the territory, as well as the lack of adequate financial accounting has been related in previous chapters.[2]

The administration of justice was closely connected to administration and was not a homogeneous organization due to the separation of courts for the various social-economic classes.[3] The Jurist Faculty from the founding of the University was decreed by the Margrave as Spruchgericht (court of judgment), from which the Prince's Council would seek advice and to whom they would send their acts for judgment. The Spruchgericht also had another function for admitting to the practice of law, without further examination, those who had attained the Doctor of Jurisprudence or Licentiat.[4]

All phases of life in the territory were subject theoretically to the desires and wishes of the absolutist ruler, and were controlled in his name by the bureaucratic government. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) determined the status of religion in the state, and the Bayreuth

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[1] Brandt, Staat und Kultur, pp. 15-16.

[2] Supra, pp. 120-130.

[3] Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 17.

[4] Englehardt, Universität, pp. 34-35.

Consistory became subservient to the Margrave. Education, which had been primarily a responsibility of the Church, became the direct responsibility of the state, although many of the responsibilities for its operation were delegated to the Consistory.

Margrave Frederick was cognizant of the lack of adequately trained personnel to effectively administer the various offices of the government.[1] He turned to the improvement of higher education as a remedy, by reforming and upgrading the existing institutions.[2]

The Margrave Frederick of Bayreuth and His Court as an Influence on Education

The interest and activities on the part of the Margravates of Bayreuth and their Ministers from the time of Frederick I, Elector of Brandenburg, in the advancement of educational goals and the promotion of the idea for the founding of a university have been related to some extent in the previous discussion of education as a social factor.[3] The personalities of an absolute ruler and his favorites generally determined the course of the affairs of state. This was particularly true of actions pertaining to internal affairs, except probably in times of severe upheaval. Two members of the Bayreuth Court in addition to Frederick assumed positions of leadership in the founding of the uni-

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[1] Friedrich, Patent due Neue Akademie, p. 2.

[2] Supra, pp. 89-98.

[3] Supra, Chapter II.

versity, the Margravine Wilhelmina and Daniel de Superville. Some writers credit these two individuals, separately or collectively, as being the actual forces leading to the founding of the university.[1]

Frederick, Margrave of Bayreuth, was born in Weferlingen, located in the Prussian domains where the family had moved after their claim to the Bayreuth inheritance had been rejected by the Prussian ministers.[2] He spent his boyhood at Weferlingen, where "he was brought up like a peasant, developing sporting tastes and a splendid physique. . . . A splendid horseman and over bold, he often rode from Baireuth to Erlangen, between thirty and forty miles, in four hours."[3] He also had a passion for hunting and shooting and was devoted to bowling.[4]

Wilhelmina relates in one manuscript of her "Memoirs" that the prince's education was entrusted at first to a middle-class tutor, but later when the young Prince was departing for his studies at the Geneva university, he was placed under the charge of a M. von Voit, a gentleman of good birth.[5] Another manuscript of Wilhelmina's

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[1] Aign, Friedrichs-Akademie, pp. 6-7; Brandt, Staat und Kultur, pp. 22-23; Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 89; Fester, Bayreuther Schwester, pp. 11-13; Rössler, Geschichte Entwicklung, p. 101; Stein and Muller, Geschichte von Erlangen, p. 129.

[2] Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Fredrica Sophia Wilhelmina, I, 325; Supra, pp.

[3] Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 5. [4] Ibid.

[5] Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Wilmelmine, p. 181.

"Memoirs" relates that his father sent him to Geneva with "a tutor, a simple commoner; a man of great probity, it is true, but not capable of imparting such an education as suited an hereditary Prince. His allowance was so scanty that it scarcely sufficed for his maintenance."[1] Jordan gives a slightly different version. He relates that his father had sent him to Altdorf to study at the age of seven years, but brought him back home to Rothenburg o. T. as he did not feel that he could maintain him there. Later he sent him to the university at Geneva, where he studied for eleven years, but it appears that his knowledge was only moderately cultivated."[2] Brandt states that "he had studied in Altdorf and Geneva, and because of his artistic tastes could pass as a young Frenchman."[3] Rössler writes that Frederick had gone over from the paternal Pietism to Enlightment at Altdorf and Geneva.[4] Cuthell also writes that

> . . . he spoke and wrote French and Italian fluently. He loved astronomy, and made a collection of Natural History. Wilhelmina kept his University note-book of 1728 with his geometrical exercises in it. Fond of chess, 1746 he sent for the famous Jewish player, Hirschel Baruch, to come and exhibit at Baireuth. Margrave Frederick was accomplished

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[1]Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, I, 325.

[2]Jordan, Reformation Gelehrte Bildung, II, 142.

[3]Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 7.

[4]Rössler, Frankisher Geist, p. 75.

> and artistic as he was sporting. He played on the flute, 'cello, and a sort of bagpipes, Musette. A specimen which belonged to him is still to be seen at Baireuth. He painted well in water-colours, and drew well, making his own architect's designs. In art a connoisseur, he could name a master at a glance. He has also been surnamed the "Architect," the "Baireuth Augustus."[1]

Frederick succeeded to a government which was outwardly one of absolutist theory. However, Frederick had been won over to the Enlightment and devoted much of his energy to the improvement of the territory and his subjects. Stein and Müller refer to Frederick as "a benevolent prince."[2] Several significant reforms for improvement were instituted by Frederick, among which were the establishment of a Collegium medicum, followed by a medical regulation in 1742; a life insurance association in 1754; and the procuring of up-to-date fire fighting apparatus in 1740. There also were issued regulations for the additional improvement of the public welfare: (1) a police regulation created a Directory of Police along the lines of the Prussian sense, (2) the gate to Bayreuth was demolished and the capital became an open city, (3) a sanitation foundation was established to drain the various ponds in the near vicinity, and (4) new regulations provided for street cleaning and lighting. Brandt further expresses the times:

> A genuine feeling comes to us out of the especially powerful spirit of the Enlightment, as in the struggle

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[1] Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 5.

[2] Stein and Müller, Stadt Erlangen, p. 128.

> against the superstitions, in the refusal of religious fanaticisms, indeed side by side with the definite rejection of the free thinker, in the prohibition of duels and indeed at least an un-Christian institution as irrationa.[1]

Cuthell writes:

> In 1736 the first political newspaper was started by the Margrave's wish, and a regular postal service run between Baireuth and Culmbach. A Freemason since his Geneva days, he formed a Lodge at Baireuth where only French was spoken. Another, a German Lodge, was started later. The free library planned by his late father was now opened, and in the attempts to improve education we see traces of the Margravine's hand.[2]

Margrave Frederick generally maintained a position of strict neutrality in foreign affairs. This was quite noticeable in his position during his brother-in-law's, Frederick the Great, conflicts with Maria Theresa. He did take a stand on the election of the Holy Roman Emperor in 1742. Frederick supported the cause of Charles Albert, the Elector of Bavaria, in opposition to the Austrian Hapsburg candidate, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa. Charles Albert was unanimously elected, 24 January 1742, as Charles VII (Carlos VII), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He was greeted by Frederick as he passed by Bayreuth traveling incognito[3] to his coronation in Frankfurt

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[1]Brandt, Staat und Kultur, p. 17.

[2]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 20.

[3]Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, II, 355.

am Main, which took place on 12th February 1742.[1] Frederick and Wilhelmina, also ostensibly incognito to save expenses, followed them a few days later in order to arrive at Frankfurt the day before the scheduled coronation, 31st January 1742.[2]

Frederick and Charles VII prepared a treaty, while in Frankfurt, which would be settled upon the Margrave meeting certain conditions. The military and financial conditions proved too difficult for the Margrave, so the treaty suffered a still-birth.[3] It is noticeable, however, that Charles VII, one year later, granted Frederick the charter for a new Protestant university which contained the most liberal privileges.[4]

The activity by the Margrave Frederick in the promotion of education, through improvement of the existing schools and the establishment of institutions of higher learning, has been related previously and does not bear repetition.[5] Rössler's comment regarding the intellectual transformation of the old classes is equally appropriate to

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[1]Edith Simon, The Making of Frederick the Great (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), p. 214.

[2]Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Frederick Sophie Wilhelmina, II, 356.

[3]Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Wilhelmine, pp. 440-50.

[4]Supra, pp. 94-96.

[5]Supra, pp. 89-98.

describe Frederick's reign: "Thereby the liberal mindedness of the new Enlightment accomplished considerable services."[1]

Margräfin Wilhelmina has been given much of the credit for the founding of Friedrichs Universität. Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine, was born 3rd July 1709, to Frederick William I, at that time Crown Prince of Prussia, and his consort, Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George I, King of Great Britain and his consort and cousin, Sophia Dorothea, the "Prisoner of Ahlden." Her brother, who is known as Frederick the Great, was born three years later, 24 January 1712. They spent the next seven years together in the nursery and formed an attachment that lasted for nearly a half century.[2]

Wilhelmina relates about her early education:

> . . . Madame von Konnke, wife of the Grand Maitre de la Garderobe, had the chief supervision over our education. Madame von Rocoule, who had brought up my father, was my brother's governess; and the Crown Princess gave me into the charge of Léti. . . . It is necessary to describe Léti. She was the daughter of Gregori Léti, a monk. He had escaped to Holland, where is known through several works which he wrote there by way of supporting himself, as he was in great poverty. He had not been able to give his daughter any education, so that she had not more than civility in her composition than is generally met with in the Dutch. Her character was composed of all the faults

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[1]Rössler, "Geschichte Entwicklung," in Franken, II, 101.

[2]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, I, 10.

> which are attributed to the Italians. She was very clever, had acquired a good deal of knowledge, and could express herself with ease; she was very violent, revengeful, and of no high morality. All these faults she hid, however, under the cloak of apparent piety, with which she deceived those who did not know her intimately. Happily my good disposition was stronger than her bad example.[1]

Cuthell writes:

> . . . The Queen, like a true granddaughter of Electress Sophia, determined that Wilhelmina's precocious little mind, so wonderfully quick at absorbing knowledge, should imbibe something more than Madame de Rocouill's beautiful French and Bible lessons, and Léti's elementary geography and history. . . .
>
> Strange as it may appear to our modern ideas of teaching, the most learned scholar in Berlin was brought to pour a knowledge of universal history into the little six-year-old mind already prepared with technicalities. La Croze,[2] an ex-monk from St. Germain-les-Pres, was librarian of the Royal Library at Berlin, a very stout and wheezy personage.[3]

Frederick the Great recalled after La Croze's death that he was a perfect "compendium of knowledge." He possessed a prodigious memory and "besides French, his mother tongue, spoke six modern and three ancient languages, without counting Slav and Basque dialects, and Oriental tongues, including Chinese, which he learnt to please Leibnitz."[4] Wilhelmina assimilated her lessons from La Croze

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[1] Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Wilhelmine, p. 4.

[2] Mathurin Vizyierre de la Croze, a pupil of Leibniz, identified in Constance Wright, A Royal Affinity: The Story of Frederick the Great and His Sister, Wilhelmina of Bayreuth (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 13.

[3] Cuthell, Wilhelmina, I, 28.

[4] Ibid.

in history "with avidity, being very lively and quick, and 'having a delightful memory.'"[1]

Léti proved to be a tyrant in her domain and repeatedly struck Wilhelmina with such severe blows that on some of these occasions she was ill. Léti's behavior became so bad that she was dismissed in 1721 and Mademoiselle von Sonnsfeld, the Queen's second lady-in-waiting, was chosen by the King to take charge of Wilhelmina's education.[2] Sonnsfeld remained with Wilhelmina following her marriage and accompanied her to Bayreuth, where she proved herself the most loyal of her entourage. Wilhelmina recalls in her Memoirs that

> . . . she taught me what real feeling was. I now did my lessons with delight, and began to take an interest in literature and reading, which soon became my favorite occupation. I had an English and an Italian master added to the others. I was well versed in ancient and modern history, geography, and the first principles of philosophy; I understood music thoroughly, and I made great progress with my studies.[3]

The English language was important in the Queen's plans for Wilhelmine's marriage to the British Crown Prince. The services of the English Envoy's Chaplain, a Dr. Villa, were secured for eight years as an English language tutor for Wilhelmina. Wilhelmina also learned to play the harpsicord and the lute. She was always more of a

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[1] Ibid., I, 29.

[2] Markgräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs Wilhelmine, p. 37.

[3] Ibid., I, 33, 39.

musican than an artist.[1]

Wilhelmina was confirmed when she was fifteen years old. The examination lasted for three hours. Cuthell relates: "It has come down to us in eighteen closely printed pages, and all proved by Scripture."[2] Cuthell continues with the comment:

> What wonder that the toil of learning by heart so much of dry dogma awoke a spirit of opposition in the thoughtful young mind! Nor could the narrow, intolerant spirit of the Halle Pietists, which subsequently influenced the Berlin Court, have been more to her taste.[3]

Wilhelmina never lost her interest in intellectual attainment. Hübsch comments on the reign of Frederick and Wilhelmina at Bayreuth: "In truth it marked the opening of a new epoch in the cultural and artistic life of the small Bayreuth Principality."[4]

George Horn, in his study of the friendship between Wilhelmina and Voltaire, writes:

> Wilhelmine's and Frederic's[5] first acquaintance with Voltaire's writing (which adorned the first half of the eighteenth century) was made, without doubt, during their secret hours of study. . . .
> . . . After a most lively correspondence between the Crown Prince and Voltaire, for a space of four years, the long de-

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[1]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, I, 44.

[2]Ibid., I, 55. [3]Ibid.

[4]G. Hübsch, Der Fürstiche Luftsitz Eremitage bei Bayreuth in den Tagen seiner Vergangenheit (Bayreuth: Druck und Verlag von Carl Geissel, 1924), p. 55, my translation.

[5]Wilhelmina's brother, the Crown Prince Frederick.

> sired personal acquaintance took place at the Castle of Moyland, near Wesel, in the autumn of 1740. . . .[1]
>
> Voltaire's second visit followed quickly on the first. On the 21st November of the same year, he again arrived at Rheinsberg, nominally to report on the publication of the "Antimachiavelli," but in reality sent by the French Cardinal Ministery Fleury. . . .[2]
>
> . . . the King one evening interrupted their conversation, and taking Voltaire by the hand, led him up to a lady with these words, "I here present you to my beloved sister."[3]

Horn describes an evening at Frederick's court during Voltaire's and Wilhelmina's visit:

> . . . The King, who has all day sat brooding over serious undertakings against the House of Hapsburg, now makes his appearance. The concert begins; the King leads the Margravine to the piano, and then takes his flute. During the pauses between the different pieces the Margravine holds philosophic and other discussions with Maupertius, Algarotti, Jordan, and Keyserling, but chiefly with Voltaire, whose society was so new, interesting, and invigorating.[4]

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[1]Frederick succeeded to the Prussian Throne on 31st May 1740.

[2]Frederick had been reinforcing his troops on the Rhine, as a cloak to his preparations for the seizure of Silesia. Voltaire had been sent to discover Frederick's plans. Wilhelmina later served as an intelligence gatherer for her brother. A chore which she proved most proficient, even to the use of secret couriers and codes.

[3]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 64-65, places this meeting on the first evening, 21st November 1740.

[4]George Horn, The Margravine of Baireuth and Voltaire, trans. by H.R.H. Princess Christian of Schleswig Holstein, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland (London: David Scott, 1888), p. 17fn., identifies the following: Pierre Louis Morraude Maupertuis, celebrated French mathematician, born 1698, died 1759; Francesco, Count Algarotti, Italian physiologist, born 1712, died 1764.

> How many interests these two have in common! One can almost hear the Margravine asking Voltaire what he thought of his relations to the Court of Versailles, of Louis XV, Madame Pompadour, and Cardinal Fleury; did he prefer Lacouvreur to Clairon in tragedy; whose music was the deepest, Hasse or Graum; at what result had he arrived from his studies of Newton; what was his opinion of Wolff, her brother's master in philosophy, of Descartes, whose views she subscribed to. . . .[1]

Voltaire departed Prussia on the 2nd December 1740, and Wilhelmina returned to Bayreuth the following month. She mentioned Voltaire only once briefly in her "Memoirs," and this in no connection with herself.

Horn relates that a year later the Margravine sent a present to Voltaire in remembrance of this first meeting, and that it was accompanied by a letter from Daniel de Superville, her private secretary, or as Voltaire referred to him, "the philosopher Superville." Horn comments:

> Who was there who was not a philosopher in the eighteenth century? Philosophy was then the fashion as today the sciences are, as everybody deems himself well up in natural physics who knows that fire is not a substance but a power. In this manner all then believe themselves philosophers who had no faith in the biblical devil.[2]

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[1] Horn, Margravine of Baireuth and Voltaire, pp. 17-18, my emphasis; p. 17 fn. identifies the following: Adrienne Lecouvreur, celebrated French actress, born 1690, died 1730; Clairon, great French tragedian, born 1723, died 28th January 1803; Hasse, German composer, born 1699, died 1783; Graun, celebrated German composer, born 1701, died 1759.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

The first letter sent by Voltaire to Wilhelmina arrived at Bayreuth in October 1742; it was dated 26th September 1742. This letter contains his expression of appreciation for the gift and also refers to some verses which he had sent her but she had not received. He included the compliment:

> Do me justice, Madame, consider how impossible it is for me even to forget your many favors, and believe that not only had I done myself the honour of writing to your Royal Highness, but that I would have come to your country, personally to thank you--had fate permitted me to undertake so pleasant a journey. No, Madame, I shall ever remember the Princess, the Philosopher, the Patron of Art, the accomplished Musician, and the example of perfect courtesy and affability.[1]

This was the first letter of a long correspondence of a friendship which lasted through the lifetime of the Margravine. The letter contains no other mention of philosophy nor any remark which may be construed to have exerted any influence on education.

Voltaire again visited Berlin in August 1743 and accompanied Frederick the Great to Bayreuth the following month, September 1743.[2] The King traveled on to Ansbach, leaving Voltaire behind at the Bayreuth Court. "The Margravine's guests remained a fortnight at her Court; it was the first and only time that Voltaire ever was at Baireuth."[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 19-21, emphasis mine.

[2] Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 90, places this trip in 1744, which must be a typographical error. Other sources and evidence place the trip in 1743.

[3] Horn, Margravine of Baireuth and Voltaire, p. 23.

During this visit Wilhelmina "herself acted with Voltaire at the Schloss theatre in Racine's Bajazet, playing 'Roxane,' and Voltaire 'Acomat.'"[1] Horn remarks: "Yet these days, spent in friendly and intellectual intercourse with Wilhelmine, shed a purifying light on the rest of his life."[2]

The inaugural for the new university was held in Erlangen approximately a month later, 4 November 1743, "with great pomp and ceremony, which lasted three days." Wilhelmine gave the theses that were debated during the ceremonies: (1) It is not to be denied that matter can think, and (2) It is by no means essential that compound things must consist of units.[3]

Wilhelmina wrote her brother on the 11th November 1743:

> I have been to see the inauguration of the university. I have found it much increased in professors and students. We have some very clever people, which makes me hope the university will succeed. I went by curiosity to a German debate. It was on the divisibility of Matter.

"She adds that the speakers were, one, a follower of Newton, and one, of Wolff, and that all did well, and without the usual pedantry of their species."[4]

Frederick, the brother, replied:

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[1]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 92.

[2]Horn, Margravine of Baireuth and Voltaire, p. 23.

[3]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 95, 96.

[4]Ibid., II, 95.

I am very pleased that your university has amused you. I tremble to think how many savants it will produce, and if they begin to dispute about the divisibility of matter, what may they not attain to! But you will have accomplished nothing, my dear sister, if the Duchess of Wurtemberg has not argued with your chancellor and your professors.[1]

Cuthell writes:

If the initiative of the University was not quite Wilhelmina's, yet it allowed her for the first time to put her views into practice. She felt that if the French she loved was the language of art and culture, German was that of thinkers, and her aim was to encourage native intelligence.
. . .

Wilhelmina and Supperville [sic] sowed the seed in Franconia. But in their day, and for many years later, the Erlangen University, though its aim and its guidance were good, lacked men and means. It was really only in the nineteenth century that it became strong and important as a centre of protestant theology. But this was hardly the intention of its founders, of Wilhelmina, led by Voltaire that autumn into the world of thought of Newton and Locke, or of its first Chancellor, Supperville [sic], the medical "philosopher," who was at the same time a pupil of the Jesuits and a Calvinist, the historian of the Berlin Reformed Church and the opponent of the Baireuth Pietists.

But Wilhelmina never became a thorough-going Voltarian. "Like Supperville [sic], she did not understand by enlightment the watchword of the narrow school of the Encyclopaedists ecrasez l'infame,[2] but rather, tolerance and, as its first premise in a university, the secularisation [sic] of science.[3]

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[1]Ibid., II, 96.

[2]Crush the infamy; down with the infamous system (slogan of Diderot and Voltaire).

[3]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 96-97.

Wilhelmina rejected the philosophy of Christian Wolff[1] because of its predestination and that evil could have been created by a good god. Her belief remained with Descartes' free will.[2]

Cuthell mentions another factor which probably influenced Wilhelmina in her activity to secure a university for the Margravate.

> The ambition of the German princelets of the day was to have a university. A taste that way ran in Wilhelmina's family. Her grandmother had founded Halie, her cousin Caroline of Anspach, Gottingen. Even the lunatic Duke of Weimar was, as Frederic said, "mad for universities." Wilhelmina's wishes now took a similar turn. It was Supperville [sic] who became her instrument.[3]

Daniel de Superville was born of French refugee parents in Rotterdam, 2 December 1696. He received his first schooling in Rotterdam, then had studied at Leyden and Utrecht where he received a law degree, after which he studied medicine and anatomy, "soon made him celebrated."[4]

Wilhelmina relates in her Memoirs:

> The King took him with him, as his first doctor, to Pomerania, whence his fame soon spread. He was extremely

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[1]Wright, Royal Affinity, p. 231, reports that Wilhelmine had a conference with Christian Wolff at the university town of Halle in 1747.

[2]Ibid., p. 175; Elizabeth Bracker, Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth und die Geistige Welt Frankreichts, Neue Folge Band 4 Erlanger Abhandlungen zur Mitteleren und Neueren Geschichte Hsgb. von Erich Freiherr von Guttenberg und Ludwig Zimmermann (Erlangen: Verlag von Palm & Enke, 1940), p. 43.

[3]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, p. 89.

[4]Sehling, Superville, pp. 5, 8.

> clever, had read immensely, and was a great genius. His conversation was natural and pleasant, he understood how to joke as well as how to be serious, but his imperious and jealous nature cast his other qualities and talents into the shade, and made him ridiculous to such a degree as not to be easily forgotten.[1]

The Margravine became seriously ill in 1738 and her brother suggested that she secure Superville from Berlin. She wrote her father with the request for Superville's services. The King complied but only on a temporary basis, which later became permanent upon a gift of eight tall soldier from the Margrave's own guard.[2] Superville was successful in improving the health of the Margravine; however, it does not appear a complete cure was attained. He also served the Margrave Frederick as his personal physician. He rose, as personal advisor to the Margrave, to the highest court position and influence, as well as Chancellor of the new university where he was given broad powers.[3] Perhaps the highest honor he received was that Voltaire referred to him as "the philosopher Superville."[4]

A report on an eighteenth century court would not be complete without considering the numerous transient members. The court at Bayreuth followed the usual pattern of the time. The Court of Louis

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[1] Margräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Wilhelmine, p. 415.

[2] Ibid., p. 420-421.

[3] Supra, pp. 91-97.

[4] Horn, Margravine of Baireuth and Voltaire, p. 19.

XIV, the "Sun King," became the ideal and model for the courts in Germany, even the smallest. Every attempt, regardless of expense in many cases, was made to copy each facet of the model.[1] The French language was the exclusive language of the courts, and in many cases, the first language of the members of the court. French artists and learned men were imported to give the local courts the finesse of French court life.[2]

Cuthell presents an accounting of the French influence at the Bayreuth court:

> Wilhelmina inherited Frederick I's love of splendour and magnificent ceremonial. Her husband shared her tastes, and wide as poles apart was the Baireuth Court in his day and in his parsimonious father's time. From the moment of his accession he began to increase his state and household on the model of Versailles. Of chamberlains alone there were twenty-seven, and the Margravine had her own separate household. For their cooks there were three chefs, two head cooks, four "mouth-cooks," two ritter cooks, a cook's helper, and one roaster, besides a herd of special artists in cuisine of both sexes. . . .
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> The Margravial love of display was also shown in the elaborate costumes worn at court. . . . Court dress at Baireuth was sumptuous, men and women in heavy silks and velvets, embroidered and laced, the ladies trimmed with valuable lace, almost sleeveless and very décolleté. The skirt as stretched out over wide hoops and valuable jewels were worn, as Frederica's[3] trousseau shows.

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[1] Bracker, Markgräfin Wilhelmine.

[2] Adiren Fauchier-Magnon, The Small German Courts in the 18th Century, trans. by Mervyn Savill (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1958), pp. 30-41.

[3] Frederica: Princess Elizabeth Frederica Sophia; born 30th August 1732; daughter of Frederick and Wilhelmina of Bayreuth;

> The concourse of foreigners at Baireuth was very great. Besides the French and Italian actors and singers, the Baireuth Directory mentions artists in colour and in stone and stucco-St. Pierre; Richter, architect and landscape gardener; the sculptors and architects Gontart and Ränz; the scene-painter Guisseppi; the decorators Carlo Galli, Bibiena; the painters Gerhart, Pavona, who painted the Margrave, Roslin, the pastel artist, Torelli, Albini, Andrioli, Bossi, Doldrini, Pauluzzi, and the German-Italian artist Raphael Mengs. The Court poets and librettists from the land of the Improvisarores were Galletti and Stampiglia; the composer was Bernasconi. The only Germans connected with the opera were two ballet masters.
>
> Nor was it only foreign artists who were encouraged. The Margravine has told us what she thought of the native nobility, who had never left their country and could only talk of hunting and fishing. Her friendship with Voltaire resulted in an influx of French savants and other foreigners, artistic, literary, or even merely wits and good company, on whom were bestowed the highest Court offices. The Marquis de Montperni, a great favorite of the Margravine's, was Deputy Grand Chamberlain and Head Impresario of the playhouse. Count Mirabeau, uncle of the great Revolutionist, was made the head of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Marquis Duchâtelet, a relative of Voltaire's "divine Emilie," D'Adhémar, the Secretary Voltaire sent the Margravine, Supperville [sic], the Huguenot, were among the principal foreigners on whom to judge by the lists, were bestowed the Order of the Red Eagle.
>
> Indelibly is the splendor of this reign stamped upon the capital. . . .[1]

There were in addition to the above semi-permanent employees, a continuous flow of guests, visiting nobles some with their ladies and entourages. Some of these proved semi-permanent guests,

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married 26th September 1748 to Prince of Württemberg; became Duchess of Württemburg on accession of husband.

[1]Cuthell, Wilhelmina, II, 154-55; see also Bracker, Margräfin Wilhelmine, pp. 41-74.

received official positions at the court, or merely "lived off" the court. Others were transient visitors, but rather regular in their visits, entertained (financially maintained) at the expense of the court.

Baron Charles Louis von Pöllnitz, born 25th February 1692, the "German Casanova," was among the repeating and departure delaying guests at the Bayreuth Court. He was in the employ of the Berlin Court at the time of Wilhelmina's birth, but soon after left to begin his wanderings among the courts of Europe. Cuthell remarks:

> Charles von Pöllnitz was doubtless not particularly interested in the baby; but in years to come he was to become very much so, in the Princess Wilhelmina. Between them grew up a real friendship founded on mutual tastes in art and literature, and the Margravine, however caustic she might be about others, always wrote kindly to, and of, her "old Baron."[1]

Wilhelmina wrote affectionately of Pöllnitz in her Memoirs.

> . . . We received M. von Pölnitz [sic],[2] who had been sent by the King to express his sympathy with us at the death of the late Margrave.
>
> This personage has been made enough stir in the world to oblige me to mention him specially. He is the author of the memoirs which appeared in his name. The King had had them read aloud to him, and was so much pleased with the account given of the Berlin Court, that he expressed a wish to see the author again. Polnitz [sic] was at time living in Vienna under the Empress' special

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[1] Edith E. Cuthell, A Vagabond Courtier: from the Memoirs and Letters of Baron Charles Louis Pöllnitz (London: Stanley Paul & Co., 1913), I, 43-44.

[2] Spelling of the name is generally Pöllnitz. Wilhelmina in her Memoirs uses: Mr. le baron de Polnitz. Margräfin Wilhelmina von Bayreuth, Memories de la Margrave de Bareith, (51ème ed.; Berlin Hermann Barsdorf Verlag, 1910), p. 497.

> protection. He came to Berlin, where he managed to ingratiate himself with the King and obtain a salary of fifteen hundred thalers from him. I had known Pölnitz [sic] very well in my youth. He was extremely clever and well read, and his conversation was most agreeable. Although his heart was not bad, he had no knowledge of the world, and no right judgment. He constantly sinned from inadvertent hastiness. He was clever enough to retain the King's favour as long as he lived, and my father stood by him to the last. We liked Pölnitz [sic] very much, and the time passed pleasantly in his society. . . .[1]

Elsewhere in her Memoirs, Wilhelmina wrote:

> We intended starting on 27th January, when Pölnitz [sic], who is famed for his memoirs and his mad freaks suddenly arrived.[2]

Summary

This investigation of the government and the court as an influence in the determination of Margrave Frederick to establish a university discloses that the prevalent form of government in existence throughout Europe was one of absolutism, which was in the process of blending into that of the benevolent despot. The government of Margravate Bayreuth during the reign of Frederick was absolutist in form, but under his "Enlightened" leadership progressively became one of benevolence.

The efficient functioning of his government depended upon

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[1] Margräfin Wilhelmine, Memoirs of Wilhelmine, pp. 381-82.

[2] Ibid., p. 441.

a large staff of competent officials, of whom a considerable number through necessity were recruited from outside the margravate to fill the higher and responsible positions. Frederick, in order to reduce the prevalent practice of malfeasance and the inadequate performance of governmental functions, determined to improve the existing schools and to establish an institution of higher learning for the training of the native sons, as he so explicitly stated in the founding document for Friedrichs-Academie.

Frederick was won over to the Enlightment during his university days in Geneva, and upon his succession instituted reforms in governmental structure and public welfare.

Wilhelmina, his consort, a child of "French spirit" and of the Enlightment, was imbued with a passion for culture. She was deeply interested in philosophy and became a lifelong friend and correspondent with Voltaire. She did not become a Voltarian, nor did she embrace the Wolffian philosophy as did her brother, Frederick the Great, but held with Descartes. She did not limit her interests to philosophy but embraced all culture and maintained an exquisite court after the French pattern, which undoubtedly placed an enormous expense on the small margravate.

It was the "fad" at this time for the numerous small German states to have their own university. It was, however, only natural that Wilhelmina was interested in establishing a university in her lands. In

addition to her interest in the intellectual, her family had a long precedent for founding universities.

Daniel de Superville, Wilhelmina's personal physician educated in law and medicine, attained the highest rank in the Margrave's court, was advisor to the Margrave on educational matters, was active in the establishment of Friedrichs-Academie, became its Director, then assisted Frederick in his plans for the university and became its first Chancellor.

There was a definite need on the part of the government of the Margravate Bayreuth for an improved educational system for its subjects in order that an adequate supply of trained and competent personnel be available for the governmental functions in churches, schools, and bureaus. The principal members of the court at Bayreuth were active in cultural matters and supported intellectual advancement.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The preceding investigation of the development of education in the Margravate Bayreuth discloses that there existed from an early time an interest in scholarly learning, which stemmed from the court, the monasteries, the church in general, the cities, and the nobility.

It is evident that the Margraves from the time of Frederick I, the Elector of Brandenburg, took an active interest and often personally participated in the scholarly life and in the improvement of education for their subjects, even in the face of extreme adversities. The Margraves gathered into their services learned scholars from within and from without their lands, who, in addition to their specific duties, participated in the furtherance of educational matters.

The schools of the Margravate in conformance with the pattern of the times were primarily in the province of the clergy until the Reformation, following which the Protestant secular rulers assumed the responsibility. The ruler of the Margravate Bayreuth was reluctant to break with the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and did not hastily

enter the Protestant camp.

University attendance by the youth of the Margravate through the difficult Reformation Era, which shows a recovery at a rate greater than the general attendance at German universities and an increase by 1560 to a level above that of the Middle Ages. The incentive to establish a university in the Protestant Franconian lands stems from the inquiry regarding church, state, and educational matters by Margrave George the Pious to Martin Luther and his reply in 1529. There was, following the recipt of Luther's reply, an almost continuous striving to improve education and to establish a university in the Margravate lands. The failure of some of the earlier attempts to establish a genuine university culminated in the founding of institutions of higher learning at a lesser level. The improvement and expansion of the lower schools and the establishment of academies, gymnasiums, and similar institutions provided an improvement in education.

It appears that the furtherance of education at one level served as an incentive for advancement at other levels. The activities of the learned gentlemen at court on behalf of education may be indicative of the force of education to propagate itself. The continuous improvement of education, increase of educational opportunities, and the establishment of institutions of higher learning may be considered a force leading to the establishment of the university.

The investigation of the economic structure of the Margravate

Bayreuth discloses that assets were primarily agricultural, generally sufficient for home consumption with a small balance of some few products available for exportation. There was also a very small production from the mineral resources, and a budding state-controlled industry. The demands upon this land which was "not excessively rich by nature . . . did not correspond to the scanty income of the small land." Excessive construction of public buildings, malfeasance, and inefficient management by a large bureaucracy, and the maintenance of an exquisite court forced the land further and further into debt. The demands upon the economy far exceeded the assets.

The Erlangen petition of 1718 requesting the establishment of a local university expresses not only an interest in higher education but also expresses an interest in the financial advantages to be gained by retaining the scholarship expenditures in the homeland and by receipt of income from the visiting foreign students.

The evidence indicates the need for adjustment and reform and the need for adequately trained personnel in agriculture, industry, economic management, and all phases of government concerned with finances, particularly their accounting and control.

Religion and philosophy, two closely related social forces, dictated the course of culture from the earliest times. The Church supported by the Christian philosophy controlled education throughout the Middle Ages. It dictated the aims, the curriculums, the methods,

the type of educational institutions, and the extent of schooling one attained. The university movement which arose in the thirteenth century, as an independent movement, was closely tied to the Church which controlled the principal administrative matters. Scholasticism dominated the curriculum and the chief aim of the institution was the production of clergymen. The Renaissance brought a revitalization of Aristotelian philosophy into the Church and the schools. One of the earliest humanistic schools in Germany was founded by John the Alchemist, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach in his fortress castle, Plassenburg.

The Reformation brought about a need for the training of Protestant clergymen. A great number of the clergymen in the Margravate professed the new faith; however, there still existed a shortage of trained clergymen. Lay pastors, even from among the laborers, were used to fill the void.

The control of educational matters which had heretofore been almost exclusively the responsibility of the Church passed to the secular rulers. The Margraves of the Ansbach-Bayreuth lands took an active interest in the church and educational matters, issued decrees establishing scholarships, centralized control over the schools, and delegated certain authorities and responsibilities for school matters to the new church.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "The Age of

Reason," was the period of the early modern rationalist and the early modern empiricist philosophers. The philosophical contributions of these brilliant men did not affect education until the eighteenth century. This was particularly true in the Franconian Hohenzollern lands, where Lutheranism dominated the religious life and the schools remained under the influence of Melanchton's Protestant humanism. Little change took place in the universities except for the replacement of the "Church Fathers" and scholasticism by the study of the Bible in its original languages.

Calvinism was introduced into the Margravate by the French Huguenot refugee immigrants and Pietism, within both the Calvinist and Lutheran camps, appeared during the late seventeenth century. Both of these groups supported education. Pietism gained dominance for short periods of time and was strongly represented in the Lutheran dominated theological faculty in the new university.

The rationalist and realist philosophies were vying for the position of leadership in the university philosophy faculties. There was no clear line of demarcation between them at times as they melded into an eclecticism with an added touch of empiricism. The Wolffian philosophy of Enlightment dominated the first philosophy faculty at Friedrichs Universität, and in the German universities for several decades in the eighteenth century. The influence of Wolffian philosophy is noted in the Imperial Charter granted by Carl VII, wherein the new

university was granted the same privileges as those of the Halle university.

The evidence discloses that religious and philosophical forces separately and collectively supported the establishment of universities. Both the Lutheran and the Calvinist, as well as their Pietistic followers and the followers of the Wolffian philosophy of Enlightment, were strong supporters of education and the establishment of universities, as evidenced by their activity in the founding of universities and their occupation of chairs on the faculties.

The efficient functioning of the large bureaucratic absolute government required a considerable number of educated and trustworthy personnel, many of whom through necessity were imported from without the lands. Frederick, determined to eliminate the necessity for recruitment of personnel from outside the lands and to reduce the prevalent malfeasance, the practice of nepotism, and the inadequate performance of governmental functions, decided upon a course of improving the existing schools and the establishment of an institution of higher learning for the training of native sons. He expresses these purposes most explicitly in the founding document for Friedrichs-Academie.

Margravine Wilhelmina, a child of the "French spirit" and the Enlightment was imbued with a passion for culture. She was deeply interested in philosophy and was a lifelong friend and correspondent of Voltaire. She never became a strict Voltarian nor a Wolffian as did

her brother, Frederick the Great, but held with Descartes. It was natural that she displayed an interest in things intellectual and was active in promoting the founding of the university, as her family had a long tradition of establishing universities. She maintained an exquisite court on the French pattern, which placed an enormous expense on so small a country.

Daniel de Superville, Wilhelmina's personal physician, is credited along with Wilhelmina by some writers as being one of the true founders of the university. He was educated in law and medicine and was held in high esteem by the Margrave, who appointed him to the highest court position, sought his advice on educational matters, and appointed him the first Chancellor of the new university.

Conclusions

An anlysis of the evidence in this investigation discloses that prior to and at the time of the founding of Friedrichs Universität an interaction existed between the dominant social forces of the era: education, religion, philosophy, government, and the Margravate Court; that these social forces were active in the support of education including efforts to establish a university in the Margravate; that consideration was given to the economic advantages which could be attained through the establishment of a university; and that Margrave Frederick was aware of the support and efforts of these social forces in behalf of

the establishment of a university as evidenced by the "Enlightened" course upon which he set his government, his support of education, and particularly his statement pertaining to the establishment of an institution of higher learning leading to the establishment of the university.

The basic conclusion of this study may be concisely expressed as follows: the decision to establish Friedrichs Universität is an explainable result of the interaction of the dominant social forces of the era.

It is believed that this study of the historical development of the dominant social forces of the era and their contributions to the decision for the establishment of Friedrichs Universität will provide the student of education with an understanding of the dominant social forces in the Margravate Bayreuth during the "Era of Absolutism"; the interaction of the forces; the extent of their influence on the decision by Frederick of Bayreuth to establish Friedrichs Universität; and an increased awareness and improved perspective of the current interaction between the existing social forces and education.

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Circulus Franconicus in quo funt Episcopatus Wurtzburg, Bamberg et Aichstet, Status Equitum Teutonicor Ducatus Coburgensis, Marchionatus Cullembach, et Onspach. Comitatus Henneberg, Wertheim, Holach, Reinec, Papenheim, Erpach, Schwartzenberg, et Cassel, Baronatus Sensheim, et Terriotium Norinbergense. Per F. de Wit. Amstelodami. n.d., ca. Late 17th C.

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