

Historiography of the University. A New Field for an Old Topic in German Historical Scholarship

Historiografía sobre la Universidad. Un nuevo campo para un viejo tema en la Historia de la Universidad alemana

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Abstract: There is no tradition nor genus of historiography within writing on university history in German historical research. In the Middle Ages there was no historiography of the institutionalized schools and the early universities. It began in the early modern period. From the beginning in the 17th century onwards, historiography of university mostly meant to tell about the own university and to underline its academic brilliance and, first of all, its political value for the government. In later 18th century the influence of enlightenment changed the argumentation and the politically enforced difference between academies and universities made the “identity” of universities more evident. Universities from then on did not understand themselves no longer primarily as instruments of government, but as places of scientific liberty and insofar partly of legal independence. There were conflicts and quarrels about in how far universities should just help to create educated officers for the

Resumen: No hay tradición ni género de la historiografía dentro de la escritura de la historia de la universidad en la investigación histórica alemana. En la Edad Media no hay ninguna historiografía de los colegios institucionalizados ni de las primeras universidades. Esto comenzó en época moderna. Desde el principio en el siglo XVII en adelante, la historiografía de la universidad en su mayoría significaba relatar la historia de la propia universidad para subrayar su brillantez académica y, sobre todo, su valor político para el gobierno. A finales del siglo XVIII la influencia de la Ilustración cambia la argumentación y la diferencia impuesta políticamente entre academias y universidades hizo la “identidad” de las universidades más evidente. Universidades que, a partir de entonces, no se entienden a sí mismas ya primariamente como instrumentos de gobierno, sino como lugares de libertad científica y, en parte, de independencia legal. Hubo conflictos y disputas sobre si las universidades debían ayudar a crear los oficiales educados

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government or open a field of independence for a "Freedom of science". All conflict parties published their declarations, which can be used for the historiography of universities nowadays but did not intend to be understood as such. In the beginning of the 19th century the innovation of the modern university, founded by the ideas of Wilhelm of Humboldt in Prussia, and the promotion by the government, but as well the dependence from political support, set new conditions for the development of the universities and it made possible the beginning of an official historiography of university history. Until 1900 the discussion on the liberty of science and universities and their newly defined importance for the beginning nation-states as well as on the growing difference between historical and philosophical disciplines on the one hand, natural-scientific and even technical disciplines on the other hand became more and more important. Historiography of universities and their history was created, but from the beginning on focused on controversies. Rectorate-speeches became a new genus of historiography of universities and it was of great influence. It developed a comparative, modern approach on the history of universities, but was in the same time exploited as political argument in national politics and international conflicts and war-times. Finally, the end of free discussion and academic discourse on the historiography of universities came with the beginning of the Nazi period in Germany. Modern learned and academic historiography of the history of universities from the middle of the 20th century onwards has got the chance to reestablish discussions on the history of universities from the Middle Ages to contemporary times and even in an international context, but did not yet find to a specific genus of historiography.

Keywords: scholarship and politics, confessionalization of universities, conflict of disciplines, utility of scholarship, primacy of disciplines.

para el gobierno o abrir un campo independiente para la "libertad de la ciencia". Todas las partes en conflicto publicaron sus declaraciones, que pueden ser utilizados por la historiografía de las universidades hoy en día, pero que no tienen la intención de entenderse como tal. En el comienzo del siglo XIX la innovación de la universidad moderna, fundada por las ideas de Guillermo de Humboldt en Prusia, y la promoción por parte del gobierno, pero a su vez, la dependencia del apoyo político, establecen nuevas condiciones para el desarrollo de las universidades que hicieron posible el inicio de una historiografía oficial de la historia de la universidad. Hasta 1900, el debate sobre la libertad de la ciencia y de las universidades y su importancia recientemente definida para el inicio de los Estados-nación, así como la creciente diferencia entre disciplinas históricas y filosóficas por un lado y científico-naturales e incluso técnicas por otro se volvió cada vez más importante. Una historia e historiografía de las universidades que desde el principio se ha centrado en las controversias. Los discursos de los rectores pasaron a ser un nuevo género muy influyente de la historiografía de las universidades. Se desarrolló un enfoque comparativo, versión moderna de la historia de las universidades, pero que fue al mismo tiempo explotado como argumento político en la política nacional y en los conflictos y tiempos de guerras internacionales. Por último, el final de la discusión libre y del discurso académico sobre la historiografía de las universidades vino con el inicio del período Nazi en Alemania. La historiografía sobre las universidades de mediados del siglo 20 en adelante ha tenido la oportunidad de restablecer los debates sobre la historia de las universidades de la Edad Media hasta la época contemporánea e incluso en el contexto internacional, pero aún no ha encontrado un género historiográfico específico.

Palabras clave: universidad y políticas, confesionalidad de las universidades, conflicto de disciplinas, utilidad de la universidad, primacía de disciplinas.

From Edition to Narrative. The Beginnings

There are many studies on university history and numerous works on the history of universities, of scholars, and of the sciences. Yet, until today, there is no history of university history within German historiography. Among the extensive research on the history of historical writing, there are individual historiographic works dealing with universities. But in contrast to the historiography of courts, monasteries, or cities, the historiography of universities has not been able to develop its own distinctive form, nor has it given rise to its own genre. And, in contrast to the just mentioned historiographies, university historiographies have been primarily commissioned on the occasion of anniversary celebrations, and this was particularly prevalent in the modern era¹. While texts dealing with university historiography are certainly covered in the established handbooks on the history of the university, they are, however, not treated as a traditional genre in its own right².

Still, a substantial number of documents of university historiography have been preserved, even though they were not written with that intention and did not understand themselves as such. Normally, works by university scholars on texts by classical authorities or on the methodological development of their discipline, on exceptional representatives of their university or, conversely, on difficult situations and disturbances, did not consider themselves a form of university historiography, even though they factually were, and are, precisely that. Particularly interesting examples of critical his-

¹ A detailed article on the same topic in German language is being prepared for print. Exemplarily: Herbert Grundmann. *Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalters. Gattungen – Epochen – Eigenart* (1967, 4th ed.). (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987). Susanne Rau; Birgit Städt, ed., *Geschichte schreiben. Ein Quellen- und Studienhandbuch zur Historiografie (ca. 1350–1750)*. (Berlin: Akademie, 2010). Ulrich Rasche, ed., *Quellen zur frühneuzeitlichen Universitätsgeschichte. Typen, Bestände, Forschungsperspektiven* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, vol. 128) (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2011). Markus Völkel. *Geschichtsschreibung. Eine Einführung in globaler Perspektive* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, Böhlau 2006), 215–222.

² Walter Rüegg, ed., *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, vol. 1. Mittelalter (Munich: Beck 1993). Wolfgang E. Weber. *Geschichte der europäischen Universität* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002). Cf. Peter Moraw, *Gesammelte Beiträge zur Deutschen und Europäischen Universitätsgeschichte. Strukturen – Personen – Entwicklungen (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, vol. 31)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008). Jürgen Miethke, *Studieren an mittelalterlichen Universitäten. Chancen und Risiken. Gesammelte Aufsätze (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, vol. 19)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004). Rainer Christoph Schwinges, *Studenten und Gelehrte. Studien zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte deutscher Universitäten im Mittelalter (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, vol. 32)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008).

toriography by university members can be those texts that report on their experiences at the university and, at the same time, give an account of the relationship between scholarship and politics, of the forms of social self-organization of scholars and students, or of attempts by social groups or institutions to influence the universities.

Sources for a historiography of the university can therefore include those texts, whose authors had the stated or noticeable intention of reporting on the university, in general or in particular, within a historical framework. These authors apparently wanted to understand the historical background of the respective current situation and, based on this, voice their demands and suggestions for the university's contemporary and future development³.

The first works on the history of individual universities, for example Salzburg, emerged in the 17th century, at the same time as the beginnings of editorial practice were influencing historical scholarship. These were works that collected and edited documents considered exceptional and important for the further development of the respective university. Even though these early testimonies of a programmatic university historiography continue to be useful source editions until today, they did not provide an impulse for further scholarship and did not lead to the development of a distinct literary genre nor to the production of narrative accounts. On this basis, a conceptually generated university historiography could not yet be established⁴. This lack of a historiography specific to the history of the university was certainly also due to the fact that, particularly in the 17th century, the universities of the Roman-German Empire were experiencing a phase of rather little importance, especially in contrast to those in France⁵.

³ Cf. Notker Hammerstein. "Neue Wege der Universitätsgeschichtsschreibung", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 5 (1978): 449–476. Idem. "Nochmals Universitätsgeschichtsschreibung", *ibid.* 7 (1980): 321–336.

⁴ On the methodological distinction between quantitative and narrative historiography of university history: Fritz Ringer. "Die Zulassung zur Universität". In *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, vol. 3. *Vom 19. Jahrhundert zum Zweiten Weltkrieg (1800–1945)* edited by Walter Rüegg, 199–227, here 199 (Munich: Beck, 2004).

⁵ Cf. Notker Hammerstein. "Schule, Hochschule und Res publica litteraria", (1987, reprint). In *Geschichte als Arsenal. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zu Reich, Hof und Universitäten der Frühen Neuzeit (Schriftenreihe des Frankfurter Universitätsarchivs, vol. 3)*, edited by Michael Maaser, Gerrit Walther, 166–184, esp. 166 f. (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010). Idem. "Universitätsgeschichte im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation am Ende der Renaissance", in *Das Ende der Renaissance. Europäische Kultur um 1600 (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissance-Forschung, vol. 6)*, edited by August Buck, Tibo Klaniczay, 109–123 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1987).

Only the establishment and implementation of the historical-critical editorial technique in historical historiography of the late 19th century gave then also rise to a historiography based on text editions of documents, statutes and articles. One of the outstanding representatives of historical research in this context is Heinrich Denifle, editor of the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* published in four volumes between 1889 and 1897⁶.

On the basis of the records made accessible for the *Chartularium*, Denifle, since 1885, also published a narrative work that would eventually comprise five volumes. It bears the title “Die Geschichte der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400” (“The History of the Universities in the Middle Ages until 1400”) and is regarded as a pioneering work in the historiography of university history until today (Jacques Verger)⁷. During that time, also the history of German-language university historiography started to develop, even though initially within the framework of a comprehensive history of schools and universities understood as the history of knowledge and institutions. In 1885, Friedrich Paulsen published his “Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts” [“History of Scholarly Teaching”] in two volumes, in which he covers universities since the Middle Ages in great detail. In 1889, Georg Kaufmann followed up on this with his “Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten” [“History of German Universities”], the first work that focused on university history also thematically⁸. And in 1905, Friedrich Eulenburg published a study on the frequency analysis at German universities since the Middle Ages that was based on the meticulous interpretation of matriculation registers and that is regu-

⁶ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*. Ed. by Henricus Denifle, vol. 1–4. Paris: Delalain, 1889–1897. On this recently: Andreas Sohn; Jacques Verger; Michel Zink, ed., *Heinrich Denifle (1844–1905). Un savant dominicain entre Graz, Rome et Paris. Ein dominikanischer Gelehrter zwischen Graz, Rom und Paris* (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2015).

⁷ Jacques Verger. “Heinrich Denifle et le projet du *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*” (Denifle 2015, 113–135, here 115). As precursors of Denifle in the university historiography of Paris, Verger refers to du Boulay as well as to Ch. Jourdain. *Index chronologicus chartarum pertinencium ad historiam Universitatis Parisiensis ab ejus originibus ad finem decimi sexti saeculi [...]* (Paris: Hachette, 1862). On Denifle’s method of working with the sources and his cooperation with other scholars of his time: Thierry Kouamé, “Heinrich Denifle. “Editeur des sources. Les archives des collèges parisiens dans le *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*”” (Denifle 2015, 149–177, esp. 151–161).

⁸ Friedrich Paulsen. *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den klassischen Unterricht*, vol. 1.2 (Leipzig: Veit, 1885, third ed. Leipzig 1919); on the medieval universities vol. 1, 28. On this also the contribution by Rainer C. Schwinges in the present volume. Georg Kaufmann. *Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1888 (reprint Graz: Styria, 1958).

larly cited until today⁹. Strikingly, these protagonists of university historiography were not necessarily themselves historians: Paulsen was a professor of philosophy in Berlin since 1878, and Eulenburg, after 1917, was a professor of economics at the universities of Aachen, Kiel, and Berlin. Also later historiographers of the German university were only partly history scholars. It is one of the peculiarities of university historiography that it was written by members of different academic disciplines. Next to editorial and historical-critical studies there were therefore also always narrative, analytical, and contextualizing works. From today's perspective, they must be regarded as marking the beginnings of a genuine university historiography.

From the History of Power to the History of the University

Just as the early editors since the 17th century did not intend to write a history of the university themselves or even to establish a specific historiographic genre with their writing, also the authors of narrative accounts, with their reports of university events, only inadvertently contributed to the writing of university history.

In 1737, King Frederick William I of Prussia scheduled a thesis defense at the University of Frankfurt/Oder. His court jester was supposed to respond to the topic "Vernünftige Gedanken von der Narrheit" ["Reasonable Thoughts from Folly"], and all professors were summoned to attend as opponents. Even though resistance against the order by the authoritative sovereign was futile, Johann Jacob Moser von Filseck, who had only been appointed professor of *ius publicum* a year earlier and who is known as an expert in constitutional law until today, dared to voice criticism: "Auf diese Weise ruiniren Seine Majestät die Universität" ["In this manner, his majesty is ruining the university"]. In an angry response, the King informed the professors that he had appointed his court jester vice-chancellor of all his universities, because "Ein Quentchen Mutterwitz ist besser als ein Centner Universitätswitz" ["A modicum of mother wit is better than a centner of university wit"]¹⁰. Because of his critical position towards authority, Moser be-

⁹ Franz Eulenburg. *Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart (Abhandlungen des sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 24)* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904).

¹⁰ Hermann Johann Friedrich von Schulze-Gaevernitz. *Johann Jacob Moser, der Vater des deutschen Staatsrechts. Ein Vortrag gehalten im wissenschaftlichen Vereine zu Berlin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1869), 16-17.

came discredited not only in Prussia, and repeatedly had to resign from his positions, at the University of Frankfurt/Oder already in 1739, three years after his appointment and two years after the incident just outlined.

Moser himself reported these events of 1737 in his notes from those years. In 1736, the year of his appointment to Frankfurt, he gave his inaugural lecture on the topic of “Wie Universitäten [...] in einen guten Ruf [...] und Aufnahme zu bringen sein möchten” [“How universities [...] should be acquiring a good name [...] and reputation”]¹¹. In the same year, he authored a printed invitation to his students encouraging them to attend his public lectures and private colloquia. In this text, he explains the purpose of university teaching: “For one, universities are established and maintained / not for us to be educated / in order to have an amusing diversion / or to make a name for us with others / but academies are supposed to prepare young people / so that they can be skillful heads of the community in various estates [...], so that the graduates become not merely scholars (with little or no service to God and the world), but scholars useful and beneficial to the commonwealth”¹².

Apparently, Moser did not intend to become the chronicler of his university but a practical-minded reformer defining the university’s political function and utility. In doing that, he simultaneously also recorded the university’s history: the critically presented history of the University of Frankfurt/Oder as a “public” institution.

The historian Notker Hammerstein similarly summarizes the aim of sovereign university policy in the Early Modern Age: “The university was supposed to be a government organization”¹³. Instead of theology, the originally dominant discipline in the Middle Ages which continued to be so next to law, jurisprudence became the leading scholarly discipline. The first time the “public” purpose of the university was expressed in this way was in 1694 at the University of Halle, founded in 1502, even though the primacy of theology

¹¹ Michael Stolleis. *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland*, vol. 1. 1600-1800 (Munich: Beck, 1988), 259. Idem, „Johann Jacob Moser oder: Der Publizist des Alten Reiches“. In: Andreas Gestrinch; Rainer Lächele, ed., *Johann Jacob Moser. Politiker, Pietist, Publizist* edited by Andreas Gestrinch, Rainer Lächele, 57-70 (Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer, 2002).

¹² D. *Johann Jacob Mosers, Koeniglich Preußischen Geheimen Raths, der Universitaet zu Franckfurt an der Oder Directoris und Professoris Juris primarii &c. Einladung an die Herrn Studiosos zu seinen kuenfftig zu haltenden Lectionibus publicis und Collegiis privatis*, Franckfurt an der Oder 1736. Digital version of the university library Dresden: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/6660/1/> (accessed 24 February 2016).

¹³ Notker Hammerstein. „Die deutsche Universitätslandschaft im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert“, in *Die Universität Jena. Tradition und Innovation um 1800*, edited by Gerhard Müller, Klaus Ries, Paul Ziche, 13-25, here 14 (*Pallas Athene*, vol. 2) (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001).

was formally retained. This priority was discontinued with the founding of the University of Göttingen in 1734. From then on, Halle evolved into a center of pietism, and Göttingen into a place of theological enlightenment and biblical studies¹⁴. Both universities, like Frankfurt/Oder, had been established by Protestant sovereigns, and contemporary reports show the developments of two complimentary, yet also competing, models of university historiography.

University and State: A Profile of Challenges

Can the above-quoted statements by Moser today be understood as sources of university historiography or as university historiography itself? In any case, they impressively attest to the sovereign's formally legal acts of caprice towards the universities. It was common practice that the sovereign issued the appointments to the professorial chairs at "his" university autocratically. Personal and family connections, and even the transfer of university positions within "professorial dynasties", were also normal, and the sovereign was at any time able to establish himself, members of his princely family, his councilors, or, if necessary, also his court jester in leading positions within the university. By describing these conditions, contemporaries, especially critical voices from the professorate, also wrote the history of their university and of the political framework that sovereign rule provided for its founding and support, or for its burden¹⁵.

At the same time, in some places in Europe, the academies of sciences surpassed the universities as places of scholarship and especially as places of academic politics. There, the sovereigns were able to intervene much more directly than at the universities. The programmatic claim by the academies to practice *theoria cum praxi*, which was asserted against the universities, benefitted the advancement of science but not the development of the universities.

¹⁴ Johannes Wallmann. "Zwischen Reformation und Humanismus. Eigenarten und Wirken Helmstedter Theologie", in *Idem, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Tübingen: Mohr 1995), 61–87, here 61. Fundamentally on the development of historical scholarship: Notker Hammerstein. *Jus und Historie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des historischen Denkens an deutschen Universitäten im späten 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972).

¹⁵ Cf. Notker Hammerstein. "Die Obrigkeiten und die Universitäten: ihr Verhältnis im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation" (1990, reprint). In *Idem. Res publica litteraria. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur frühneuzeitlichen Bildungs-, Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte (Historische Forschungen, vol. 69)*, ed. by Ulrich Muhlack; Gerrit Walther, 377–387 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000).

However, the tendency of supporting the academies at the expense of the universities had only limited effect within the German empire. Here, some theological faculties experienced critical situations, which explains the distance to the academies. For the most part, however, as all of the universities were full-scale universities following the four-faculty model, they were able to maintain their position as places of comprehensive learning.¹⁶ University history has therefore even spoken of elements of a *longue durée* transcending epochal boundaries¹⁷.

Back to the University of Frankfurt/Oder: Already its founding in 1506 adhered to the same stipulations formulated by Johann Jacob Moser 230 years later: Founded to compete against the neighboring Protestant University of Wittenberg, which belonged to the Electorate of Saxony, the Catholic University of Frankfurt/Oder was intended to support the migration to the heretofore largely unattractive March Brandenburg and to provide the sovereign with the means of recruiting educated staff from his own subjects and from his own university: “Zum Lob Gottes, zur Erhöhung des katholischen Glaubens, zum Nutzen der Menschen im Gebrauch und in der Verwaltung des Staates” [“For the praise of God, for the increase of the Catholic faith, for the benefit of the people in use and in the administration of the state”], reads the electoral deed of foundation from the previous year¹⁸.

¹⁶ Notker Hammerstein. “Innovation und Tradition. Akademien und Universitäten im Heiligen Römischen Reich deutscher Nation” (2004, reprint). (Geschichte als Arsenal 2010, 134–165). Wolfgang Neugebauer, “Das Bildungswesen in Preußen seit der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts”. In *Handbuch der preußischen Geschichte*, edited by Otto Büsch, vol. 2, 605–799, here 643–644 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1992).

¹⁷ Cf. Lars Behrlich. *Die Berechnung der Glückseligkeit. Statistik und Politik in Deutschland und Frankreich im späten Ancien Régime (Beihefte der Francia, vol. 78)* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2016), 56–82. Steffen Martus. *Aufklärung. Das deutsche 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Epochenbild*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (2. ed.) 2015, on the universities esp. 92–154. Cf. Dagmar Freist. *Absolutismus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008). Heinz Durchhardt. “Das Vermächtnis des Spätmittelalters an die Frühe Neuzeit. Aspekte und Schlaglichter”. In *Europa im späten Mittelalter. Politik – Gesellschaft – Kultur*, edited by Rainer C. Schwinges, Christian Hesse, Peter Moraw (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Beihefte 40), 605–613 (München: Oldenbourg, 2006). Lothar Schilling, ed., *Absolutismus – ein unersätzlich Forschungskonzept? Eine deutsch-französische Bilanz* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008). Cf. Notker Hammerstein. “Die Obrigkeiten und die Universitäten: ihr Verhältnis im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation” (1990, reprint). In: Idem, *Res publica litteraria. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur frühneuzeitlichen Bildungs-, Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte* (Historische Forschungen, vol. 69), edited by Ulrich Muhlack, Gerrit Walther, 837–387 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000).

¹⁸ Martin Kintzinger. “Frankfurt an der Oder. Eine moderne Universität?”. In *Attempto – oder wie stiftet man eine Universität?*, edited by Sönke Lorenz, 209–236, here 216 (*Contuber-*

Dated at approximately the same time is a memorandum, passed down anonymously and archivally classified as a “note”, which gives the sovereign detailed advice on what to pay attention to when founding the university: It was supposed to be a four-faculty university with a special position afforded to law, thus following the established model of Paris and Bologna¹⁹. Dated already five years earlier is the imperial charter authorizing the elector to found the university “damit die Reiche der Fürsten durch das Werk der Wissenschaften befestigt würden und das Studium Männer hervorbringe, die ausgezeichnet seien durch die Reife ihres Rates und den Schmuck der Tugenden und gelehrt in den Wissenschaften der verschiedenen Fakultäten” [“so that the realms of the sovereigns are fortified through the work of the sciences, and the studies produce men distinguished by the rationality of their advice and by the ornament of their virtues and erudite in the knowledge of the various faculties”]²⁰. Moser’s promotional text after his appointment in 1736 adopted these notions and interpreted the historiographic meaning of university politics as sovereign actions in the authoritative (public) interest.

This endeavor did not, however, necessarily have to be practically successful. After 1506, the founding rector made a protracted effort to praise both the region and the town and to emphasize the usefulness of the scholarship at his university²¹. For the immediate moment, his promotion payed off and Frankfurt was able to enjoy a downright sensational popularity. This effect, however, was only temporary, and many students left Frankfurt/Oder over time. The sovereign felt compelled to personally take care of this matter and enacted ordinances to advance the university in his interest. In 1541, for the first time, a son of the princely household became rector of the university²².

The Reformation: A Break in the Historiography

Positioned between the Reformation period and the early confessionalization, the founding of the University of Frankfurt/Oder still showed some elements of procedural forms that had been established in the Late Middle Ages. Overall, these principles even guided the first founding of a university

nium, vol. 50) (Stuttgart: Steiner 1990). Cf. Michael Höhle. *Universität und Reformation. Die Universität Frankfurt (Oder) von 1506–1550* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2002).

¹⁹ (Kintzinger 1990, 216–218).

²⁰ Ibid., 219.

²¹ Ibid., 223.

²² Ibid., 234.

in the Holy Roman Empire north of the Alps: the University of Prague in 1348, which the German king and later Emperor Charles IV in his function as King of Bohemia founded with the expressed purpose of benefitting his Bohemian kingdom. In his deed of foundation, Charles expressly referred to texts from the foundation period of the first princely university in Europe which Emperor Frederick II had established in Naples in 1224. These texts continually revolved around, on the one hand, the old tradition of the corporations of Paris and Bologna, and, on the other hand, around an explicit support of legal studies for sovereign use more specifically. These interconnections had further-reaching effects with respect to corporate law and the historiographic character: From this time on, the history of the university was less understood as an ever-evolving corporation of magisters (professors) and students, but rather as the expression of sovereign-princely politics.

Especially in the realm of school-based knowledge transfer, which, in the Middle Ages, was dominated by ecclesiastical institutions, the Reformation marked a break in the development of society. Teaching contents, teaching methods and, especially, normative levels of expectations were changing. In their institutional framework, however, the Reformation schools frequently maintained the proven procedural forms, remained affiliated to ecclesiastical (now reformed) institutions and demanded liturgical service from the students.

The universities were much more profoundly affected by the Reformation of the early 16th century and its political consequences, which was reflected in changed curricula, canons of knowledge, theological frameworks, and in the realignment of knowledge systems that were to be useful to the sovereign. Among other things, universities henceforth distinguished themselves by their confessional affiliation, and especially the Protestant, and most of all the Lutheran, sovereigns, actively founded and supported their universities, whereas Catholic and counter-reformationist initiatives developed only with delay. As Thomas Kaufmann sums it up: "The Lutheran universities were [...] institutions of the respective territorial states. The process of territorialization of the German university, which had already begun in the Late Middle Ages, was accelerated during the Reformation"²³. The universities became elements of the territorial state and the confessional formation, and thereby part of its history.

For the university policy of the rulers, confessional option became a leading category and few things in the 16th century could complicate the

²³ Thomas Kaufmann. *Konfession und Kultur. Lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts (Spätmittelalter und Reformation, Neue Reihe 29)* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2006), 305.

fate of a university and transform the historiographic accounts as much as a princely sovereign's confessional change. The University of Frankfurt/Oder provides a good example of this²⁴.

The close and reciprocal relationship between Reformation theology and Protestant universities, the first one of which was founded in Marburg in 1527, is undeniable²⁵. Initially, their emphasis on theology and on the need to educate Protestant clergy continued the status divisions of the medieval university. The Protestant university once again reduced the importance of the study of the liberal arts in the medieval tradition as the basis of theology²⁶. In their internal organization, in their constitution as a corporation with an autonomous charter, in their offices and service positions as well as in their administrative bodies, however, the universities remained largely unchanged²⁷. From the perspective of the history of scholarship, the development of the university could thus be rewritten, while this was not the case for the history of institutions. The "medievalness" of the university in the early modern age provides an excellent historiographic paradigm of this.

Already in the 1960s, Eugenio Garin declared that the university as a "typische und geniale Schöpfung des Mittelalters" ["typical and ingenious creation of the Middle Ages"] had persisted in the age of early modern humanism. The development of the university until the end of the 18th century was succinctly summarized by Notker Hammerstein in 2010: "Reformen veränderten nicht einmal den institutionellen Rahmen der Universität [...]. Es war und blieb bei der traditionsreichen Figur der Universitas magistrorum et scholarium, der

²⁴ (Kintzinger 1990, 236). Cf. (Höhle 2002, 1-2), who underestimates the development conditions of such discrepancies.

²⁵ Cf. Christina Fraenkel-Haeblerle. *Die Universität im Mehrebenensystem (Ius publicum, vol. 26)* (Tübingen: Duncker & Humblot 2014), 22–24. Julian Kümmerle. "Wissenschaft und Verwandtschaft. Protestantische Theologenausbildung im Zeichen der Familie vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert". In *Bildung und Konfession (Spätmittelalter und Reformation, n.s. 27)* edited by Hermann J. Selderhuis, Markus Wriedt, 159-211 (Tübingen: Mohr 2006).

²⁶ (Kaufmann 2006, 306 f).

²⁷ Cf. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens. "Mobilität". In: *Geschichte der Universität in Europa, vol. 2. Von der Reformation bis zur Französischen Revolution, 1500-1800*, edited by Walter Rüegg, 335-361, here 341 (Munich: Beck, 1996). Markus Reisenleitner. *Frühe Neuzeit, Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Innsbruck/Munich: Studien, 2000), 112. Volker Press. "Kurfürst Maximilian I. von Bayern die Jesuiten und die Universität Heidelberg im 30jährigen Krieg, 1622–1649". In *Semper Apertus. 600 Jahre Ruprecht Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 1386–1986, vol. 1. Mittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit, 1386 bis 1803* edited by Wilhelm Doerr, 314-370, here 328 (Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer, 1985). Linda Wenke-Bönisch. *Universitäten und Fürstenschulen zwischen Krieg und Frieden. Eine Matrikeluntersuchung zur mitteldeutschen Bildungslandschaft im konfessionellen Zeitalter (1563–1650)* (Berlin: epubli, 2013), 39.

einer privilegierten Korporation mit eigenem Rechtsstatus also” [“Reforms did not even change the university’s institutional framework [...]. The traditional form of the *Universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, and thereby of a privileged corporation with independent legal status, was and remained dominant”]²⁸.

The basic distinction, discussed by the scholar Rainer Christoph Schwinges, between specific universities for law or medicine and more comprehensive four-faculty universities was also adopted from the Middle Ages and continued. A new development, in the age of the Reformation and of humanism, was the increased demand by the sovereign especially for jurists and theologians²⁹. Rainer Christoph Schwinges summarized this in 2011: “Am Ende gelang die Integration [der] inhomogenen Personenverbände [der Artisten, Juristen, Theologen und Mediziner] nur durch den herrschaftlichen und obrigkeitlichen Willen. [...] [Die Universität] war und blieb [...] an den Gründerfürsten gebunden, an den Landesherrn und seine Dynastie” [“Ultimately, the integration [of] the non-homogenous groups of people [those in the liberal arts, in law, in theology, and in medicine] only succeeded due to the sovereign and authoritarian will. [...] [The university] was and remained [...] tied to the founding prince, to the territorial sovereign and his dynasty”]. The notion of a “German type” of university, introduced by Schwinges (and partially already reflected upon by Paulsen in 1902), thus in particular refers to the individual connection of elements of the French (Paris) and the Italian (Bologna) university tradition with strong emphasis on the faculty of arts³⁰.

In this respect, the university also became an element of regional history or even dynastic history. Historical epochs, transformations, or caesuras can be seen in the changed circumstances of the university’s development and have left their traces in historiographic depictions.

²⁸ Notker Hammerstein. “Aufbruch in Reformen. Tradition und Innovation zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts: Die Universität in Staat und Gesellschaft”. In *Die Berliner Universität im Kontext der deutschen Universitätslandschaft (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, vol. 76)*, edited by Rüdiger vom Bruch, 3-19, here 24 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010).

²⁹ Rainer C. Schwinges. “Basel in der europäischen Universitätslandschaft um 1500”. In *Gelehrte zwischen Humanismus und Reformation. Kontexte der Universitätsgründung in Basel 1460*, edited by Martin Wallraff, 21-46, here 22-23 (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2011). Cf. Maximilian Schuh, *Aneignung des Humanismus. Institutionelle und individuelle Praktiken an der Universität Ingolstadt im 15. Jahrhundert (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, vol. 47)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013).

³⁰ (Schwinges 2011, 24).

New Horizons of University Historiography

Control by the territorial princes between the 16th and 18th century and the reorganization of universities in the German empire since the Reformation and in the age of confessionalization due to territorial politics, had irrevocably turned universities into institutions useful for “state political interests”. Already during the beginnings of sovereign university foundations and university policy in the 13th and 14th centuries, i.e. the start of the phase of endowed and founded universities (and after the first phase of self-organization by the protagonists in Paris and Bologna), the connection between the university and sovereign rule was firmly established. Since then, and despite all individual differences, this connection characterized the formation of the European university. Even when theology was given greater importance again, as it was under the influence of confessionalization, overall, the dominance of law as the sovereign patron’s primary interest remained evident. University history is therefore always also to be understood as, and has been described as, part of the development of premodern statehood.

At this point, German university historiography began to develop a distinct textual tradition. The beginnings of university historiography in the German empire is marked by the Göttingen orientalist and Enlightenment theologian Johann David Michaelis and his “Räsonnement über die protestantischen Universitäten in Deutschland” [“Reasoning on the Protestant Universities in Germany”], published in four volumes between 1768 and 1776. The work is shaped by an awareness of the transformations outlined above³¹. Different than earlier publications on university history, Michaelis’ work is not spatially or institutionally restricted to specific regions or universities. It understands itself not only as a collection of sources or facts, or as a chronological narrative, but instead provides a critical evaluation of the reported events and a comprehensive account of the university practices of its own period. Also because of that, the work has been heavily cited.

Michaelis saw the universities’ existence primarily secured by their usefulness, both for science as well as for the Protestant territories. Because they were so dependent on the willingness of patrons and political authorities to support them, he concluded that there were too many universities and that their number needed to be, and would be, reduced³². Michaelis him-

³¹ Johann David Michaelis. *Räsonnement über die protestantischen Universitäten in Deutschland*, vol. 1-4, Frankfurt/M./Leipzig, 1768-1776. Reprint (Aalen: Scientia 1973).

³² Joachim Bauer. “Die Universität Jena zwischen Tradition und Reform”. In (Universität Jena 2001, 47-62, here 56).

self was not working as a historian and, also in this, had many successors: University history was primarily written by members of the university, by professors, who, however, were not themselves historiographers.

After 1800, a momentous change took place. Universities became spaces of developing political ideas and of, also bourgeois, ideals of the nation state, and could thereby come into conflict with the interests of sovereign politics³³. Increasingly interconnected by communication networks, university members developed new notions of the university and of national culture and identity that are today regarded as preconditions for the formation of the liberal ideas of the pre-March era. The strict disciplinary divisions of the faculties that had existed up to then, were gradually loosened and horizons of interest developed that went beyond disciplinary boundaries. The old faculty of arts eventually evolved into the new faculty of philosophy³⁴. The history of the university now also became part of the contemporary institutional history of ideas.

This process was supported by famous treatises by eminent scholars: Friedrich Schiller's essay "Was heißt und zu welchem Ende studiert man Universalgeschichte" ["What Is, and to What End Does One Study Universal History?"] and Immanuel Kant's "Streit der Fakultäten" ["The Conflict of the Faculties"], both from 1789, as well as Friedrich Schleiermacher's idealist memorandum "Gelegentliche Gedanken über Universitäten im deutschen Sinn" ["Occasional Thoughts on Universities in the German Sense"] from 1808³⁵. Schiller's text, given as an inaugural lecture for a professorship of history at the University of Jena, is dominated by an idealistic appeal to intellectual open-mindedness and an interest in all scholarly disciplines and the whole known world. His famous verdict against the "bread-and-butter scholars" whose only interests are their positions and duties, seizes on an

³³ Klaus Ries. "Professoren als bürgerliche Werteproduzenten". In *Bürgerliche Werte um 1800. Entwurf – Vermittlung – Rezeption*, edited by Hans-Werner Hahn, Dieter Hein, 51-68 (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2005).

³⁴ Georg Eckardt; Mathias John; Temilo van Zantwijk; Paul Ziche. *Anthropologie und empirische Psychologie um 1800. Ansätze einer Entwicklung zur Wissenschaft* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau 2001). Martin Kintzinger. "Die Artisten im Streit der Fakultäten. Vom Nutzen der Wissenschaft zwischen Mittelalter und Moderne". *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte 4* (2001): 177–194.

³⁵ On the understanding of the texts by Schiller, Kant and Schleiermacher: Rüdiger vom Bruch. "Zur Gründung der Berliner Universität im Kontext der deutschen Universitätslandschaft um 1800" (Universität Jena 2001, 63–77, here 71). On the text by Kant: Kintzinger. "Streit der Fakultäten", *ibid.* Notker Hammerstein, "Vom Rang der Wissenschaften. Zum Aufstieg der Philosophischen Fakultät" (2001, reprint). (Geschichte als Arsenal 2010, 185-197).

old complaint about useless scholars known since the Middle Ages which was also dealt with in literature, for instance in the essays by Michel de Montaigne from 1580³⁶. In his treatise on the “Conflict of the Faculties”, Kant, as professor of philosophy in Königsberg, also criticized the university’s focus on utility and called for an orientation on the scholarly quest for truth, in which the philosophical faculty was to be superior to the others. The notion of the university a useful tool of authority, developed over generations, is being deconstructed by both authors. In this sense, their treatises are critical and programmatic reactions to the development of university scholarship.

In his treatise written four years later, Schleiermacher, who was professor of theology at the University of Halle since 1804, went far beyond this criticism. By that time, he had already been involved in plans to found a new university in Berlin. In his opinion, the “wissenschaftliche Geist” [“scholarly spirit”] was supposed to be the only principle of the university³⁷. According to Schleiermacher, who wrote from the perspective of German idealism, the state was to support this demand and allow for its realization without unnecessary interventions³⁸.

The University of Berlin was founded two years later, in 1806. According to its initiator, Wilhelm von Humboldt, it was supposed to be a *Universitas literarum* that combined research and teaching and was committed to a humanistic education. Only now was the medieval and early-modern tra-

³⁶ Friedrich Schiller: “Was heißt und zu welchem Ende studiert man Universalgeschichte? Eine akademische Antrittsrede”. *Der Teutsche Merkur, Weimar 4 (1789)*: 105–135, the following quote 107-108: *Anders ist der Studierplan, den sich der Brodgelehrte, anders derjenige, den der philosophische Kopf sich vorzeichnet. Jener, dem es bey seinem Fleiß einzig und allein darum zu thun ist, die Bedingungen zu erfüllen, unter denen er zu einem Amte fähig und der Vortheile desselben theilhaftig werden kann, der nur darum die Kräfte seines Geistes in Bewegung setzt, um dadurch seinen sinnlichen Zustand zu verbessern und eine kleinliche Ruhmsucht zu befriedigen, – ein solcher wird bey dem Eintritt in seine akademische Laufbahn keine wichtigere Angelegenheit haben, als die Wissenschaften, die er Brodstudien nennt, von allen übrigen, die den Geist nur als Geist vergnügen, auf das sorgfältigste // abzusondern.*

https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Was_heitst_und_zu_welchem_Ende_studiert_man_Universalgeschichte%3F; (accessed 25 February 2016).

³⁷ Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher. *Gelegentliche Gedanken über Universitäten im deutschen Sinn. Nebst einem Anhang über eine neu zu errichtende* (1808). <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:koby:11-100104105>; (accessed 23 February 2016), 146, 153.

³⁸ *Ibid.*: 157. *Am meisten Schwierigkeiten scheinen [...] zu verursachen die Lehrstellen der reinen Philosophie. Denn dieses Gebiet liegt dem Staate am entferntesten, und am wunderlichsten müßte es ihm selbst vorkommen, wenn er entscheiden sollte, wer nun der echten Philosoph sei, der am meisten begünstigt und hervorgezogen zu werden verdienet: 181. Man sieht leicht, die natürliche Richtung der Universität geht dahin, den allmählich vorherrschend gewordenen Einfluß des Staates wieder in seine natürlichen Grenzen zurückzuweisen*, 184.

dition of the university, with its political focus on utility and corresponding scholarly aims, finally overcome.

Humboldt's conception was novel in many ways. His approach initiated an innovative development that ultimately reverberated until the years around 1900. Schools and universities were to be conceptualized in conjunction with each other and in an interconnected way, the centuries-old division between universities and academies was to be abolished, and the universities were again to be recognized as places of scholarship: "Der Staat muss seine Universitäten weder als Gymnasien noch als Specialschulen behandeln, und sich seiner Akademie nicht als einer technischen oder wissenschaftlichen Deputation bedienen. Er muss im Ganzen [...] von ihnen nichts fordern, was sich unmittelbar und geradezu auf ihn bezieht, sondern die innere Ueberzeugung hegen, dass, wenn sie ihren Endzweck erreichen, sie auch seine Zwecke und zwar von einem viel höheren Gesichtspunkte aus erfüllen, von einem, von dem sich viel mehr zusammenfassen lässt und ganz andere Kräfte und Hebel an- gebracht werden können, als er in Bewegung zu setzen vermag" ["The state should treat its universities neither as grammar schools nor as special schools, and should use its academies not for technical or scholarly assignments. It should, on the whole, [...] not demand anything of them which is immediately and directly connected with it, but it should have the inner conviction that, if the universities fulfill their ultimate purpose, they also fulfill the state's purpose, and in a much higher aspect at that. From this perspective, much more can be grasped and completely different powers and leverage can be made use of than the state is able to do"]³⁹. The university in the vein of Humboldt has been described by Peter Moraw as the "classic" type of the university of the 19th and 20th century⁴⁰.

Ideas already formulated by Schiller and Kant were elevated by Johann Gottlieb Fichte in his inaugural address as the second rector of the University

³⁹ Wilhelm von Humboldt. *Über die innere und äußere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin* (1809/10). <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:kobv:11-100104119> (accessed 23 February 2016), 234, 236–239.

⁴⁰ Cf. Rainer C. Schwinges, ed., *Humboldt International. Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, vol. 3) (Basel: Schwabe, 2001). On the classification of university history and a model of pre-classical, classical, and post-classical phases of university history: Peter Moraw. "Aspekte und Dimensionen älterer deutscher Universitätsgeschichte", in: *Academia Gissensis. Beiträge zur älteren Giessener Universitätsgeschichte* (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, vol. 45), edited by idem, Volker Press, 1–43 (Marburg: Elwert, 1982). Idem, "Universitäten, Gelehrte und Gelehrsamkeit in Deutschland vor und um 1800" (Humboldt International 2001, 17–31).

of Berlin in 1811. Students and scholars were to pursue only the pure science of philosophy and the transdisciplinary and comprehensive scholarship of knowledge. For him, purely historical and only empirical knowledge was considered insufficient, and demands about the use of scholarship outside of the university were unacceptable⁴¹. These thoughts were not new. Similar ideas had been expressed in the inaugural lecture by Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling in Jena in 1798 and in the writings by Schleiermacher in preparation of the founding of the University of Berlin⁴². The Enlightenment demands for utility had thus been as firmly rejected as the claims, increasingly made since the late Middle Ages, that knowledge and scholarship were not only to be dedicated to scholarly insight but also to social application⁴³.

Humboldt had explained his recourse to the medieval term *Universitas* in his 1809 petition to the Prussian King in which he requested to be allowed to call the new and general educational facility with the old name of *Universitas*, yet to cleanse it from its improper forms⁴⁴. Already one year earlier, Schleiermacher had explained what these improper uses were. Next to the immoral activities of the studying youth this was primarily the medieval practice of examination which still followed the tradition of scholastic disputations and which had degenerated to empty dissimulation⁴⁵. Schleiermacher also considered the traditional rivalry between the faculties outdated and ridiculous, and the customary order of faculties grotesque. Yet he also warned of an overhasty reform as long as a better procedure had not been established⁴⁶.

In his letter to the King, Humboldt also explained that the present university practices were in dire need to be overcome⁴⁷. He further suggested to the King that if Berlin's single university, limited to its core task, should prove successful, he should maintain Prussian universities only there and

⁴¹ Heinz-Elmar Tenorth. "Genese der Disziplinen – die Genese der Universität. Zur Einleitung". In *Geschichte der Universität unter den Linden*, vol. 4. 1810-2010. *Genese der Disziplinen, die Konstitution der Universität*, edited by Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, Volker Hess, Dieter Hoffmann, 9-40, esp. 21 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010). Walter Rüegg. "Der Mythos der Humboldtschen Universität", in: M. Rose; M. Krieg, ed., *Universitas in theologia – theologia in universitate*, edited by M. Rose, M. Krieg, 155-174 (Zurich: TVZ, 1997).

⁴² (Tenorth 2010, 20).

⁴³ (Hammerstein 2010, 12-13).

⁴⁴ Wilhelm von Humboldt. *Antrag auf Errichtung der Universität Berlin*. 24. July 1809. <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/docviews/abstract.php?lang=ger&id=30377> (accessed 23 February 2016).

⁴⁵ (Schleiermacher 1808, 201).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁴⁷ (Humboldt 1809, 166, 246).

in Königsberg, and in the medium term suspend the one in Frankfurt/Oder, which eventually happened in 1811⁴⁸.

In the history of university institutions and scholarship, this marked the first fundamental caesura since the Middle Ages. Even though the external organizational forms of a university divided into faculties and of statutory offices persisted despite criticism about its conventionality, the changes were still significant⁴⁹. Since the founding of the University of Berlin, for instance, the career of a university professor had become detached from the traditional process of “dynastic” succession and especially from the arbitrary intervention of sovereign authority, and had become a plannable “bourgeois” career option defined by performance characteristics⁵⁰. With the combination of unity and freedom, and research and teaching, principles were taken up that had already played a central role during the origins of the European university as a medieval corporation. Of course, the social framework was a completely different one and those principles had earlier not been formulated in a comparable manner. Humboldt included those elements of the old European university tradition, which, in their medieval origins, had once been connected to the emancipation from enclosed ecclesiastical institutions and referred to the socially open association of scholars in a legal corporation, and which, in the meantime, had become buried under the control of political power.

The times had changed together with the political framework, yet, despite differences in detail, the development of the universities continued to follow the directives of state and political planning. Already in the last decade of the 18th century, the willingness for reform from the time of “enlightened absolutism” was already over and a new “absolutist” style of politics returned.

It was only Prussia’s defensive situation after the military defeat by Napoleon in 1806 and the ensuing demise of the Holy Roman Empire, that forced the reluctant King Frederick William III to agree to reforms in the military, in the legal system, and in academia. Under different circumstances, the successes of Humboldt and thus also the founding of the University of Berlin would not have been possible, and therefore they also continued to remain dependent on the directives of royal politics.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 246-247.

⁴⁹ (Hammerstein 2010, 13).

⁵⁰ Christian Maus. *Der ordentliche Professor und sein Gehalt. Die Rechtsstellung der juristischen Ordinarien an den Universitäten Berlin und Bonn zwischen 1810 und 1945 unter Berücksichtigung der Einkommensverhältnisse* (Bonner Schriften zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, vol. 4) (Göttingen: Bonn university press by V&R, 2013), 39–46.

Historiography and Identification

Full of national-political enthusiasm, a historical publication on contemporary history from 1886 celebrated the founding of the University of Berlin as a first-rate cultural act⁵¹. Despite a general shortage of funds, the King of Prussia had allocated 150,000 thalers and the new university had commenced its operations in 1811 with an impressive selection of scholars. Such a circle of thinkers, scholars, and teachers had never collaborated at any other German university.

These words were used by the liberal historian William Oncken, a professor and intermittent rector at the University of Giessen from 1870 to 1900 as well as an authorized biographer of Emperor Wilhelm I, to describe the beginnings of the university policy by the Hohenzollern. In this policy, he recognized, and praised, the intention of elevating Prussia within Germany and thus of making university policy an issue of interest of sovereign or state politics. He claimed that also Wilhelm von Humboldt had pursued this goal and that he had thereby overcome a previously widespread liberal cosmopolitanism and an idealism out of touch with everyday life⁵².

Different than the texts by Schiller, Kant and Schleiermacher, Oncken's work must be read as university historiography in a narrower sense. Only to some extent can it be understood as being committed to scholarly neutrality. It rather appears to be a political manifesto. He does not report as a contemporary but as a member of a succeeding generation providing a summarizing overview of the period under discussion. By taking an active position, however, he resembles the authors of the appellative texts from around 1800. As a historian close to the court, he evaluates the reported events within the context of the appreciation of royal politics. Making use of the methodologies of historicism dominant at the time, he is not only able to report on the protagonists' actions but also to make deductions about their thoughts, feelings, and worries. He particularly praises Wilhelm von Humboldt's statesmanlike mentality. Yet, he completely fails to understand, he says, how research and teaching were supposed to have been combined at the university. It is this very achievement, for which Humboldt is held in esteem until today, that eludes the grasp of someone who only thinks along the lines of state politics⁵³.

⁵¹ Wilhelm Oncken. *Das Zeitalter der Revolution, des Kaiserreichs und der Befreiungskriege*, vol. 2 (reprint of the edition from 1886) (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2014), 475.

⁵² *Ibid.*: 474.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 475.

In the middle of the 19th century, an increasing number of texts were published that emphatically dealt with the period of the Wars of Liberation and with the incipient self-organization of the Burschenschaften [student fraternities], and thereby also referred to the founding period of the University of Berlin⁵⁴. The university itself, however, was only indirectly discussed in these texts. Maximilian Ritter von Thielen, born in 1798, a major in the Austrian army and bearer of military and scholarly awards, published his memoirs in 1863. He obviously felt it to be important to briefly mention his academic experiences. Having been designated for a theological career, this became impossible due to Napoleon's political measures and he switched disciplines and studied law instead of theology before joining the army⁵⁵.

Pronouncements like these that described a social career with references to a university education became more frequent at that time. Universities and university scholarship were thus included and commented upon in completely new contexts. This had previously not been common to this extent. Just like the titled students of the late Middle Ages, the secular and clerical people of the Early Modern Period were not interested in acquiring academic degrees even if they attended the university for a longer period of time and seriously took part in the lectures of the higher faculties. Yet, this practice seems to have changed, particularly in Prussia, in the early 19th century, and such a transformation was not only attributable to an increased interest in university scholarship but also to a novel understanding of universities as elements of national consciousness and self-assurance.

The biographical, or even autobiographical, reflections from the beginning of the 19th century understood themselves as politically orientated self-expressions. They did not intend to be university historiographies, yet can nevertheless be considered textual witnesses to contemporary reflections on the significance of university developments. They were, however, almost invariably published only by the middle of the 19th century.

Also Wilhelm von Humboldt's political initiatives on the university and on scholarship, and the founding of the University of Berlin in 1810, only became more widely discussed in historiography around the middle of the

⁵⁴ Cf. *Die Universität Halle seit den Befreiungskriegen. Verbindungswesen und Streben nach einem allgemeinen Studentenleben daselbst* (Magdeburg: Paetz, 1845).

⁵⁵ Maximilian Ritter von Thielen, *Erinnerungen aus dem Kriegerleben eines 82jährigen Veteranen der österreichischen Armee, mit besonderer Bezugnahme auf die Feldzüge der Jahre 1805, 1809, 1813, 1814, 1815; nebst einem Anhang die Politik Österreichs von 1809 bis 1814 betreffend* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1863), 4.

century, despite their far-reaching impact already during their own time. But only the middle of 19th century saw the publication of textual evidence from the time of the Wars of Liberation and the founding of the University of Berlin as historical material in historical and biographical works.

The Historiography of the 19th Century. New Textual Genres

The new University of Berlin gave rise to two consequential disciplinary differentiations: Into the philosophical, juridical, and theological disciplines on the one hand, thereby following the old system of the faculties, and into the science-oriented disciplines on the other hand. The latter had been newly added, and Berlin was soon forced to start narrowing its gap against other universities, e.g. in the laboratory sciences. By ca. 1860, the future-oriented system of a disciplinary organization differentiating between the humanities, dominated by philosophy and divided into historical and philological subjects, and the sciences, had become the tested standard⁵⁶. The initial demands made by Fichte or Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel about the primacy of philosophy had thus disappeared by the 1860s⁵⁷.

Further textual genres now became available to the writing of university historiography. One example are rectoral addresses –speeches by the rectors at the beginning, or sometimes the end, of their term that were open to the university public– given between 1810 and the middle of the century⁵⁸. These addresses, delivered up to the early 20th century, are striking documents of the historical self-positioning of the university and of the political accentuation or instrumentalization of academic festive culture during their respective historical context. Due to their historical self-reassurance, rectoral addresses must be considered first-rate sources of university historiography. In their own understanding, however, they did not necessarily regard themselves as historiographic texts but as remarks on the objectives of university and scholarly politics made on a historical basis. Nevertheless, with their speeches, the rectors themselves took part in the production of university history⁵⁹. Rectoral

⁵⁶ (Ternorth 2010, 35-36).

⁵⁷ Ibid., 37.

⁵⁸ As evidence without reproducing the text: <http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/anzeige/index.php?type=universitaet&id=104> (accessed 25 February 2016). On this: (Ternorth 2010, 37).

⁵⁹ Dieter Langewiesche. "Selbstbilder der deutschen Universität in Rektoratsreden. Jena – spätes 19. Jahrhundert bis 1948". In *Ein nationaler Erinnerungsort?*, edited by Jürgen John,

addresses are thus eminent sources for the self-positioning of the university between the past and the present⁶⁰.

So far, however, only a fraction of the voluminous records of rectoral addresses has been made accessible. A project completed by Dieter Lange-wiesche and Rainer Schwinges has bibliographically documented the speeches by the rectors of German and Swiss universities from the 19th and 20th century. The speeches from the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich have been accessible as digital full texts since 2015⁶¹, while the ones from the Swiss universities will be released soon⁶². The speeches from the University of Leipzig from 1871 to 1933 have been available in a printed edition already since 2009⁶³.

Because of the comparability of the speeches' institutional origins and the speakers' immediate involvement and intentional public impact, rectoral addresses are outstanding sources of university historiography. Unlike any other genre, they document not only the developments and continuities and caesuras in the challenges faced by the universities but also the strategies of their self-assertion.

It is therefore not surprising that the key concepts and priorities the rectors used to describe the university situation of their time and to formulate their demands for the future were a reflection of the scholarly and university-political tendencies of their period.

Justus H. Ulbricht, 219-243, here 219 (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2007). Idem, "Humboldt als Leitbild? Die deutsche Universität in den Berliner Rektoratsreden seit dem 19. Jahrhundert". *Jahrbuch für Universitäts-geschichte* 14 (2011): 15-37.

⁶⁰ Andreas Krummenacher. "In einem öffentlichen Vortrag soll Rechenschaft abgelegt werden". Die Rektoratsreden und Rektoren am Beispiel der Universitäten Basel und Bern im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert". In *Universität im öffentlichen Raum (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 10), edited by Rainer C. Schwinges, 347-364 (Basel: Schwabe, 2008); 348: "Rektoratsreden (discours rectoraux) gehören an allen Universitäten des deutschen Sprachraums und der französischsprachigen Schweiz seit dem 19. Jahrhundert zu den zentralen Ereignissen" ["Since the 19th century, rectoral addresses (discours rectoraux) are counted among the key events at all universities in the German-speaking language area and in French-speaking areas of Switzerland"]. Krummenacher distinguishes between the various festive occasions for giving rectoral addresses: 349, and the favored range of topics: 353-354.

⁶¹ <http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/> (accessed 26 February 2016).

⁶² For information currently: http://www.arpa-docs.ch/SedServer/SedWEB.cgi?-fld_482=&fld_41f=&fld_30b=&fld_30c=&search=&range=&persons=&geo=&Alias=Reden&Lang=0&first=0&session=0&awidth=1245&aheight=580&PrjName=Rektorats+Reden.

⁶³ Franz Häuser, ed., *Die Leipziger Rektoratsreden 1871-1933*, vol. 1.2 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2009).

The rector of the University of Munich, Philipp Franz von Walther, for instance, gave a speech in 1811 on the topic “Über den Geist des Universitätsstudiums” [“On the Spirit of the University Education”]⁶⁴. He programmatically explained that studying out of true love for scholarship would mean to pursue pure scholarship and not to study because of a later profession⁶⁵. While making a traditional argument, he nevertheless adhered to a modern structure of academia by enumerating the most important university disciplines in their hierarchical sequence: Mathematics, history, law, natural science, biology, pharmacology, and theology⁶⁶. The disciplines were no longer led by philosophy, and the so-called positive sciences (the natural sciences) were on equal footing to the philosophical disciplines. At the same time, the rector emphasized the necessity of a national disposition: The crucial guiding principles were to be the freedom of the scholarly mind and obedience to the laws⁶⁷.

The historiographic parts in the rectoral addresses from the following decades either tried to juxtapose historical developments with current challenges or to use historical precedents as models to be followed. In the 1830s, the rectors cautioned against revolutionary ideas which, they said, were spreading particularly at the universities and among studying youths. Ten years later, the emphasis was on the harmonization of study programs and examination regulations between the old faculties and the new disciplines, in particular the natural sciences. In 1848, the new rector’s inaugural address in Munich turned into a passionate affirmation of academic and scholarly freedom. From the middle of the 19th century on, the struggle between, on the one hand, the ideals of the quest for truth and knowledge of free scholarship, and, on the other hand, a utilitarian and work-related university education, came to once again dominate the speeches⁶⁸. Now, the rectors increasingly tried to either emphasize or push back against the new technical sciences, depending on their respective disciplinary affiliation and the profile of their university.

This type of university historiography was part of a political pragmatism that, together with the political perspectives, began to go into diverging

⁶⁴ Philipp Franz von Walther. *Über den Geist des Universitätsstudiums. Eine Rede bei der öffentlichen Verkündigung der Gesetze an der königlich-baierischen der Ludwig Maximilians-Universität* (Landshut: Philipp Krüll, 1811) http://bavarica.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/ob6.ct/display/bsb10387603_00008.html (accessed 24 February 2016).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 4-5, 13.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 5-6, 24.

⁶⁸ <http://www.universitaetsarchiv.uni-muenchen.de/digitalesarchiv/rektoratsunduniversitaetsreden/pdf/30.pdf> (accessed 25 February 2016), this quote and the following: 6-7.

directions. The lines of argumentation were too different, and the positions taken by the humanities, the natural sciences, and the technical sciences on their respective current roles and on whether university scholars were supposed to be experts only or whether they should also be comprehensively educated personalities, were too conflicting. Historical considerations thus subsided and future-orientated national-political and university-political planning became ascendant⁶⁹.

The 1866 inaugural address of the ecclesiastical historian Ignaz von Döllinger as rector in Munich was therefore particularly remarkable. In its published version, it became a comprehensive, historical, exceedingly detailed, and scholarly rigorous essay on the history of the university in Europe from its beginnings in the Middle Ages to the present. “Denn eine Genossenschaft, wie die Universität, lebt und zehrt auch von ihrer Vergangenheit” [“For an association like the university also subsists and draws on its history”], writes Döllinger, as long as it avoided the mistakes of earlier times and did not perish, as had happened in France, but instead cultivated scholarship cooperatively through the mutual exchange between all disciplines⁷⁰.

The students should, therefore, acquire and develop a “historical awareness”⁷¹. A pioneering work in this direction, according to Döllinger, was the title “Die englischen Universitäten. Eine Vorarbeit zur englischen Litteraturgeschichte” [“The English Universities. A Preliminary Study on English Literary History”], published in two volumes in 1839/40 by Victor Aimé Huber, a German social reformer and professor of western literature at the University of Marburg⁷². Apparently unknown to Döllinger, however, was the publication “Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung der hohen Schulen unseres Erdteils” [“History of the Formation and Development of the Universities of Our Part of the World”] written by Christian Meiners, professor of philosophy at the University of Göttingen, and issued in four volumes between 1802 and 1805⁷³. Döllinger also mentions works by Humboldt as well as Leopold von Ranke’s study on French history. He does not,

⁶⁹ Ibid., 8, 10-12.

⁷⁰ Johann Josef Ignaz von Döllinger, *Die Universitäten sonst und jetzt. Rectorats-Rede gehalten am 22. Dezember 1866* (Munich 1867). <http://www.universitaetsarchiv.uni-muenchen.de/digitalesarchiv/rektoratsunduniversitaetsreden/pdf/47.pdf> (accessed 26 February 2016): 27-28.

⁷¹ Ibid.: 52.

⁷² Victor Aimé Huber, *Die englischen Universitäten. Eine Vorarbeit zur englischen Litteraturgeschichte*, vol. 1.2. (Kassel: J.C. Krieger’s, 1839/1840).

⁷³ Christian Meiners, *Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung der hohen Schulen unseres Erdteils*, vol. 1-4 (Göttingen: J.F. Röwer, 1802-1805, reprint Aalen: Scientia, 1973).

however, refer to the “Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Deutschland” [“History of the Sciences in Germany”] which was initiated by Ranke and which, from the start, was also committed to a comprehensive approach which today might be acknowledged as an interdisciplinary one. The first volume, published in 1864, was concerned with constitutional law and with politics, while the subsequent volumes, issued in the following year, dealt with mineralogy, agriculture and forestry, and geography⁷⁴.

Since the start of the century, further volumes on the history of individual universities had also been published with titles that usually indicated their topic. Their authors were generally professors at the respective universities: In 1805, the philosopher Johann Christoph Hoffbauer published a history of the University of Halle from its origins in 1694 to its contemporary present⁷⁵. In 1774, a comparable study by August Friedrich Boek, also a philosopher, was published for the University of Tübingen; in 1795, one by the philologist Georg Wolfgang Augustin Fikenscher on the University of Erlangen; in 1799 one by the philosopher Johann Christian Förster on Halle; and in 1810, one by Heinrich Gottlieb Kreussler on Leipzig⁷⁶. In 1820, the histo-

⁷⁴ During Ranke’s lifetime, 20 volumes were published, until 1913 a total of 24 volumes. They are now digitally available on the website of the Historische Kommission at the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften Munich: <http://www.historischekommission-muenchen.de/publikationen.html?F=0.html/\\%27/\\%2}#undefined>.

⁷⁵ August Friedrich Boek. *Geschichte der herzoglich Württembergischen Eberhard Carls Universitaet zu Tuebingen im Grundrisse* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1774). https://books.google.de/books?id=BdFXAAAACAAJ&pg=PA166&dq=Geschichte+der+universität&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universität&f=false (accessed 26 February 2016). Georg Wolfgang Augustin. *Geschichte der Koeniglich-Preussischen Friederich-Alexanders-Universitaet zu Erlangen von ihrem Ursprung bis auf gegenwaertige Zeiten* (Coburg: Uhl, 1795). https://books.google.de/books?id=BdFXAAAACAAJ&pg=PA166&dq=Geschichte+der+universität&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universität&f=false (accessed 26 February 2016). Johann Christoph Hoffbauer. *Geschichte der Universität zu Halle bis zum Jahre 1805* (Halle: Schimmelpfennig, 1805). https://books.google.de/books?id=4eV-QAAAACAAJ&pg=PP30&dq=Geschichte+der+universität&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universität&f=false (accessed 26 February 2016).

⁷⁶ Johann Christian Foerster. *Uebersicht der Geschichte der Universitaet zu Halle in ihrem ersten Jahrhunderte* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1799). https://books.google.de/books?id=KadJAAAA-cAAJ&pg=PA26&dq=Geschichte+der+universität&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universität&f=false (accessed 26 February 2016). Heinrich Gottlieb Kreussler. *Geschichte der Universität Leipzig von ihrem Ursprunge bis auf unsere Zeiten. Nebst einem vollständigen Stipendienverzeichnisse* (Dessau: Solbrig, 1810). https://books.google.de/books?id=swzZTgBP1QAC&pg=PA113&dq=Geschichte+der+universität&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universität&f=false (accessed 26 February 2016).

rian Friedrich Saalfeld published the history of the University of Göttingen from 1788 up to the year of publication⁷⁷. The same approach was chosen by the church minister Markus Lutz in 1826 for the history of the University of Basel, and by the historian and church minister Johann Friedrich Hautz for a history of the University of Heidelberg, which he expressly introduced as having been written on the basis of the manuscript sources⁷⁸. Overall, the number of historiographic texts became more substantial during the course of the 19th century⁷⁹. At the same time, text editions for individual universities with source material from chronicles and especially from documents continued to be published, such as the documentary sources on the history of the University of Leipzig issued by Friedrich Zarncke in 1857⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ Friedrich Saalfeld. *Geschichte der Universitaet Goettingen in dem Zeitraume von 1788 bis 1820* (Hannover: Helwing, 1820). https://books.google.de/books?id=x1ldAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA9&dq=Geschichte+der+universitaet&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universitaet&f=false (accessed 27 February 2016).

⁷⁸ Pütter/Saalfeld. *Versuch einer academischen Gelehrten-Geschichte von der Georg-August-Universitaet zu Goetingen, vol. 3* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1820). Edition from 1829: https://books.google.de/books?id=q4IfAAAAyAAJ&pg=PA2&dq=Geschichte+der+universitaet&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universitaet&f=false (accessed 27 February 2016).

In 1838, the Universitätsrath Johann Georg Oesterley continued the work on the history of the University of Göttingen for the years 1820 to 1837. http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10734497_00006.html (accessed 27 February 2016).

A more general regional approach was chosen in works like the one by the philologist Heinrich Ferdinand Eisenbach from Tübingen in his “Beschreibung und Geschichte der Stadt und Universitaet Tübingen”, published: (Tübingen: Osiander, in 1822). https://books.google.de/books?id=NuxQAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Geschichte+der+universitaet&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universitaet&f=false (accessed 27 February 2016). Markus Lutz. *Geschichte der Universität Basel. Von ihrer Gründung bis zu ihrer neuesten Umgestaltung*. Aargau: Christen, 1826. Johann Friedrich Hautz. *Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg, nach handschriftlichen Quellen nebst den wichtigsten Urkunden* (Mannheim: Mohr, 1862). https://books.google.de/books?id=Cd5IAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Geschichte+der+universitaet&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universitaet&f=false (accessed 27 February 2016).

⁷⁹ Julia Schopferer. *Sozialgeschichte der halleischen Professoren 1694-1806. Lebenswege, Netzwerke und Raum als Strukturbedingungen von universitärer Wissenschaft und frühmoderner Gelehrtenexistenz (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur Mitteldeutschlands, vol. 3)* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2016); the title information on the historiography of the 19th century in the references of printed sources: 458–463.

⁸⁰ Friedrich Zarncke. *Die urkundlichen Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Leipzig in den ersten 150 Jahren ihres Bestehens. (=Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, vol. 3)* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1857). https://books.google.de/books?id=_1rkH0uld-IQC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Geschichte+der+universitaet&hl=de&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Geschichte%20der%20universitaet&f=false (accessed 27 February 2016).

Next to the texts on political pragmatics and the works on institutional history, a third genre of historiographic literature was in great demand around the same time: Comprehensive narrative works on the history of schools and universities with a broader thematic approach. 1901 saw the publication of the multi-volume work “Das Unterrichtswesen im Deutschen Reich” [“The Educational System in the German Empire”] by Wilhelm Lexis, which focused on German history; the works by Friedrich Paulsen, Georg Kaufmann and Franz Eulenburg published between the late 1880s and 1910s have already been discussed earlier⁸¹. In 1904/05, the librarian Wilhelm Adolf Erman, together with Ewald Horn, issued a three-volume bibliography of German universities up to the year 1899⁸². It was the first publication of its kind and it is evidence of the successful disciplinary establishment of university historiography.

Throughout the 19th century, particularly texts that were, or wanted to appear, politically motivated, and publications dealing with institutional history reflected the framework provided for the universities by the external historical developments and by their consequences. Their authors’ opinions became increasingly divergent and aligned themselves with one side or the other, yet without the emergence of formal controversies. But all authors agreed that the universities were to be understood as part of the political system of their time and that they had to orientate themselves accordingly. In this manner, they evaluated the universities’ origins and developments individually, as it had been common since the Middle Ages, and sometimes emphasized the independence of scholarly knowledge, sometimes focused on their utility for the state and on the training of civil servants.

Overall, the entire university historiography was influenced by such interpretations. A “neutral” historiography did not emerge next to this. Unsurprisingly, the authors also used the military conflicts in the German Empire in 1866 as well as again in 1870 as an opportunity to remind the universities of their responsibility to the nation, or to demand the preservation of free scholarship. Historical arguments in a narrower sense and corresponding historiographic text forms only came into existence when reference was made to long lines of tradition from the Middle Ages in order to trace current conditions back to those, or, more frequently, to distance the current situation from the old practices. Intentionally historiographic were also those texts that con-

⁸¹ Wilhelm Lexis. *Das Unterrichtswesen im Deutschen Reich*, vol. 1-4 (Berlin: Asher, 1904), reprint Norderstedt 2015. On Paulsen, Eulenburg und Kaufmann cf. chapter 1.

⁸² Wilhelm Erman. Ewald Horn. *Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten. Systematisch geordnetes Verzeichnis der bis Ende 1899 gedruckten Bücher und Aufsätze über das deutsche Universitätswesen*, vol. 1-3 (Leipzig/Berlin: Teubner, 1904-1905, reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1965).

trusted old, philosophical disciplines with new subjects of the natural, and also partly technical, sciences. During industrialization, the latter disciplines greatly gained in importance and started to become more differentiated⁸³.

The leading position of the humanities, including theology and law, was gradually lost. Invocations of the collectivity of the sciences and the unity of research and knowledge in the university had become rare, and there were only few instances in which the special importance of history and its study for the university was emphasized, such as in the rectoral addresses by Ignaz von Döllinger in 1871 and by Alois von Brinz in 1876, both given in Munich⁸⁴. Brinz spoke about the history of universal knowledge since Aristotle and how it had evolved at the universities since the Middle Ages and how it had since been cultivated. According to Brinz, the only place where the modern, realist studies could be unified with the traditional humanist ones was the university⁸⁵.

In his inaugural speech in Leipzig in 1888, the physician Franz Hoffman seized on this thought: “Die deutschen Universitäten verkörpern [...] in sich alle zeitgemässen Strömungen, und ihre Geschichte ist die Geschichte des Volkes. Es ist naturgemäss, dass an den Universitäten, ebenso wie im Leben des Individuums und der Völker einzelne Ideen und bewegende Motive zeitweilig mehr zurücktreten, während andere in einem raschen, mächtigen Aufblühen begriffen sind” [“The German universities embody all contemporary movements, and their history is the history of the people. It is natural that at the universities, just as in the life of individuals and of peoples, particular ideas and guiding motivations recede at some point in time, while others are rapidly and powerfully thriving”]⁸⁶.

The rectoral addresses and other writings make it increasingly clear that the humanities, and especially history, were concentrating on the forma-

⁸³ (Tenorth 2010, 38-39). (Hammerstein 2010, 13). (Weber 2002, 211-214): faculties for natural sciences were established in the Netherlands starting in the first decade of the 19th century. Lutz Raphael. *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeitalter der Extreme. Theorien, Methoden, Tendenzen von 1900 bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 2003), 66.

⁸⁴ Johann Josef Ignaz von Döllinger. *Die Bedeutung der großen Zeitereignisse für die deutschen Hochschulen*. Rectoral address from 23 December 1871. <http://www.universitaetsarchiv.uni-muenchen.de/digitalesarchiv/reaktoratsunduniversitaetsreden/pdf/52.pdf> (accessed 25 February 2016): esp. 12-16, 23-24, 31-32.

⁸⁵ Alois von Brinz. *Ueber Universalität*. [Inaugural rectoral address], 25. November 1846. <http://www.universitaetsarchiv.uni-muenchen.de/digitalesarchiv/reaktoratsunduniversitaetsreden/pdf/57.pdf> (accessed 26 February 2016): 13.

⁸⁶ Franz Hoffmann [Inaugural rectoral address], 1 November 1888. (Leipziger Rektoratsreden 2009, 457-468); quotation 457.

tion of a distinctive methodological standard (the historical-critical method), but that they had given up on the struggle with the modern sciences about dominance at the university and that their representatives tried to emphasize the universal relevance of their disciplines which, every now and then, were discredited as simply useful and not scientific.

As was to be expected, in the period before the First World War and in the years 1914 to 1918, national-political tones started to appear in speeches and writings on the history and present of universities. Yet, after the war, the previous discussions about the disparities between and the unity of academic disciplines could temporarily be resumed. Free rectoral addresses dealing with ideals like the humanistic education as the heritage and responsibility of universities were occasionally possible until 1933. After the National Socialist seizure of power and the “Gleichschaltung”, these debates and similar public statements were rare exceptions.

Already earlier, the advancing rule of National Socialism had induced some rectors to make advances towards the Nazis in their speeches, and for this purpose to abandon the idea of scholarly freedom and the integrity of the university⁸⁷. The annihilation of Jewish university scholarship by the National Socialist dictatorship did not only bring immense human suffering but also irrevocably destroyed a previously fundamental element of German and European culture. The year 1933 is also a caesura for the historiography of the university, for the history of historical writing on the university, after which it needs to be written differently than before.

Historiographic Paths into the Present

The thriving current research into the history of the university and its historiography is substantially due to a culture of memory and of anniversaries

⁸⁷ Otto Gerhard Oexle. “Wirklichkeit – “Krise der Wirklichkeit” – “Neue Wirklichkeit”. Deutungsmuster und Paradigmenkämpfe in der deutschen Wissenschaft vor/nach 1933”. In *Die Rolle der Geisteswissenschaften im Dritten Reich. 1933-1945 (Schriften des Historisches Kollegs*, vol. 53), edited by Frank-Rutger Hausmann, 1-20, esp. 4-5 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002). Idem, ed., *Krise des Historismus – Krise der Wirklichkeit. Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur 1880–1933. (Veröffentlichungen des Max Planck-Instituts für Geschichte*, vol. 228). Ed. by idem, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2007. Richard Laube. *Karl Mannheim und die Krise des Historismus. Historismus als wissenssoziologischer Perspektivismus* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 196) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004). Cf. *Jüdische Intellektuelle und die Philologien in Deutschland. 1871-1933*, edited by Wilfried Barner, Christoph König (Marbacher Wissenschaftsgeschichte, vol. 3), Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001.

which, for some time now, has been vigorously fostered⁸⁸. This complements detailed studies of and overviews on the post-war era, the German Empire, the interwar period as well as the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era⁸⁹.

The universities of Freiburg im Breisgau in 2007, of Berlin (Humboldt University) in 2010, of Heidelberg in 2011, of Göttingen in 2012, of Kiel in 2015, and of Vienna in 2015, among others, have used their respective anniversary celebrations as opportunities to comprehensively research their own history, sometimes for the first time. Multi-volume works of fundamental importance have been published as a result. Also the period of National Socialism, often ideologically instrumentalized or simply ignored after the Second World War, is now being critically researched. The consequences of becoming aware of personal and institutional continuities need to be discussed on a case-by-case basis, and this will continue to occupy the field of university historiography. A contextual study of the university history of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as comparative research into the universities in the early Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic up to 1989 is also still largely missing⁹⁰. Only in the past few years has it been possible to access the historical records of the disturbances of 1968 and of their far-reaching effects on the inner structure of German universities. This topic will also have to be an issue in future university historiographic scholarship.

⁸⁸ Ilka Thom. Kirsten Weining, ed., *Mittendrin. Eine Universität macht Geschichte. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich des 200jährigen Jubiläums der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*. Catalogue (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010).

⁸⁹ Rainer A. Müller. *Universitäten und Hochschulen in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Eine Universitätsgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen* (Düsseldorf/Vienna: Econ 1983). Sylvia Paletschek. *Die permanente Erfindung einer Tradition. Die Universität Tübingen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik (Contubernium, vol. 53)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001). *Wissenschaft mit Zukunft. Die "alte" Kölner Universität im Kontext der europäischen Universitätsgeschichte (Studien zur Geschichte der Universität zu Köln, vol. 16)*, edited by Andreas Speer, Andreas Berger (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2016). Andreas Rudersdorf. *"Universitas semper reformanda" – die beharrende Kraft des Humanismus: zu einem Grundkonflikt neuzeitlicher Universitätsgeschichte im Jahrhundert der Reformation (Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl., vol. 141/5)* (Stuttgart/Leipzig: Hirzel, 2016).

⁹⁰ Anne Rohstock. *Von der "Ordinarienuniversität" zur "Revolutionszentrale". Hochschulreform und Hochschulrevolte in Hessen und Bayern 1957-1976* (Munich: de Gruyter, 2010). Manuel Schramm. *Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft in DDR und BRD. Die Kategorie "Vertrauen" in Innovationsprozessen* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2008). *Hochschule im Sozialismus (Studien zur Geschichte der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, 1945-1990, vol. 1)*, edited by Uwe Hoßfeld, Heinz Mestrup (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau 2007).

In addition, a large number of detailed studies, often university theses, are available⁹¹. They usually deal with individual universities, often within specific periods and with particular research questions. Their methodological approaches are influenced by the debates current in historical scholarship at the respective time, and their chronological framework encompasses the complete university history from the Middle Ages to the present. Thesis-orientated and hermeneutic studies continue to be accompanied by editions, albeit in smaller numbers. At the moment, there are no dominant tendencies or striking desiderata. There is, rather, a remarkably large number of research studies which, on their part, will provide an outstanding basis for future scholarly discussions.

The collection of works on university historiography is nowadays continually expanding, and different to the 19th century, the debates are no longer dominated by politically motivated programmatic or disciplinary factional texts but by studies striving for academic neutrality. The historiography of the university as a continuous institution is necessarily also defined by its currency, by its gain of knowledge, and by its potential utilization for the current organization of scholarship and the university as well for the corresponding policies. In contrast to the 19th century, current university historiographic research is making a great methodological effort to analyze its respective historical material according to the accepted rules of scholarly practice and without any kind of instrumentalization.

Furthermore, Walter Rüegg's standard work "Geschichte der Universität in Europa" ["History of the University in Europe"], published in German between 1993 and 2010, provides a viable basis for more specialized current studies⁹². Since 1998, the *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* [Yearbook of

⁹¹ Marita Baumgarten. *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert. Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte deutscher Geistes- und Naturwissenschaftler (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, vol. 121)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997). Christian George. *Studieren in Ruinen. Die Studenten der Universität Bonn in der Nachkriegszeit (1945-1955)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010). Marco Birn. *Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums in Deutschland: Das Streben nach Gleichberechtigung von 1869 bis 1918, dargestellt anhand politischer, statistischer und biographischer Zeugnisse (Heidelberger Schriften zur Universitätsgeschichte)* (Heidelberg: Winter 2015).

⁹² *Geschichte der Universität in Europa, vol. 1. Mittelalter*, edited by Walter Rüegg (Munich: Beck, 1993). Vol. 2, *Von der Reformation zur Französischen Revolution (1500-1800)*, edited by Walter Rüegg (Munich: Beck, 1996). Vol. 3, *Vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg (1800-1945)*, edited by Walter Rüegg (Munich: Beck, 2004). Vol. 4, *Vom Zweiten Weltkrieg bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Walter Rüegg (Munich: Beck, 2010); also partly quoted above.

University History] provides an international forum for contemporary research⁹³. The German-language landscape of university historical research is well organized in professional associations, especially with the Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte [Society for the History of the University and Science], established in 1995, which issues its own publication series since 1999, with the Österreichische Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte [Austrian Society for the History of Science], founded in 1980, and with the Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte [Society for the History of Science], already in existence since 1965, each of which with their regularly produced publications. The Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG; <http://www.rag-online.org>), initiated by Rainer Christoph Schwinges, provides the field of university historiography, and especially graduate scholars working on the Holy Roman Empire between 1250 and 1550, with a technologically state-of-the-art database system for the prosopographic analysis of documents.

The historiography of the university will doubtlessly remain a methodologically innovative research field within German-language historical scholarship. It continues to remain open to current issues and approaches in international historical and cultural studies research, such as transcultural perspectives, and is being increasingly recognized by young scholars as a future-oriented field for record-based historical case studies.

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