

"Der Burschen Herrlichkeit"? - Old and New Ways of Examining the History of German University Students (1810-1945). A Research Report

"Der Burschen Herrlichkeit"? - Viejas y nuevas formas de examinar la historia de los estudiantes universitarios alemanes (1810-1945). Un informe de investigación

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Abstract: This research report attempts to show the basic lines of student history research in relation to the period from 1810 to 1945. It is thus primarily concerned with the period that is referred to in university history research as the "classical phase" (Peter Moraw). After an overview of fundamental questions about the era, it gives an overview of the history of student fraternities, whose importance cannot be overestimated. However, since student history is not limited to fraternity history, it then describes the relationship between student and fraternity history since the 19th century as a kind of elective affinity. In this context, particular

Resumen: Este informe de investigación intenta mostrar las líneas básicas de la investigación de la historia de los estudiantes en relación con el período de 1810 a 1945. Por lo tanto, se ocupa principalmente del período al que se hace referencia en la investigación de la historia universitaria como la "fase clásica" (Peter Moraw). Después de un repaso de las cuestiones fundamentales de la época, da un repaso a la historia de las fraternidades estudiantiles, cuya importancia no puede subestimarse. Sin embargo, dado que la historia del estudiante no se limita a la historia de la fraternidad, describe la relación entre la historia del estudiante y la fraternidad desde el si-

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attention is paid to the not always easy relationship between professional researchers and laypersons interested in student history, often members of student fraternities. The following part is devoted to the "Sonderweg theory" in student history, i.e., the thesis that student fraternities were a particularly characteristic form of expression of the "German Sonderweg". Finally, the last part deals in detail with more recent tendencies in student historiography since the late 1990s, especially on Catholic student life, student violence, Jewish students and anti-Semitism, as well as female students and gender-historical approaches. As an important desideratum, genuine cultural aspects of student history are identified. Nonetheless, student history has nowadays developed into a flourishing branch of university history.

Key words: Germany, student history, student fraternities, "student historians", student self-organization, university history.

glo XIX como una especie de afinidad electiva. En este contexto, se presta especial atención a la relación no siempre fácil entre investigadores profesionales y laicos interesados en la historia estudiantil, a menudo miembros de fraternidades estudiantiles. La siguiente parte está dedicada a la "teoría del Sonderweg" en la historia estudiantil, es decir, la tesis de que las fraternidades estudiantiles fueron una forma de expresión particularmente característica del "Sonderweg alemán". Finalmente, la última parte trata en detalle las tendencias más recientes en la historiografía estudiantil desde fines de la década de 1990, especialmente sobre la vida estudiantil católica, la violencia estudiantil, los estudiantes judíos y el anti-semitismo, así como las estudiantes y los enfoques históricos de género. Como desideratum importante, se identifican los aspectos culturales genuinos de la historia estudiantil. No obstante, la historia estudiantil se ha convertido hoy en día en una floreciente rama de la historia universitaria.

Palabras clave: Alemania, historia estudiantil, fraternidades estudiantiles, "estudiantes historiadores", organización estudiantil, historia universitaria.

1. Fundamentals

A major turning point in the history of German universities and of their students was at the turn of the 18th to the 19th century.¹ Universities underwent a transition from being traditional corporations to becoming organizations mediated by a constitutional state. However, these organizations still possessed a significant number of rights in terms of self-administration and were well-equipped public bodies, which then later changed into modern research and teaching universities.² This transition had a substantial effect on the legal status, the self-perception, and the cultural practices of stu-

¹ The title of this essay uses a quote from the famous German student song "Oh alte Burschenherrlichkeit" (which can roughly be translated into "The good ol' days"), probably written in 1825.

² Matthias Asche and Stefan Gerber, "Universität," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit Online*. Consulted online on 18 January 2022. First published online: 2019.

dents.³ The Prussian-German university model later named after Wilhelm von Humboldt began in 1810 at the University of Berlin. This model then spread throughout the entire German-speaking world, large parts of Eastern and Southern Europe, and it also influenced university systems outside of Europe, for instance, in the United States of America.⁴ This transition had two major consequences for students: first, students who had been an integral part of the university corporation and who had legal participation status and rights, were suddenly excluded from the decision-making process. Thus, students became, in essence, only “users” of the academic institution although they continued to be awarded a historical and romanticized “*Akademisches Bürgerrecht*” (academic civil rights). Secondly, through this process, students also gained some freedom, especially due to the so-called “*Humboldtsche Lücke*” (Humboldtian Gap),⁵ which meant that universities voluntarily gave up their right to supervise students’ behavior. This newly gained freedom enabled students to organize and regulate their social lives much more freely than in the English colleges of the time. Nevertheless, the closely related idea of the complete freedom students enjoyed, called “*Burschenfreiheit*”, was in no way new,⁶ as was the case of other types of student deviance.⁷ This idea of student debauchery was often repeated and became idealized in the collective memory. However, students’ deviant behavior took on a different character in the 19th century. The reason for this is that after the Enlightenment and in light of the French Revolution, German stu-

³ Julian Kümmerle, “Student,” *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit Online*. Consulted online on 12 January 2022. First published online: 2019.

⁴ Research on the so-called “Humboldt University” has become very differentiated in the last 25 years, also in an international context. See especially the following two volumes: Rainer C. Schwinges, ed., *Humboldt International. Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), Sylvia Paletschek, *Die permanente Erfindung einer Tradition. Die Universität Tübingen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001).

⁵ Friedrich Schaffstein, *Wilhelm von Humboldt. Ein Lebensbild* (Frankfurt/Main: Klostermann, 1952), 228-29.

⁶ Ulrich Rasche, “Cornelius relegatus und die Disziplinierung der deutschen Studenten (16. bis frühes 19. Jahrhundert). Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Ikonologie studentischer Memoria,” in *Frühneuzeitliche Universitätskulturen. Kulturhistorische Perspektiven auf die Hochschulen in Europa*, ed. Barbara Krug-Richter and Ruth-E. Mohrmann (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2009), 157-221.

⁷ Marian Füssel, “Devianz als Norm? Studentische Gewalt und akademische Freiheit in Cologne im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” *Westfälische Forschungen* 54 (2004): 145-166 and “Riten der Gewalt. Zur Geschichte der akademischen Deposition und des Pernalismus in der frühen Neuzeit,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 32 (2005): 605-648.

dents became politicized to an unprecedented extent during the second half of the 18th century. This development, which happened in the time of the Dual Revolution, took place across all of Europe.⁸ It had a significant impact on the German student body and triggered numerous waves of radicalization that lasted far into the second half of the 20th century.⁹ These waves of radicalization were characterized by a student activism directly related to various political ideas and worldviews of historical importance. In this regard, Harald Lönnecker¹⁰ accurately spoke about how students were seen as a type of seismograph, in that they both anticipated political and social changes and, at the same time, amplified those tendencies.¹¹

The reason that made this process possible is that German universities, during their classical phase,¹² were not just educational institutions focused on research and teaching, but were rather the nucleus of the political elite and the embodiment of both national and international prestige – something that can hardly be imagined today. Moreover, well into the 20th century, students

⁸ Dieter Langewiesche, "Studenten in den europäischen Revolutionen von 1848," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 2 (1999): 38-57. For more on the revolutionary periods between 1815 and 1848, see Georg Polster, *Politische Studentenbewegung und bürgerliche Gesellschaft. Die Würzburger Burschenschaft im Kräftefeld von Staat, Universität und Stadt 1814-1850* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1989, written at: Würzburg, Univ. Diss., 1985) and Severin Roeseling, *Burschenehre und Bürgerrecht. Die Geschichte der Heidelberger Burschenschaft von 1828 bis 1834* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1999, written at: Köln, Univ. Diss., 1998), Karin Breuer, *Constructing Germanness: the Student Movement from the Burschenschaft to the Progressbewegung, 1814-49* (Ph. D. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 2002) and Karin Breuer, "Competing Masculinities: Fraternities, Gender and Nationality in the German Confederation, 1815-30," *Gender & History*, 20, no. 2 (2008): 270-287.

⁹ Konrad H. Jarausch, "Studentischer Protest im Wandel der Zeiten. Ideologische Seitenwechsel der Studierenden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021]: 103-117.

¹⁰ "Lönnecker, Harald," in *Verfasserlexikon zur Studenten- und Universitätsgeschichte*, ed. Friedhelm Golücke (Köln: SH, 2004), 204-207. Lönnecker is one of the most productive modern day research student historians of all. Since 1995 he has been head of the archive and library of the Student Association "*Deutsche Burschenschaft*" and the "*Gesellschaft für Burschenschaftliche Geschichtsforschung*" (*Society for the historical research of Burschenschaft History*) at the Federal Archives in Koblenz. His main focus of research is the history of Burschenschaft fraternities and the history of academic singing associations and singing student fraternities. Most of his publications can be accessed under http://www.burschenschaftsgeschichte.de/forschung_pub.php (cited January 22, 2022).

¹¹ Harald Lönnecker, "... freiwillig nimmer von hier zu weichen ..." *Die Prager deutsche Studentenschaft 1867-1945. Vol. 1: Verbindungen und Vereine des deutschnationalen Spektrums* (Köln: SH, 2008), 18-19.

¹² Peter Moraw, "Universitäten, Gelehrte und Gelehrsamkeit in Deutschland vor und um 1800," in Schwinges, ed., *Humboldt International*, 75-104.

were not just young people who attended university, but rather a group marked by their homogeneity in relation to their intellect, social background, and cultural practices, especially when compared to other social groups. Above all, these cultural practices evolved from the academic elite (sub)culture of the 19th century and were known for being distinct and affirming of itself. By experiencing and utilizing their civil and individual rights, students were expected to be prepared to take on leading positions in society and in the government after their graduation. Nevertheless, deviant behavior that took on the form of asocial or antisocial behavior during university life was not unknown, especially within the framework of student camaraderie and socializing.¹³ These acts were rites of passage that sometimes took on a life of their own. The self-perception of the dominant student circles was elitist, and these students felt they were entitled to be part of the political and social vanguard. However, the students' concept of themselves was always marked by an overexaggerated opinion of themselves. For instance, Ernst Moritz Arndt's programmatic manifest "Über den deutschen Studentenstaat" (*The German Student State*) from 1813 can be seen as the initial spark in the form of a manifesto that had near eschatological characteristics.

2. Student fraternities

Student fraternities or corporations (*Studentenverbindungen* or *Studentenkorporationen*) played a key role in the evolution of students from the early 19th century onwards. These fraternities continued to play a role well into the early days of the Federal Republic of Germany.¹⁴ Moreover, they filled the Humboldtian Gap by their sense of entitlement as they were being able to monitor their members' own behavior. In this way, fraternities, with

¹³ Matthias Stickler, "Verbindungsstudentische Geselligkeit im Spannungsfeld von bürgerlichem und antibürgerlichem Habitus," in *Von Professorenzirkeln, Studentenknäipen und akademischem Networking. Universitäre Geselligkeiten von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Matthias Asche and Dietmar Klenke (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2017), 147-166.

¹⁴ Matthias Stickler, "Universität als Lebensform? Überlegungen zur Selbststeuerung studentischer Sozialisation im langen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Die Berliner Universität im Kontext der deutschen Universitätslandschaft nach 1800, um 1860 und um 1910*, ed. Rüdiger vom Bruch with cooperation of Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (München: Oldenburg, 2010), 149-186 and Harald Lönnecker, "Studenten und Gesellschaft. Studenten in der Gesellschaft – Versuch eines Überblicks seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Universität im öffentlichen Raum*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwings (Basel: Schwabe, 2008), 387-438.

their "hidden curriculum" (Konrad H. Jarausch),¹⁵ acted in tandem with the government's sanctioned task of educating students at university. Student fraternities¹⁶ are until today very adaptable socialization groups that can be traced back to the universities in the Holy Roman Empire. They have their roots, above all, in the "*Alte Landsmannschaften*" (old Student territorial associations), which were protection associations for students who came from the same area. These groups were also inspired by Masonic student orders, which were based on shared ethics and values, and which deemed themselves to be a lifetime community for their members. These *Landsmannschaften* would ultimately descend into other types of groups, which, after a while, started calling themselves *Corps* and, starting from the university of Jena in 1814/1815¹⁷, which then would be known as *Burschenschaften* (nationally engaged fraternities). Their attempt at starting a nation-wide organization of students would ultimately fail much like the federal claim to sole representation demanded by the local *Seniorenconvente* (decision-making body of the heads of the *Corps* at a university). Starting in the middle of the 19th century, the types of fraternities began to increase and diversify based upon worldviews and traditions. At the same time, they also began to consolidate under overarching umbrella organizations. There were new *Landsmannschaften*, gymnastic fraternities¹⁸, singing fraternities, athletic societies, student scientific societies, Catholic and Jewish fraternities, as well as sororities, all of which took on, to varying degrees, the traditional forms of student fraternities and introduced the principle of "*Lebensbund*" (life-long membership). Thus, all the fraternities, even those that continued to call themselves "*Vereine*" (associations), were groups consisting of students ("*Aktive*", within that group were also the so-called "*Füxe*" or "*Füchse*", "Foxes", that means

¹⁵ Konrad H. Jarausch, *Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany. The Rise of Academic Illiberalism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982).

¹⁶ For general ideas see Matthias Stickler, "Studentenverbindungen," in *Staatslexikon. Recht – Wirtschaft – Gesellschaft*, ed. Görres society and Herder publishing company, chief editor Heinrich Oberreuter. 8th, new edition. vol. 5 (Freiburg: Herder, 2021), 846-849, more sources can be found here.

¹⁷ Peter Kaupp (revised), *Stamm-Buch der Jenaischen Burschenschaft. Die Mitglieder der Urburschenschaft 1815-1819* (Köln: SH, 2005).

¹⁸ *Landsmannschaften* und gymnastic fraternities are joined under the Coburger Convent umbrella association. Oliver Mohr, ed., *150 Jahre Coburger Convent* (Würzburg: Studentengesellschaftliche Vereinigung des Coburger Convents e.V., 2018). In close connection with the CC is the historical student association of the CC that was founded in 1951 (<http://studentengeschichte.cc>, cited January 22, 2022). It publishes the series "Historia Academica" that has already released a total of 58 volumes.

freshmen, new potential members) and the “*Alte Herren*” or “*Philister*” (Old Boys or Philistines), which were the former members who were now working. Differences were also made between the groups that wore colors (often a tricolor ribbon and cap) and those that did not, namely the “black” fraternities. The latter often had color on their “*Bierzipfel*” and “*Weinzipfel*”, a kind of pendants worn by members. On special occasions, they would also wear their “*Wichs*”, which is a uniform-like type of traditional student clothing originated with Polish freedom fighters in the early 19th century. While there were fraternities that were known for their “*Bestimmungsmessuren*” (a kind of academic fencing), there were others that did not allow them. Even though student combat was a centuries old tradition, the “*Bestimmungsmessur*”, which emerged in the middle of the 19th century, was not a duel, but rather a form of arranged and ritualized combat.

Student fraternities were the norm at the classical German university, and it was generally the case that students would join one. Despite the conflicts and the informal hierarchies,¹⁹ these fraternities represented the diverse student body. Beginning in 1919, they would also go on to dominate the democratically-based elections for the students’ self-governing bodies. Shortly before World War I, more than half of all students in Germany were member of a fraternity. Even in the Weimar Republic, there was a high level of participation (up to 70 %), especially at small and mid-sized universities.²⁰ With this degree of organization and participation, fraternity members were much more visible and present in both politics and society than they are today. Therefore, when analyzing networks, it is sensible to consider fraternity membership.²¹ Some important sources for this type of research are naturally membership rosters from the various fraternities and their umbrella organizations. Unfortunately, there exist only very few relevant prosopographical works, in which members of student unions are systematically

¹⁹ Manfred Studier, *Der Corpsstudent als Idealbild der Wilhelminischen Ära. Untersuchungen zum Zeitgeist 1888-1914* (Schernfeld: SH, 1990). This dissertation from 1965, written at the University of Erlangen, is a classic in the history of students. It depicts for the first time the diversity of the students during imperial Germany. Talking about the heterogeneity of the student body was not self-evident for the time and thus contributed a lot to the fact that the perception of student fraternities became more differentiated. This important work received broader reception after its publication as a book.

²⁰ See notes in Stickler, “Universität als Lebensform?” 157.

²¹ Harald Lönnecker, “... der zu Recht bevorzugte unsichtbare Kreis, der sich nur den unsrigen erschließt.’ Studentische Korporationen zwischen Elitedenken und den Selbstverständlichkeiten der Zugehörigkeit im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert,” in *Geheime Eliten? Bensheimer Gespräche 2010/11*, ed. Volkhard Huth (Frankfurt/Main: Klostermann, 2014), 183-203.

recorded. These types of lists only exist for one specific type of fraternities (*Burschenschaften*²²) and the non-color wearing *Kartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenvereine* (KV, Union of Catholic German Student Associations).²³ The *Verband der Vereine Deutscher Studenten* (VVDSt, Union of German Students' Associations), founded in 1881, has also planned on publishing a biographical encyclopedia. However, only one volume has been edited so far.²⁴

The symbiotic relationship between universities and student fraternities was also a product of the aforementioned autonomy of the German university system. Interestingly, this type of relationship also developed where this university model was adopted, including outside of the German-speaking world. Moreover, even foreign students studying at German universities at the time joined fraternities as well.²⁵ As a result of Germany's defeat in the First World War, a significant number of fraternities experienced a shift to right-wing politics. This shift ultimately made it easier for the National-Socialist movement to exploit them when they were trying to achieve their

²² Helge Dvorak, *Biographisches Lexikon der Deutschen Burschenschaft*. ed. Gesellschaft für burschenschaftliche Geschichtsforschung. Vol. I: Politiker. 6 Teile, ed. Christian Hünemörder, Heidelberg 1996-2005. 2 Supplementteile, ed. Klaus Oldenhage, Heidelberg 2013-2014. Vol. II: Künstler, ed. Peter Kaupp (Heidelberg: Winter, 2018), Matthias Stickler, "Ein wichtiges Grundlagenwerk der Geschichtswissenschaft – Zur Vollendung des Biographischen Lexikons der Deutschen Burschenschaft," *Einst und Jetzt* 66 (2021): 301-310.

²³ Siegfried Koß and Wolfgang Löhr, ed., *Biographisches Lexikon des KV*. 7 vols. (Schernfeld: SH, vols. 1-3, Vierow: SH, vol. 4, Köln: SH, vols. 6-7, 1991-2010). Other interesting pieces of work about the history of the KV can be found in the series *Revocatio Historiae*.

²⁴ *Biographisches Lexikon der Vereine Deutscher Studenten. Vol. 1: Mitglieder A – L* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2014).

²⁵ All of these phenomena have not been researched enough so that systematic and comparative works are missing. See for example: Witold Molik, "Die deutschen Universitäten aus der Sicht polnischer Studenten 1871-1914" and Sirje Tamul, "Zur Studentenschaft der russifizierten Universität Tartu 1883-1918," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 4 (2001): 15-27 and 112-123, Matthias Stickler, "Die Selbstorganisation der Studenten aus dem Königreich Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen zwischen 1871 und 1918," in *Peregrinatio Hungarica. Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Anton Schindling, Gyula Kurucz and Márta Fata (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 471-503 and Harald Lönnecker, "Deutsche studentische Zusammenschlüsse in Ostmitteleuropa zwischen 1800 und 1920: Grundlagen – Quellen – Forschungen – Literatur," *Berichte und Forschungen. Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* 17 (2009): 185-214. See moreover the new and well-researched study by Sabrina Lausen, *Hüter ihrer Nationen – Studentische Verbindungen in Deutschland und Polen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2020, written at: Paderborn, Univ. Diss., 2016).

goal of taking over universities.²⁶ Despite the fact that the National Socialists originally forced fraternities to toe the line and then ultimately suppressed them, the fact that the fraternities had moved to the right in the first place represented a break in tradition, which prevented the aforementioned symbiotic relationship to reemerge after the Second World War. Since then, most of the universities have distanced themselves from student fraternities despite the fact that almost every single fraternity had clearly positioned themselves as being on the side of Western European liberal democracies.²⁷

3. *The History of Students and the Historiography of Fraternities* – *An Elective Affinity*

3.1. Research on non-fraternity students

It should not be assumed that the history of students during the period under consideration here is limited to the history of fraternities. Nevertheless, the

²⁶ Up until today it is not clear to what extent student fraternities contributed to the end of the Weimar Republic. Already in the 1970s, the German-Canadian historian Michael H. Kater pointed out that the right-wing movement of the 1920s did not only affect the student fraternities but the whole German student body: *Studentenschaft und Rechtsradikalismus in Deutschland (1918-1933). Eine sozialgeschichtliche Studie zur Bildungskrise in der Weimarer Republik* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1975). See also Wolfgang Kreutzberger, *Studenten und Politik 1918-1933. Der Fall Freiburg im Breisgau* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), Geoffrey J. Giles, *Students and National Socialism in Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), Rainer Pöppinghege, *Absage an die Republik. Das politische Verhalten der Studentenschaft der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster 1918-1935* (Münster: Agenda-Verlag, 1994), Peter Krüger and Anne Christine Nagel, ed., *Mechterstädt – 25.3.1920. Skandal und Krise in der Frühphase der Weimarer Republik* (Münster: Lit, 1997), Matthias Stickler, “Zwischen Reich und Republik. Zur Geschichte der studentischen Verbindungen in der Weimarer Republik,” in *Der Burschen Herrlichkeit. Geschichte und Gegenwart des studentischen Korporationswesens*, ed. Harm-Hinrich Brandt and Matthias Stickler (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1998), 85-108.

²⁷ Only few publications exist on the role of the student fraternities in the Federal Republic of Germany. See for example: Helge Kleifeld, *„Wende zum Geist?“ Bildungs- und hochschulpolitische Aktivitäten der nicht konfessionell gebundenen studentischen Korporationen an westdeutschen Hochschulen* (Köln: SH, 2002), Matthias Stickler, “Neuanfang, Restauration und Krise – Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft nach 1945,” in *Fragmente zur Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gerrit Dworok and Christina Schäfer (Bonn: minifanal.de, 2016), 355-387 and “Die Zeitschriften der katholischen Korporationsverbände nach 1945 im Spannungsfeld von Milieubindung und pluralistischer Öffnung,” in *Katholische Publizistik im 20. Jahrhundert. Positionen, Probleme, Profile*, ed. Walter Hömberg and Thomas Pittrof (Freiburg: Rombach, 2014), 499-526.

members of fraternities have a methodological advantage in that they can be understood more in depth since the simple act of joining a fraternity can lead to certain assumptions about a student's worldview. This advantage still exists even though the individual members cannot always be found or traced in the original sources. Of course, it cannot be assumed that every member of a student fraternity or association had identical opinions and views, but in the form of their usually so-called "*Prinzipien*" (principles), they embodied concrete representations of the academic values and the associated traditions, which they each agreed to during the initiation ritual and promised to uphold and pass on. Therefore, it can be easily assumed that each fraternity member agreed with these principals to a large extent. In contrast, students of the 19th century who did not join a fraternity can only be recorded as a statistic by researchers. There are very few sources that collected information (collectively or individually) on these non-affiliated students or, as their contemporaries called them, "*Finken*" ("Finches"), "*Muli*" ("donkeys") or "*Obscuranten*" ("shady characters").²⁸ Therefore, nothing allows to make even generalized statements about them.²⁹

That is why very few academic papers have been written about this portion of the student body. Among the most important exceptions is Silke Möller's dissertation. The author was able to offer some new insights into student social life during the German Empire, based on 155 autobiographies.³⁰ Furthermore, Thomas Adam, an American student from the University of Texas in Arlington, wrote his dissertation on scholarship foundations,³¹ which concerned 21% of Prussian students in the year 1888. Other academic works on the topic can be mentioned, for instance Fenja Mens's master thesis on the „*Not der geistigen Arbeiter*“ (the plight of intellectual workers) as well as Rolf-Ulrich Kunze's habilitation thesis on the history of the *Stu-*

²⁸ Robert Paschke, *Studentenhistorisches Lexikon*, ed. and revised by Friedhelm Golücke (Köln: SH, 1999), 109, 190, 198.

²⁹ Harald Lönnecker, "Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Korporationen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik. Ein Archiv - und Literaturbericht," in "*Klassische Universität*" und „*akademische Provinz*“. *Studien zur Universität Jena von der Mitte des 19. bis in die dreißiger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Matthias Steinbach and Stefan Gerber (Jena: Bussert und Stadel, 2005), 401-437.

³⁰ Silke Möller, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und „Burschenherrlichkeit“: Studentische Sozialisation im Deutschen Kaiserreich, 1871-1914* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001).

³¹ Thomas Adam, *Stipendienstiftungen und der Zugang zu höherer Bildung in Deutschland von 1800 bis 1960 (Pallas Athene, vol. 28)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008). See also *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 15 (2012) [2013], which focuses on the main topics of academic grants and scholarships and deals with them in depth.

dienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (German National Academic Foundation), which also looks at the topic of the sociology of elites.³² Antonin Dubois' new and innovative essay on German social science student associations in Imperial Germany also needs to be mentioned. These student associations were marginal groups compared to the significantly larger fraternities. However, researching them offers an important glimpse into the generally murky topic of the "alternative" student scene around 1900.³³

There are also some important publications on the so-called *Freistudentenschaft* (free or not affiliated students' organization), which did not truly become of importance until the 1890s.³⁴ Research done up until now has generally presented the *Freistudentenschaft* movement and other unaffiliated student associations as the "liberal" alternative to fraternities.³⁵ However, this assessment can easily be called into question based on several specific examples.³⁶ First, relevant source material is only available because the *Freistudentenschaft* movement and comparable student associations designed an association structure that was not corporate in the strictest sense of the word, but nevertheless borrowed heavily from the structure of the fraternities. This is the reason why fraternity members often mocked these groups by calling them "*Korporationen der Nichtkorporierten*" ("fraternities

³² Fenja Mens, *Zur „Not der geistigen Arbeiter“: Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage von Studierenden in der Weimarer Republik am Beispiel Hamburgs* (Köln: SH, 2001), Rolf-Ulrich Kunze, *Die Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes seit 1925. Zur Geschichte der Hochbegabtenförderung in Deutschland* (Berlin Akademie-Verlag, 2001).

³³ Antonin Dubois, "Social Science, the Social Question, and the Formation of Elites: German Social Science Student Associations (1890s-1900s)," in *Biens Symboliques / Symbolic Goods* 9 (2021). Available at <http://journals.openedition.org/bssg/880>.

³⁴ See for example Sigrid Bias-Engels, *Zwischen Wandervogel und Wissenschaft. Zur Geschichte von Jugendbewegung und Studentenschaft 1896-1920* (Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1988), Hans-Ulrich Wipf, "Freistudentenschaft und Jugendbewegung – Reformbestrebungen in der Deutschen Freien Studentenschaft vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," *Jahrbuch des Archivs der deutschen Jugendbewegung* 17 (1988/1992): 177-198 and *Studentische Politik und Kulturreform. Geschichte der Freistudenten-Bewegung 1896-1918* (Schwalbach/Taunus: Wochenschau-Verlag, 2004).

³⁵ See for example the mentioned works of Wipf and Konrad H. Jarausch, *Deutsche Studenten 1800-1970* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1984), 94-105.

³⁶ As shown by the article of Hartmut Rüdiger Peter, Andreas de Boor and Mario Klotzsche, "Russische Studenten, „Klinikerstreit“ und „akademische Ausländerfrage“ vor dem 1. Weltkrieg," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Martin-Luther-Universität 1502-2002*, ed. Hermann-J. Rupieper (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2002), 377-406. This article gives important insight into academic chauvinism and Anti-Semitism in the later period of the German Empire in the context of the so-called "*Hallescher Klinikerstreit*" (the strike of medicine students in Halle) in 1912. In this context it also critically analyses the role of the *Freistudentenschaft*.

for non-fraternity students"). Furthermore, in contrast to the fraternities, these organizations generally did not adhere to the life-long membership policy, which meant they had a difficult time of maintaining and replicating their initial pre-war success after the end of the Great War.³⁷

After the First World War, a large number of decidedly political student associations were formed, all of which had various worldviews and saw themselves as a modern alternative to fraternities.³⁸ One of them was the German National Socialist Student Union (*Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*, NSDStB),³⁹ founded in 1926. The NSDStB was the only non-fraternity student association that managed to build a nation-wide organizational structure and that also had a large number of members. It was also the only group that was not only able to oppose the fraternities, but also to infiltrate them (especially the dueling fraternities) and exploit them to achieve the National Socialist movement's dubious political goals. However, the strength of the fraternities' hegemony can still be seen after 1933. Despite the National Socialists having taken over and disbanded the traditional fraternities,⁴⁰ fraternity members immediately founded so-called "*Kameradschaften*" (comradeships). These comradeships were linked to the old fraternities, but they were under the ideological and organizational control of the NSDStB. The attempt to link these comradeships to the still existing Dueling Old Boys' Organizations (the Catholic Old Boys' Organizations were banned in 1938) was only partially successful. As the ideological pressure eased to a certain extent during the Second World War, some of these comradeships secretly reverted to the old fraternities at some universities. In 1944, an ultimately failed attempt was made to re-establish the *Kösener Senioren-Convents-*

³⁷ See the example of Würzburg Matthias Stickler, "Zwischen Anpassung und Aufbegehren – Studenten an der Universität Würzburg im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Zwischen Korporation und Konfrontation. Beiträge zur Würzburger Universitäts- und Studentengeschichte*, ed. Bernhard Grün, Johannes Schellakowsky, Matthias Stickler and Peter Süß (Köln: SH, 1999), 76-140.

³⁸ Wilhelm Kreutz, "Studenten im Kampf für die Weimarer Republik. Vom ‚Reichskartell der Republikanischen Studenten‘ zum ‚Republikanischen Studentenbund‘ (1922-1933)," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 17 (2014) [2016]: 185-199.

³⁹ See especially Anselm Faust, *Der Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund. Studenten und Nationalsozialismus in der Weimarer Republik*, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1973) and Michael Grüttner, "Nationalsozialistische Gewaltpolitik an den Hochschulen 1929-1933," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021], 179-201.

⁴⁰ For an overview, see, among others: Giles, *Students*, Michael Grüttner, "Die Korporationen und der Nationalsozialismus," in Brandt/Stickler, ed., "*Der Burschen Herrlichkeit*", 125-143 and *Studenten im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1995).

Verband (KSCV) of *Corps* at universities, which had been dissolved in 1935.⁴¹ However, this cannot be described as a true act of resistance. In this context, Wolfgang Wippermann spoke of a “resistant milieu” or oppositional spirit.⁴² When dealing with the fraternities’ resistance against National Socialism, one needs to mention two different works: the highly commendable volume entitled *Fraternity students resisting National Socialism*,⁴³ published in 1997, and the comprehensive anthology *Corps students in resistance against Hitler*,⁴⁴ a collection of biographies of resistance fighters who also happened to belong to a *Corps*. Some of the authors who worked on this anthology were themselves fraternity members, others had never been part of a fraternity and one woman also contributed to its making. At this point, it must be critically noted

⁴¹ Bernhard Grün, *Zwischen Fronteinsatz und Freiheitsklang. Studententum und Kameradschaftswesen im Nationalsozialismus* (Würzburg: Studentengeschichtliche Vereinigung des Coburger Convents, 2020) and “Zwischen Burschenschaftsbewegung und nationalsozialistischer Einheitsstudentenschaft – Die studentischen Kameradschaften und Altherrenschaften an deutschen Hochschulen 1937-1945,” in “Deutschland immer gedient zu haben ist unser höchstes Lob!” – *Zweihundert Jahre Deutsche Burschenschaften. Eine Festschrift zur 200. Wiederkehr des Gründungstages der Burschenschaft am 12. Juni 1815 in Jena*, ed. Harald Lönnecker (Heidelberg: Winter, 2015), 1028-1072. Moreover: Bernhard Grün, *Vom Niedergang zum Neuanfang. Der Akademische Gesangverein Würzburg und die Kameradschaft „Florian Geyer“ im Nationalsozialismus* (Köln: SH, 2000), “‘In Treue zu Führer und Bewegung’. Zur Geschichte des Erlanger NSD-Studentenbundes und seiner Kameradschaften”, *Einst und Jetzt* 66 (2021): 205-230, Holger Zinn, *Das studentische Kameradschaftswesen im Dritten Reich unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bünde von DL und VC* (Würzburg: Studentengeschichtliche Vereinigung des Coburger Convents, 2001).

⁴² Rosco G. S. Weber, *Die deutschen Corps im Dritten Reich. Mit einem Forschungsbericht von Wolfgang Wippermann* (Köln: SH, 1998), 247-254, here 253. Rosco’s book was published in English twelve years before that: *The German Student Corps in the Third Reich* (London: Macmillan, 1986). The historian Wolfgang Wippermann (1945-2021) taught at the Free University in Berlin. Since his time as a student, he was a member of the *Corps Hildeso-Guestphalia Göttingen* and later on he also received the ribbon of the *Corps Vandalia Rostock*. Moreover, he was a member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). During his lifetime Wippermann was a pugnacious left-winged professor. He summarized his opinion on the history of fraternities in the book *Männer, Mythen und Messuren. Geschichte der Corps und Burschenschaften* (Hamburg 2018). Also see the two obituaries of the Newspaper „Neues Deutschland“ and the FU: <https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1146766.wolfgang-wippermann-wie-man-geschichte-prueft.html> (cited January 25, 2022), <https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fmi/aktuelles/wippermann.html> (cited January 25, 2022). On the topic “fraternities and social democracy”, see Manfred Blänkner and Axel Bernd Kunze, ed., *Rote Fahnen, bunte Bänder. Korporierte Sozialdemokraten von Lassalle bis heute* (Bonn: Dietz, 2016).

⁴³ Peter Krause, ed., *Korporierte im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Wien: Der Verein, 1997).

⁴⁴ Sebastian Sigler, ed., *Corpsstudenten im Widerstand gegen Hitler*, 2nd edition (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2014).

that there are tendencies in both publications to interpret the resistance of individuals as the resistance of "the fraternities". As a rule, however, there is no evidence for this.

3.2. "Student historians" and the academic examination of the history of students – a complex relationship

Even if it can no longer be said that academic research on the history of universities willingly ignores the history of students and especially the history of fraternities,⁴⁵ it is nevertheless quite noticeable that both topics, especially student fraternities, remained marginalized. In my opinion, there are three reasons for this marginalization. First, as previously mentioned, it is difficult to locate sources: archives of unaffiliated students are rare, and the archives of fraternities and their umbrella federations are mostly privately owned. The owners of these archives do not have always interest in granting access to outsiders.⁴⁶ Secondly, one result of the university changes after the Second World War or even after the turning point of "1968" was that fraternities began to be seen by researchers, in the best case, as a relic of a bygone era and thus as something that could easily be ignored, including the importance that they once had.⁴⁷ Thirdly, publications that have even the slightest hint of being related to a fraternity are often ignored by academic research and, on the other hand, many authors from fraternities have no interest in a genuinely scientific discourse. These publications are often part of the so-called

⁴⁵ Harald Lönnecker, "... der deutschen Studentenschaft und unserem Rechtsleben manchen Anstoß geben" – *Zwischen Verein und Verbindung, Selbsthilfeorganisation und Studienvereinigung. Juristische Zusammenschlüsse an deutschen Hochschulen ca. 1870-1918* (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2013, written at: Rostock, Univ., Diss., 2013), 7-8 and Marian Füssel and Wolfgang Eric Wagner, "Studentenkulturen. Begriff – Forschungsstand – Perspektiven," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 17 (2014) [2016]: 39-55. The main topic of this volume of the yearbook was "student culture". From the beginning, the yearbook of university history was committed to depict topics on the history of students, a subject very important to Rüdiger vom Bruch, the founder of this significant publication. In this context, see my older research paper: Matthias Stickler, "Neuerscheinungen zur Studentengeschichte seit 1994," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 4 (2001): 262-270.

⁴⁶ Lönnecker, "... der deutschen Studentenschaft", 12 and "'Auskunft zu geben über Bereiche, über die Nachweise zu finden sonst kaum einmal möglich ist'. Entstehung, Struktur und Inhalt der Archive akademischer Verbände und Vereinigungen," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 16 (2013) [2015]: 341-359.

⁴⁷ See for example Paletschek, *Die permanente Erfindung*, 4, footnote 7. Here, fraternities are only mentioned with respect to the (secondary) aspect of "leisure activities".

“grey literature”, or in other words, a literature written for a limited “insider” audience. Furthermore, so-called “student historians”, who are often affiliated with a fraternity, are often suspected of only being interested in creating an apologetic self-portrait.⁴⁸

Thus, there has been and still is a certain amount of mutual disdain between parts of the academic history departments and the “student historians”. However, critics of student historians often overlook the fact that the lines are often blurred and there is no perfectly defined difference between “expert” and “amateur”.⁴⁹ In this respect, just as is the case with many topics concerning both regional and national history topics, it can be very constructive and mutually beneficial when academic researchers work together with interested laypersons. The goal should always be to take advantage of the chance to mutually complement each other’s work. Without a doubt, there will always be student historians that have a rather antiquarian, in the sense of Friedrich Nietzsche,⁵⁰ approach to their research subject. However, these types of papers also have their value as they are ultimately able to make use of traditional sources and are often compiled from extensive materials, much of which is either from specific archives or from internal documents.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Harald Lönnecker, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Korporationen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik*. About the term “student historian”, see Friedhelm Golücke, *Studentenwörterbuch. Student und Hochschule von A bis Z*. 5th, revised and extended edition, Part IV (Essen: Akadpress 2018), 169-171.

⁴⁹ The reference guide *Verfasserlexikon zur Studenten- und Universitätsgeschichte. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis*, ed. Friedhelm Golücke, depicts the immense diversity of the people who work in the field of student and university history.

⁵⁰ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen. Zweites Stück: Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben*, 2nd edition (Leipzig: Naumann, 1893).

⁵¹ See for example the significant reference guide by Paulgerhard Gladen, *Die deutschsprachigen Korporationsverbände*, 3rd revised and extended edition (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2008), first edition under the title *Geschichte der studentischen Korporationsverbände*. 2 vols. (Würzburg: Becker, 1981) or the two following editions that contain a lot of visual material: Paulgerhard Gladen, *Gaudeamus igitur – Die studentischen Verbindungen einst und jetzt* (München: Callwey, 1988), Peter Krause: *O alte Burschenherrlichkeit – Die Studenten und ihr Brauchtum*, 5th edition (Graz: Styria, 1997). Also see the work of Bernhard Grün and Christoph Vogel, *Die Fuxenstunde. Handbuch des Korporationsstudententums*, 2nd edition (Bad Buchau: Federsee-Verlag 2016). This work comprehensively informs about the diversity of student fraternities. See moreover *Civis Academicus. Handbuch der deutschen, österreichischen und schweizerischen Korporationen und studentischen Vereinigungen an Universitäten und Hochschulen sowie Schülerverbindungen*, last published in its 8th edition in 2005/06 as well as the monumental work by Hartmut Jess, *Specimen Corporationum Cognitarum. Das Lexikon der Verbindungen*, which was released on CD and first published in 2000, its fourth edition was published in 2015. Both works were published by the GDS.

Furthermore, some publications by student historians are easily compatible with university research. One important example in this regard is the work done by Peter Stitz (1898-1970).⁵² He was a high school teacher with a doctorate who spent decades working on the history of students. He developed this interest while focusing on his own Catholic, color-wearing fraternity, called "Sugambria-Jena zu Göttingen im CV".⁵³ He used numerous relevant sources for his book on the *Cartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenverbindungen* (CV, Federation of Catholic German Student Fraternities) between 1919 and 1938, and wrote it without succumbing to a mistaken sense of deference to the contemporary witnesses still alive at the time. His work represented a milestone in the research on student history, and even today it has not been outdone. The works of Friedhelm Golücke are relevant for more recent history and the present. He is a retired high school teacher holding a doctorate in history, and has worked intensively since the 1970s on making the study of student history more professional. He even founded an organization in 1974, originally called *Archivverein der Markomania* (Markomania Archive Association), renamed in *Gemeinschaft für Deutsche Studentengeschichte e.V.* (GDS, Association for the History of German Students)⁵⁴ in 1988. Some of Golücke's most important publications include the previously mentioned *Verfasserlexikon zur Studenten- und Hochschulgeschichte* (Biographical Encyclopedia on Student and University History) – which also includes an entry about himself⁵⁵ –, the volume entitled *Kor-*

⁵² "Stitz, Peter," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 325-26.

⁵³ See especially Peter Stitz, *Der akademische Kulturkampf um die Daseinsberechtigung der katholischen Studentenkorporationen in Deutschland und in Österreich von 1903 bis 1908. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des CV* (München: Ges. für CV-Geschichte, 1960) and *Der CV 1919-1938. Der hochschulpolitische Weg des Cartellverbandes der katholischen deutschen Studentenverbindungen (CV) vom Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges bis zur Vernichtung durch den Nationalsozialismus*, (o. O. [München]: Ges. für CV-Geschichte, 1970).

⁵⁴ See the commemorative publication by Siegfried Schieweck-Mauk, *Die Gemeinschaft für deutsche Studentengeschichte. 40 Jahre* (Würzburg: Gemeinschaft für deutsche Studentengeschichte, 2016) as well as <https://gds-web.de/> (cited January 21, 2022). The GDS publishes multiple series, including the "Abhandlungen zum Studenten- und Hochschulwesen". Since 1986, the GDS has also had a kind of members' magazine, the "Studentenkurier" (Student Courier), which is now published four times a year. The name Markomania Archive Association refers to the Catholic fraternity Markomania-Würzburg, which Golücke is a member of. For more recent information, see *Verbindung in unserer Zeit. Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen der Katholischen Deutschen Studentenverbindung Markomania im CV zu Würzburg (1871-2021)*, ed. Ralf Vollmuth and Walter Konrad on behalf of Altherrenverband KDStV Markomania im CV (Würzburg: Altherrenverband der KDStV Markomania im CV, 2021).

⁵⁵ "Golücke, Friedhelm," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 115-116.

*porationen und Nationalsozialismus (Fraternities and National Socialism)*⁵⁶ published in 1989, and the fifth edition of the Student Dictionary⁵⁷ (2018), which can be considered one of the classic works in the research on students. Another good example of a successful work on the history of fraternities written by “insiders” who did not exclude the more “difficult” topics is the commemorative publication in honor of the 200th anniversary of the Corps Saxo-Borussia Heidelberg. This fraternity is even today considered one of the most prestigious and closed *Corps* of the KSCV. Together with the *Corps* Borussia Bonn and Saxonia Göttingen it forms the so-called *Weißer Kreis* (White Circle), whose members in the past, and somewhat today, were either a part of the nobility or the very wealthy upper class.⁵⁸

The necessity to build bridges between university research and the affiliated student historians and/or their associations was often emphasized by the historian Harm-Hinrich Brandt.⁵⁹ Brandt was the “*Senatsbeauftragte*” (appointee of the academic senate of the University of Würzburg) for the Würzburg *Institut für Hochschulkunde* (IfH, Würzburg Institute for Studies on Higher learning) from 1982 until 2006.⁶⁰ This institute is unique since it is both a research and documentation center for the history of universities and students. It is supported by the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Hochschulkunde e.V.* (DGfH, German Society for Hochschulkunde), which was founded in Göttingen in 1922, and recreated in Würzburg in 1955. In 2006, Brandt and the long-term chair of the DGfH, Karsten Bahnson, were able to elevate the IfH to become a “*An-Institut*” (partner institute) of the University of Würzburg. In Brandt’s research on the history of students, he adhered to a differentiated view on the history of fraternities in the 19th century by advocating for com-

⁵⁶ Friedhelm Golücke, *Korporationen und Nationalsozialismus* (Schernfeld: SH, 1990).

⁵⁷ Golücke, *Studentenwörterbuch*. It is natural that monumental works like this are never free of mistakes. However, this is a unique reference guide with no comparison.

⁵⁸ Wulf D. Lucius, Uwe Johannes Lützen and Michael Stolleis, *Saxo-Borussia, Dir gehör’ ich! 200 Jahre Corps Saxo-Borussia zu Heidelberg. 1820-2020* (Heidelberg: Corps Saxo-Borussia, 2020). Lucius D. Wulf was among others chairman of the Carl Hanser publishing company (1989-2013), Michael Stolleis was one of the leading German legal historians.

⁵⁹ “Brandt, Harm-Hinrich,” in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 54.

⁶⁰ <https://www.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/hochschulkunde> (cited January 20, 2022). On the history of IfH, see Matthias Stickler, “Was ist eigentlich Hochschulkunde? Das Würzburger Institut für Hochschulkunde und seine Geschichte,” *Forschung & Lehre* 5 (2015): 386-87, Nils Meyer, *Das Institut für Hochschulkunde 1919-1982. Geschichte und Legitimation eines Fachs und seiner Institutionen zwischen Weimar, Nationalsozialismus und Bundesrepublik*. Diss. phil. Universität Würzburg (turned in 2021). The term “*Hochschulkunde*”, which goes back to the distinguished student historian Paul Ssymank (see below), is a generic term for the history of students, universities, and research.

binning inside and outside perspectives.⁶¹ Another important bridge builder between the academically oriented history of universities and the history of students in all of their different facets was the university historian Rüdiger vom Bruch from the Humboldt University Berlin, who sadly died much too soon (1944-2017).⁶²

Finally, four classic examples of older writings on the history of students need to be mentioned. The first is the comprehensive four-volume work published by the *Gesellschaft für burschenschaftliche Geschichtsforschung*,⁶³ which dealt with the first hundred years of the *Burschenschaft* movement.⁶⁴ Secondly, Michael Doeberl (1861-1928)⁶⁵ wrote with other authors a monumental five-volume work entitled *Das Akademische Deutschland (Academic Germany)*. Doeberl was a historian at the University of Munich and a *Corps*

⁶¹ See here especially: Harm-Hinrich Brandt, "Studentische Korporationen und politisch-sozialer Wandel - Modernisierung und Antimodernismus," in *Deutschlands Weg in die Moderne. Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Harm-Hinrich Brandt and Wolfgang Hardtwig (München: Beck, 1993), 122-143, Brandt and Stickler, ed., „*Der Burschen Herrlichkeit*“, Harm-Hinrich Brandt, "Studierende im Humboldt'schen Modell des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Schwinges, ed., *Humboldt International*, 131-150. On the occasion of his 85th birthday, Harm-Hinrich Brandt's main essays on student history were reviewed and published in a compendium: Harm-Hinrich Brandt, *Studentica. Abhandlungen zur deutschen Studentengeschichte von der Frühen Neuzeit bis ins frühe 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Matthias Stickler (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2021), where a detailed recognition of Brandt's work on student history can be found (7-18).

⁶² "Bruch, Rüdiger vom," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 64-67 and Matthias Stickler, "Nachruf auf Rüdiger vom Bruch (1944-2017)," *Einst und Jetzt* 63 (2018): 420-423.

⁶³ <http://www.burschenschaftsgeschichte.de> (cited January 22, 2022). On this as well as on the general history of German Burschenschaft see Harald Lönnecker, *Das Thema war und blieb ohne Parallel-Erscheinung in der deutschen Geschichtsforschung. Die Burschenschaftliche Historische Kommission (BHK) und die Gesellschaft für burschenschaftliche Geschichtsforschung e. V. (GfbG) (1898/1909-2009). Eine Personen-, Institutions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2009).

⁶⁴ Paul Wentzcke, *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft I. Vor und Frühzeit bis zu den Karlsbader Beschlüssen* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1919), Georg Heer, *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft II. Die Demagogenzeit. Von den Karlsbader Beschlüssen bis zum Frankfurter Wachensturm (1820 bis 1833)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1927), *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft III. Die Zeit des Progresses (1833-1859)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1929), and *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft IV. Die Burschenschaft in der Zeit der Vorbereitung des zweiten Reiches, im zweiten Reich und im Weltkrieg von 1859 bis 1919* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1939).

⁶⁵ "Doeberl, Michael," in Friedhelm Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 84-85, Max Spindler, "Der bayerische Historiker Michael Doeberl 1861-1928," in *100 Jahre Corps Germania München* (München: Corps Germania, 1963), 16-23 and Ferdinand Kramer, "Der Lehrstuhl für bayerische Landesgeschichte von 1917 bis 1977," in *Im Dienst der Bayerischen Geschichte. 70 Jahre Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte, 50 Jahre Institut für Bayerische Geschichte*, ed. Wilhelm Volkert and Walter Ziegler, 2nd edition (München: Beck, 1999), 351-406.

member. His work is a unique documentation that presents an unparalleled insight into German universities and German students. It is still often cited and is an irreplaceable reference book.⁶⁶ Thirdly, the historian, librarian, and *Corps* member Wilhelm Fabricius (1857-1942) did important research on student history.⁶⁷ Fourth, the book written by Friedrich Schulze and Paul Ssymank entitled *The German student community from the earliest days until the present* offers an unsurpassed overview of the history of German students up until the 1920s and includes many cultural and historical aspects of the topic.⁶⁸ Paul Ssymank (1874-1942)⁶⁹ was one of the most important founding fathers of the history of students. As a student, he was a member of the unaffiliated student movement (*Freistudentenschaft*), whose history he also researched.⁷⁰ Later in his life he was made an honorary member of the singing fraternity *Gotia* in Göttingen. When he worked as a lecturer at the University of Göttingen in the 1920s and 1930s, he tried to establish "*Hochschulkunde*" (as already mentioned a generic term for the study of the history of students, universities, and research) as its own fundamental scientific discipline. He also created a comprehensive library and collection for future research and instruction. These books and collections now make up

⁶⁶ *Das Akademische Deutschland*. vol. 1: *Die deutschen Hochschulen in ihrer Geschichte*. vol. 2: *Die deutschen Hochschulen und ihre akademischen Bürger*. vol. 3: *Die deutschen Hochschulen in ihren Beziehungen zur Gegenwartskultur*. vol. 4: *Die Wappen der deutschen Korporationen des In- und Auslandes*. vol. 5: *Register-Band* (Berlin: Weller, 1930/31).

⁶⁷ "Fabricius, Wilhelm," in Friedhelm Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 97-99. See especially his following works: *Die Studentenorden des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihr Verhältniß zu den gleichzeitigen Landsmannschaften. Ein kulturgeschichtlicher Versuch* (Jena: Döbereiner, 1891), *Die Deutschen Corps. Eine historische Darstellung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Mensurwesens*, 2nd ed. 1926 (Berlin: Thilo, 1898), *Geschichte und Chronik des Köseener SC-Verbandes, nach den vom HKSCV zur Verfügung gestellten Akten, KC- und SC-Protokollen und anderen Quellen*, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt/Main: Verlag der Deutschen Corpszeitung, 1921, first edition 1907).

⁶⁸ *Das deutsche Studententum von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1910, 4th revised and extended edition München: Verlag für Hochschulkunde, 1932, reprint of this edition Schernfeld: GDS, 1991). It is striking that in the German-speaking world there are a large number of works on the history of students on a wide variety of topics, but on the other hand there are hardly any modern monographic works on the history of German students.

⁶⁹ "Ssymank, Paul," in Golücke, ed., *Verfasserlexikon*, 313-318 and Marek Podlasiak, "Paul Ssymank – Chronist der deutschen Studentengeschichte," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 5 (2002), 171-183.

⁷⁰ Paul Ssymank, *Die Finkenschaftsbewegung. Ihr Entstehen und ihre Entwicklung bis zur Gründung der „Deutschen Freien Studentenschaft“. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des modernen Studententums* (München: Bavaria, 1901), *Die freistudentische oder Finkenschaftsbewegung an den deutschen Hochschulen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), *Dreizehn Jahre Freistudententum. 1896-1909* (Leipzig: Demme, 1910), and Schulze/Ssymank, *Das deutsche Studententum*, 375-381.

the core of resources at the aforementioned *Institut für Hochschulkunde* at the University of Würzburg.

4. The "Sonderweg" theory in the history of students

While the older student history, as a consequence of the values of the university-educated elites described above, had been predominantly bourgeois and fraternity-friendly, this changed after 1945 due to the end of the symbiosis between university and fraternities, and above all due to the expansion of the educational system that began in the 1950s. This expansion ended the previous dominance of upper-class and educated middle-class values and their cultural forms of expression, and ultimately led to the cultural-revolutionary changes that are associated with the 1968 movement.⁷¹

Since the 1960s, the "German Sonderweg debate"⁷² has also continued to gain in importance. This theory is linked to the underlying principles in German history since the 19th century and to the question whether there is an actual or just presumed direct line leading to National Socialism. In this context, many historians have considered fraternities as being an especially characteristic expression of the "German Sonderweg" ("special path"). The "progressive" beginnings of student history, for instance in the German Wars of Liberation 1813-15, in the age of Metternich (1815-1848) and during the 1848-49 revolutions eventually took on more "conservative", "right-wing", "nationalistic", "racist" and "reactionary" tendencies starting in the 1850s. Furthermore, student history between the years 1810 and 1945 has become more and more interpreted as a story of decay and a departure from the liberal and democratic thought.⁷³ Some even consider that only a few sporadic bright spots of "left-

⁷¹ Matthias Stickler, "'Wir sind doch nicht die SA der Professoren!' – Das studentische Verbindungswesen und die Achtundsechzigerbewegung," in *1968 und die „68er“. Ereignisse, Wirkungen und Kontroversen in der Bundesrepublik*, ed. Gerrit Dworok and Christoph Weißmann (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2013), 69-99.

⁷² For an overview, see Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Ein Demokratiedefizit? Das Deutsche Kaiserreich in vergleichender Perspektive," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft* 44, no. 3 (2018): 367-398, Jürgen Kocka, "Looking Back on the Sonderweg," *Central European History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 137-142 as well as Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Geschichte. vol. 9: Das Deutsche Kaiserreich 1871-1918*, 5th edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983 [first print 1973]) and Thomas Nipperdey, "1933 und die Kontinuität der deutschen Geschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift* 227 (1978): 86-111.

⁷³ See here for example the previously mentioned work by Jarasch, "Studentischer Protest", which emphasizes a general skepticism of political student activism.

wing”, “progressive” or “international” student groups existed and were in no way representative of the time. Additionally, fraternities were also criticized for spreading antisemitism in academia. This is due to the fact that beginning in the 1880s, many fraternities stopped admitting Jews, and this practice was partially added to the organizations’ official rules and statutes.

This criticism, which essentially questioned the previous self-understanding of fraternities and thus ultimately their right to exist in a democratic state, was not new in itself. For example, Max Weber (1864-1920), who became a member of the Burschenschaft Allemannia in Heidelberg as a student in 1882, denounced his membership in 1918 and justified his decision primarily with the accusation of intellectual incest, the fraternity’s inability to reform and its tendencies to feudalization.⁷⁴ In addition, he said that the fraternities were standing in the way of a democratization of the political system due to their “caste system”.⁷⁵ Historians such as Hans-Ulrich Wehler (1931-2014),⁷⁶ Konrad H. Jarausch,⁷⁷ Norbert Kampe⁷⁸ and Ute Frevert⁷⁹ as well as the sociologist Norbert Elias (1897-1990),⁸⁰ who incidentally had become himself a member of the Breslau Fraternity of Jewish students in the Zionistic *Kartell Jüdischer Verbindungen* (KJV, Union of Jewish Fraterni-

⁷⁴ Franz Egon Rode, *Die Universitätsburschenschaften im Kaiserreich (1871-1918)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2021), 14.

⁷⁵ Max Weber, *Wahlrecht und Demokratie in Deutschland* (Berlin-Schöneberg 1917).

⁷⁶ Wehler, *Das Deutsche Kaiserreich*, 129-131 and *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Vol. 3: Von der „Deutschen Doppelrevolution“ bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges. 1849-1914* (München: Beck, 1995), 1217.

⁷⁷ Jarausch, *Students, Deutsche Studenten*, and “Korporationen im Kaiserreich. Einige kulturgeschichtliche Überlegungen,” in Brandt/Stickler, ed., *„Der Burschen Herrlichkeit“*, 71-91. Jarausch’s importance for modern student history should not be underestimated. In his wide-ranging publications, which have greatly contributed to the emancipation of student history as an independent historical subdiscipline, he showed how fraternities have played a central role in the development of the “German Sonderweg” and thus shaped how these organizations are viewed in historical research.

⁷⁸ Norbert Kampe, *Studenten und „Judenfrage“ im Deutschen Kaiserreich. Die Entstehung einer akademischen Trägerschaft des Antisemitismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988).

⁷⁹ Ute Frevert, *Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (München: Beck, 1991). Though providing a well-researched work, Frevert unfortunately does not differentiate enough between duels and the student understanding of “Satisfaktion” (*gree*), respectively the tradition of the “Bestimmungsmessur”.

⁸⁰ Norbert Elias, “Die satisfaktionsfähige Gesellschaft,” in *Studien über die Deutschen. Machtkämpfe und Habitusentwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed., Michael Schröter (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1992), 61-158. This contribution appeared posthumously and was most likely began at the end of the 1970s and was built upon a conference speech that was given at the University of Bielefeld on 18 December 1978.

ties) in 1915, argued in a very similar way. In this context, it is interesting that Thomas Nipperdey (1927-1992), who came from a middle-class, social-democratic family with no connection to fraternities, offered a much more differentiated assessment of student fraternities.⁸¹ Looking at the values of the universities during imperial Germany, Nipperdey stated that they were directly related to the self-image of the professors and their relationship to politics. He also spoke of a German "*Eigenweg*" ("own way"), but not *Sonderweg*.⁸² A student and associate of Nipperdey, Wolfgang Hardtwig, pursued in this direction and published several meritorious student history essays,⁸³ that unfortunately received far too little attention from researchers.

Some publications were and still are inspired by legitimate criticism of fraternities, but others have taken it a step further and have made it their goal to categorically delegitimize fraternities.⁸⁴ In many cases, they present an opposite picture of what was previously described as the apologetic writing on the history of fraternities. One typical example of this are the publications by the *Marburger Geschichtswerkstatt* (Marburg History Workshop)

⁸¹ Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866. Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (München: Beck, 1983), 475 and comprehensively in *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918. vol. 1: Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist* (München: Beck, 1990), 582-586.

⁸² Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 590. Nipperdey took a differentiated view with regard to the role of students in the Weimar Republic: "Die deutsche Studentenschaft in den ersten Jahren der Weimarer Republik," in *Kulturverwaltung der Zwanziger Jahre*, ed. Wilhelm Zilius and Adolf Grimme (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961), 19-48.

⁸³ Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Krise der Universität. Studentische Reformbewegung 1750-1819 und die Sozialisation der jugendlichen deutschen Bildungsschicht. Aufriß eines Forschungsproblems," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 11 (1985): 155-174, "Studentische Mentalität – Politische Jugendbewegung – Nationalismus. Die Anfänge der deutschen Burschenschaft," *Historische Zeitschrift* 242 (1986): 581-628, "Die Burschenschaften zwischen aufklärerischer Sozietätsbewegung und Nationalismus. Bemerkungen zu einem Forschungsproblem," *Aufklärung, Vormärz und Revolution. Jahrbuch der internationalen Forschungsstelle "Demokratische Bewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1770-1850"* 4 (1984): 46-55, "Protestformen und Organisationsstrukturen der deutschen Burschenschaft 1815-1833," in *Demokratische und soziale Protestbewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1815-1848/49*, ed. Helmut Reinalter (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), 37-76, "Sozialverhalten und Mentalitätswandel der jugendlichen Bildungsschicht im Übergang zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft (17.-19. Jahrhundert)," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 73 (1986): 305-335, "Studentenschaft und Aufklärung. Landsmannschaften und Studentenorden in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Sociabilité et société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse 1750-1850*, ed. Etienne François (Paris: Editions Recherches sur les civilisations, 1986), 239-260.

⁸⁴ Stefan Hug, "Kritik der Korporationskritik. Eine ideologiekritische Annäherung," *GDS-Archiv* 7 (2004): 71-83.

from the 1990s.⁸⁵ Their typical pattern was always the same: to present the entire history of student fraternities with the mentality of a prosecutor as just a preface to the National Socialists seizing power. While some results from reliable research were used, they were often intensified to equate conservative thought with national socialist and fascist thought, usually without the support of any sources. Finally, fraternities were then accused of playing an important role in the development of an organized right-wing movement in the present.⁸⁶ Interestingly, several of these authors have

⁸⁵ Eva Ch. Gottschaldt, *Das ist die Tat unseres herrlichen Führers. Die christlichen Studentenverbindungen Wingolf und der Nationalsozialismus im Spiegel der Verbandspresse. Eine Dokumentation* (Marburg: Projekt Konservatismus und Wiss., 1997), Dietrich Heither and Michael Lemling, *Marburg, O Marburg... Ein „Antikorporierter Stadtrundgang“* (Marburg: Marburger Geschichtswerkstatt e.V., 1996), Dietrich Heither, Eva Gottschaldt and Michael Lemling, *Wegbereiter des Faschismus. Aus der Geschichte des Marburger Vereins deutscher Studenten* (Marburg: Marburger Geschichtswerkstatt e.V., 1992), Alexandra Kurth, Jürgen Schlicher and Projekt Wartburg '92, ed., *Studentische Korporationen gestern und heute. Historische Erfahrungen und gegenwärtige Herausforderungen für eine demokratische Hochschulpolitik* (Marburg: Marburger Geschichtswerkstatt e.V., 1992). The statement made above also applies to the volumes that appeared in the periphery of the Marburg History Workshop and were written by Ludwig Elm, Dietrich Heither and Gerhard Schäfer, *Füxe, Burschen, Alte Herren. Studentische Korporationen vom Wartburgfest bis heute* (Köln: PapyRossa-Verlag 1993). In this context, one could also mention: Christoph Butterwegge and Gudrun Hentges, ed., *Alte und Neue Rechte an den Hochschulen* (Münster: Agenda-Verlag, 1999), in this volume, research-based topics are indissolubly amalgamated with left-leaning political activism.

⁸⁶ A model for this form of historical misrepresentation and also a frequent source of quotations is the book *Gestatte mir Hochachtungsschluck. Bundesdeutschlands korporierte Elite*, written by Lutz E. Finke (a pseudonym for the SDS official Michael Mauke) in 1963. Similar sorry effects were published in the former GDR, especially after the new government with Helmut Kohl as chancellor came into power in Bonn in 1982. See for example Klaus-Dieter Stefan, *Blind wie zu Kaisers Zeiten. Säbel, Seidel, Schmisse - neue Burschenschaftlichkeit?* (East Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1985). However, there was also serious research on fraternities in the GDR. This topic represents a research desideratum. Basically, it can be said that the SED saw part of the “progressive heritage” of German history in the tradition of the early *Burschenschaft* and thus classified it teleologically as a part of the GDR history. That is why corresponding historical literature was able to be published in the GDR, for example: *Ein Deutschland ist, soll sein und bleiben. Festgabe der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena zur 135. Wiederkehr des Wartburgfestes deutscher Studenten* (Jena: “Magnus Poser”, 1952), Günter Steiger, *Aufbruch - Urburschenschaft und Wartburgfest* (Leipzig: Urania-Verlag 1967), Helmut Asmus, *Das Hambacher Fest* (East Berlin 1985), Helmut Asmus, *175 Jahre Burschenschaft und Wartburgfest. Historisches Erbe - auch unsere Tradition?* (East Berlin: Zentralinstitut für Hochschul-Bildung, 1989). Against this background, it is not surprising that in the GDR, after the Soviet occupying power had initially prevented a re-establishment of the traditional fraternities, new associations emerged there beginning in the 1960s. The new organizations were also more or less tolerated by the authorities and were often based on *Burschenschaft* ideals, see Kurt U. Bertrams, ed., *Studentenverbindungen in der DDR* (Hil-

become less ideologized and more professional since the turn of the new millennium. This could already be seen in the book by Dietrich Heither,⁸⁷ Michael Gehler,⁸⁸ Alexandra Kurth and Gerhard Schäfer on the history of the *Burschenschaft* fraternities.⁸⁹ Their works all have a rather critical view of fraternities, but are generally much more balanced and less polemic than the previous Marburg publications. This also applies to the comprehensive political science dissertation by Dietrich Heither on the history of the *Burschenschaft*.⁹⁰ It is quite noticeable that despite its critical approach toward fraternities and the existence of comprehensive sources in the *Burschenschaft* archive in the Federal Archives in Koblenz, the author only utilized print sources and the existing literature. This results in a very one-sided depiction of the *Burschenschaften*. Alexandra Kurth received her doctorate from the Institute of Political Science at the University of Gießen in 2003 and teaches there since then. Her dissertation on the history of student fraternities⁹¹ was connected to topics mentioned by Jaraus and looked critically at gender history. She interprets fraternity traditions in all of their different facets as being a willful deviation from social norms for the sole purpose of creating a collective identity. In principle, this idea has its merit, but it also needs to be stated that while student fraternities continued certain deviant

den: WJK-Verlag, 2006). The question of the extent to which the GDR tried to influence West German student historiography and student associations via spies is also a desideratum of research. Helmut Asmus, a historian from Magdeburg ("Asmus, Helmut," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 20-21) was able to establish himself in the research community after the fall of the Berlin Wall and Reunification 1989/90 – see Helmut Asmus, ed., *Studentische Burschenschaften und bürgerliche Umwälzung. Zum 175. Jahrestag des Wartburgfestes* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1992) and *Das Wartburgfest. Studentische Reformbewegungen 1770-1819* (Magdeburg: Verlag Werbung und Marketing, 1995). The same was true for Siegfried Hoyer, who was a historian at the University of Leipzig ("Hoyer, Siegfried," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 149-150). His last work was *Kleine Geschichte der Leipziger Studentenschaft 1409-1989* (Leipzig: Universitäts-Verlag, 2010).

⁸⁷ "Heither, Dietrich," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 14-143.

⁸⁸ "Gehler, Michael," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 107-108.

⁸⁹ Dietrich Heither, Michael Gehler, Alexandra Kurth and Gerhard Schäfer, *Blut und Paukboden. Eine Geschichte der Burschenschaften* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1997). The two contributions by Michael Gehler on the Austrian fraternity system are very pertinent. Gehler is known for many relevant publications on Austrian student history and can be considered one of the best experts on this subject.

⁹⁰ Dietrich Heither, *Verbündete Männer. Die Deutsche Burschenschaft - Weltanschauung, Politik und Brauchtum*, (Köln: PapyRossa-Verlag, 2000, written at: Marburg, Univ. Diss., 2000).

⁹¹ Alexandra Kurth, *Männer – Bünde – Rituale. Studentenverbindungen seit 1800. Männerbünde im Zivilisationsprozess* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2004, written at: Gießen, Univ. Diss., 2003).

traditions and anti-social habits, the overall development was nonetheless marked by tendencies towards domestication and civilization.⁹² The reason for this level of vagueness is due to the fact that Kurth also did not use any unpublished sources. It is noteworthy that Kurth's arguments had an impact on the atmosphere of fraternity students despite her clear criticism of the traditions of male fraternities. For example, she was invited to write an essay for the special edition of the magazine *Academia*, which appeared on the 150th anniversary of the founding of the color-wearing federation *Cartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenverbindungen* (CV, Federation of Catholic German Student Fraternities).⁹³ In this article, her criticism of the fraternity system in light of its right-wing extremist tendencies in society was presented in a more differentiated manner as she focused primarily on the fraternities belonging to the federation *Deutsche Burschenschaft*.⁹⁴

5. New Tendencies in Student History

5.1. Parting Ways with the Sonderweg idea

When one takes a look at the current trends in student history research, it becomes obvious that the previously described idea of the "German Sonderweg", at least in its presented form, is no longer valid. This is mainly due to the fact well-researched works based on extensive archival research as well as partly internationally comparative works have made new insights possible.

⁹² For a more in-depth example see Stickler, "Verbindungsstudentische".

⁹³ Alexandra Kurth, "Zwischen Affektkontrolle und rituell-kollektivem Kontrollverlust. Zur Soziologie katholischer Studentenverbindungen," *Academia. Zeitschrift des Cartellverbandes der Katholischen Deutschen Studentenverbindungen* III (2006): 145-148.

⁹⁴ See for example Alexandra Kurth, "Ein Mangel hinsichtlich der Abstammung ist schlechterdings nicht ausgleichbar'. Rassismus und völkisches Denken in der Deutschen Burschenschaft," in *Rassismus und Rechtsextremismus in Deutschland. Figurationen und Interventionen in Gesellschaft und staatlichen Institutionen*, ed. Mechtild Gomolla, Ellen Kollender and Marlene Menk (Weinheim/Basel: Beltz, 2018), 161-178 and Alexandra Kurth (with Bernhard Weidinger), "Burschenschaften: Geschichte, Politik und Ideologie," in *Dossier Rechtsextremismus: Rechtsextreme Szenen und Medien. Jugendkulturen*, ed. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2017, available at: <http://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/256889/burschenschaften>.

One of these works was a dissertation supervised by Dieter Langewiesche,⁹⁵ written by Sonja Levsen⁹⁶ at the University of Tübingen. By using specific examples, she was able to show that while there were some differences between German and British students in the time before World War I in respect to the form and intensity of their masculine and militaristic behavior, the college students and the fraternity students shared a similar self-image. They believed that, as students, it was their patriotic duty to their country to know how to use weapons and to be ready to serve their nation in case of war. This mentality stemmed from their belief that they belonged to the elite class and from their sense of being able to justify and maintain their claim to social leadership in their respective countries. Levsen emphasizes the similarities between college students and fraternity students before 1914, and then shows how the turning point of 1918/19, which was traumatic for many, became a central reason explaining German fraternities' right-wing radicalization. Some might object to Levsen's findings by saying that Tübingen was a small regional university in Southern Germany and therefore hardly representative of the nation as a whole. However, in his dissertation, done jointly at the University of Oxford and the University of Heidelberg, Thomas Weber took a look at a truly national elite university in Imperial Germany.⁹⁷ While examining the situation in Germany, the author does not solely focus on student fraternities, even if they do take up a large amount of space as it is easier to find sources on them than on unaffiliated students. Weber's results show that it is impossible to present the British tradition as being only liberal and democratic and the German tra-

⁹⁵ From the Langewiesche school of thought came the somewhat older but successful volume by Martin Biastoch, *Tübinger Studenten im Kaiserreich. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996, written at: Tübingen, Univ. Diss., 1993/94). Based on a previously published master's thesis, see Martin Biastoch, *Duell und Mensur im Kaiserreich. Am Beispiel der Tübinger Corps Franconia, Rhenania, Suevia und Borussia zwischen 1871 und 1895* (Vierow: SH, 1995) – but confidently expanding on the narrow framework of a remarkable social history study of the Tübingen student body, which analysed origin, financing, degrees achieved, leisure activities, political behaviour of the students as well as the fringe groups of the academic society (women, Jews and Catholics). The work gains special value in particular because Biastoch was able to look at large amounts of archive material from many Tübingen fraternities.

⁹⁶ Sonja Levsen, *Elite, Männlichkeit und Krieg. Tübinger und Cambridger Studenten 1900-1929* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006, written at: Tübingen, Univ. Diss., 2004/05).

⁹⁷ Thomas Weber, *Our Friend "the Enemy". Elite Education in Britain and Germany Before World War I* (Stanford: Stanford U. Press 2008). The title of the volume, which picks up a joking phrase from a contemporary report on a rowing competition between German and British students in Heidelberg two weeks before the outbreak of the First World War, is intended to express that the image students from both countries had of each other in August 1914 was by no means hostile despite the tense political situation in Europe.

dition as being just conservative and authoritarian. On closer inspection, the idea that this type of reading would even be possible seems to be shaped by *ex post* perspectives or a Whig reading of British history. In reality, Weber is able to prove that the similarities between the two pre-war societies far exceed the differences: the militaristic-social Darwinist values and views, and the notions of heroism and honor, which formed the basis of the German academic fencing system, can be found in a comparable form in the British college rowers or the paramilitary Officer Training Corps. Illiberalism, antisemitism, racism and xenophobia (especially towards people of color and Russian students) were present in both Oxford and Heidelberg. Moreover, Weber points out that the majority of students were generally much more tolerant in comparison to the very vocal activists. Thus, it was precisely these attitudes and practices that were minority phenomena at both universities. Another interesting fact underlined by Weber is the significantly more liberal situation for female students in Heidelberg than in Oxford. Finally, Weber argues that German and British students cultivated a “transnational nationalism” that was in no way directed against the other country or even aimed at preparing for a specific war. Quite to the contrary, it had a certain unifying effect.⁹⁸

In her 2002 dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, which was funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and published as a book in 2011,⁹⁹ and later in additional essays,¹⁰⁰ Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker’s (née Swartout) has presented an overarching view of her extensive research

⁹⁸ For more information on the University of Heidelberg in the 1920s see the dissertation by Arne Lankenau, „*Dunkel die Zukunft - Hell der Mut!*“. *Die Heidelberger Studentenverbindungen in der Weimarer Republik 1918-1929* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2008). This dissertation presents a very differentiated view on the radicalization of the fraternities there. Unlike Norbert Giovanni’s study *Zwischen Republik und Faschismus. Heidelberger Studentinnen und Studenten 1918-1945* (Weinheim: Dt. Studien-Verl., 1990), Lankenau examined numerous internal documents from the student fraternities at the University of Heidelberg.

⁹⁹ Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, *Dueling Students. Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities, 1890-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011). Zwicker teaches since 2004 at the History Department of Indiana University South Bend.

¹⁰⁰ Lisa Swartout, “Culture Wars. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Students at German Universities, 1890-1914,” in *Religion und Nation. Nation und Religion. Beiträge zu einer unbewältigten Geschichte*, ed. Michael Geyer and Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2004), 157-175 and Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, “The Burschenschaft and German Political Culture 1890-1914,” *Central European History* 42, no. 3 (2009): 389-428, “Conservative Ideological Resurgence, Nationalist Rallying, and Students: The German Burschenschaft and Antisemitism, 1890-1900,” *Leo Baeck Institut Yearbook* 59 (2014): 73-90, “Liberal and Progressive Politics in the Wilhelmine Burschenschaft,” in Lönnecker, ed., “*Deutschland immer gedient zu haben ist unser höchstes Lob!*”, 925-976.

on the history of fraternities in imperial Germany. More specifically, Zwicker dealt with the traditions of academic fencing, whereby it should be particularly emphasized that she focuses on its heterogeneity. Zwicker also came to a different assessment of the *Freistudentenschaft* (the organization of the unaffiliated "free" students) and showed that many of the non-fraternity students were no strangers to antisemitic opinions. Within the context of academic antisemitism, Zwicker came to the conclusion that, despite the antisemitic propaganda spread primarily by the Associations of German Students (VDSt, *Vereine Deutscher Studenten*),¹⁰¹ Jewish students were also able to qualify as fraternity members since they were part of a heterogeneous intellectual aristocracy, whose members were in competition with one another. Zwicker found similar results for Catholic students. Building upon the results from Christopher Dowe's important dissertation,¹⁰² Zwicker speaks of an alternative elite that represented an alternative understanding of masculinity that was marked by a high degree of loyalty to their community and to their strong convictions. Overall, Zwicker rightly examines the openness of universities before the First World War and concludes: «The trajectory of student politics on the eve of the Great War was toward a more open, progressive, and reform-oriented society».¹⁰³ It is noteworthy that her argument also applied to some extent to the umbrella federation *Deutsche Burschenschaft* in the time after 1900.

Building on these results from Zwicker, Franz Egon Rode presented in 2021 his dissertation supervised by Wolfram Pyta at the University of Stuttgart on *Burschenschaften* in Imperial Germany.¹⁰⁴ He offers a well-balanced representation of the different movements inside the *Burschenschaften*, by looking at a very comprehensive list of sources directly from the fraternities and from their archives. Rode also shows that the all too one-dimensional arguments of a continuous right-wing development within *Burschenschaft*

¹⁰¹ For more information on Associations of German Students see among others: Hedwig Roos-Schumacher, *Der Kyffhäuserverband der Vereine Deutscher Studenten 1880-1914/18. Ein Beitrag zum nationalen Vereinswesen und zum politischen Denken im Kaiserreich* (Gifhorn: Akad. Verein Kyffhäuser e.V., 1986, written at: Köln, Univ. Diss., 1985), Marc Zirlwagen, *Der Kyffhäuser-Verband der Vereine Deutscher Studenten in der Weimarer Republik* (Köln: SH, 1999), Zirlwagen, ed., *Kaisertraue – Führergedanke – Demokratie. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Verbandes der Vereine Deutscher Studenten (Kyffhäuser-Verband)* (Köln: SH, 2000), ed., *1881-2006. 125 Jahre Vereine Deutscher Studenten*. 2 vols. (Bad Frankenhausen: Akad. Verein Kyffhäuser e.V., 2006).

¹⁰² Christopher Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger. Katholische Studierende und Akademiker im Kaiserreich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006, written at: Tübingen, Univ. Diss., 2003).

¹⁰³ Zwicker, *Dueling Students*, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Rode, *Die Universitätsburschenschaften*.

ten – which are mostly based on evaluations of the national journal *Burschen-schaftliche Blätter* (*Burschenschaft Review*) – do not depict the entire spectrum of all *Burschenschaften*. Instead, he examines how the fraternities in Imperial Germany after 1871 actually became less political and more supportive of the state. The involvement in politics fell out of favor due to a renewed focus on communal aspects, academic fencing in particular. In that respect, the *Burschenschaften* became closer to the *Corps*¹⁰⁵ by acting more as socialization groups and thereby losing their leading role as a political power for reform among the student body. Rode substantiates the latter point by using the well-known quotation from Thomas Nipperdey that the *Burschenschaften* of the German Empire were just “second-class *Corps*”.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the *Burschenschaften*, precisely because they now saw themselves as supporting the state, cultivated the values typical for Imperial Germany – especially the nationalism directed against alleged “*Reichsfeinde*” (“enemies of the Reich”). The successful integration of the formerly revolutionary Greater German *Burschenschaft* fraternities into the Prussian-German Reich after 1871 meant that with its collapse in autumn 1918, the world order of the *Burschenschaft* fraternities fell apart. Their position against the Weimar Republic already from mid-1919 was also, and above all, a consequence of this deep identity crisis. The inclusion of the technical and Austrian fraternities¹⁰⁷ into the

¹⁰⁵ For more on the *Corps*, see Rolf-Joachim Baum, ed., „Wir wollen Männer, wir wollen Taten!“ *Deutsche Corpsstudenten 1848 bis heute. Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Kösenener Senioren-Convents-Verbandes*. ed. Kösenener Senioren-Convents-Verband and Verband Alter Corpsstudenten (Berlin: Siedler, 1998) and the 2016 University of Würzburg dissertation by Manuel Weskamp, which was based directly on relevant archive sources, “*Ehre, Frohsinn, Eintracht: Selbstverständnis, Mitgliederrekrutierung und Karrieremuster von Akademikern am Beispiel des Corps Saxonia Göttingen (1840-1951)*” (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2018). See also Torsten Lehmann, *Die Hallenser Corps im Deutschen Kaiserreich. Eine Untersuchung zum studentischen Verbindungswesen von 1871 bis 1918* (Halle: Mittelalt. Verl., 2007). From the student Corps arose the “Verein für corpsstudentische Geschichtsforschung” (*Association of Corps Student Historical Research*) in 1955 (<https://www.vfcg.eu>, cited January 22, 2022). Since its founding, this organization has published numerous papers, including the very important yearbook *Einst und Jetzt. Jahrbuch des Vereins für corpsstudentische Geschichtsforschung e.V.*

¹⁰⁶ Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918*. vol. 1, 583.

¹⁰⁷ Frank Grobe, *Zirkel und Zahnrad. Ingenieure im bürgerlichen Emanzipationskampf um 1900 – Die Geschichte der technischen Burschenschaft* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2009, written at: Aachen, Univ. Diss., 2009) and Harald Lönnecker, “... das deutsche Volk in der Zeit tiefer nationaler Erniedrigung aufzurütteln, für ein einiges und freies deutsches Vaterland zu begeistern und gegen innere und äußere Bedränger anzuführen’ – Die Burschenschaft der Ostmark (BdO) und ihre Vorläufer 1889-1919,” in “... ein großes Ganzes ..., wenn auch verschieden in seinen Teilen’ – Beiträge zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft”, ed. Helma Brunck, Harald Lönnecker and Klaus Oldenhage (Heidelberg: Winter, 2012), 516-630.

Deutsche Burschenschaft umbrella organization ultimately accelerated the shift to right-wing politics.

As far as international studies are concerned, Antonin Dubois 2019 dissertation must be mentioned. It was originally written as part of a binational doctorate program at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* in Paris and the University of Heidelberg. The dissertation has also now been made into a book.¹⁰⁸ Both the book and the dissertation emphasize the fact that, despite the serious differences that characterized student organizations in France and Germany, the student fraternities actually knew similar developments between 1880 and 1914 in many ways. In an essay published in German, which summarizes his main results concerning students' politicization, Dubois points out how similar the process of integrating the students as a social group into the political and social order in France and Germany was. However, their concrete opportunities to act politically, and thus their political socialization, were unequal because of the different democratization of the two countries.¹⁰⁹

5.2. New research results on Catholic students

Catholic students and their fraternities have already been mentioned.¹¹⁰ The previously cited study by Christopher Dowe is a good example of modern research in the history of students. His research also includes methods and results from the more recent history of Christianity as well as research on civil societies. Under the well-known dominance of the culturally Protestant and

¹⁰⁸ Antonin Dubois, *Organiser les étudiants. Socio-histoire d'un groupe social (Allemagne et France, 1880-1914)* (Vulaines-sur-Seine: Éditions du Croquant, 2021).

¹⁰⁹ Antonin Dubois: "Die Grenzen der Politisierung. Politische Mobilisierung und soziale Integration der deutschen und französischen Studenten (1880-1914)," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 107, no. 3 (2020): 300-332, here 327.

¹¹⁰ For an overview, see Harald Lönnecker, "'Demut und Stolz, ... Glaube und Kampfesinn'. Die konfessionell gebundenen Studentenverbindungen – protestantische, katholische, jüdische," in *Universität, Religion und Kirchen*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges, (Basel: Schwabe, 2011), 479-540 and Matthias Stickler, "Katholisches Verbindungswesen als Träger von Konfessionalisierungen 1871 bis 1933," *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 155 (2019): 187-206. The German Catholic fraternities have not been researched as much as the duelling fraternities. Some important well-researched works that should be mentioned are: Stitz, *Der akademische Kulturkampf* and *Der CV 1919-1938*, Siegfried Schieweck-Mauk, *Lexikon der CV- und ÖCV-Verbindungen* (Köln: SH, 1997), Wolfgang Löhr, ed., *Rückbesinnung und Ausblick. KV-Studententum nach 150 Jahren* (Köln: SH, 2006).

educated bourgeoisie in the society of imperial Germany, the special function of the Catholic associations and fraternities was above all to fight for equality for their members and to create social opportunities of advancement. Catholic associations and fraternities represented about 40% of the male and 25% of the female Catholic students in the time before the First World War.

In his study, Dowe does not start from a dogmatic belief or the idea of a closed Catholic society largely sealed off from the outside world, but rather emphasizes how open it was. Dowe's thesis, hence the title of his book, is that there were «important groups of faithful Catholics who belonged to the educated middle class and at the same time still had a place within Catholicism.»¹¹¹ He states that the Catholic student associations and fraternities¹¹² played a key role with regard to the shaping and reproduction of these groups. Dowe's interpretation delivers a reasonable explanation of Catholics' integration in imperial Germany, which reached its climax during World War I. This integration could be observed more and more after the end of the *Kulturkampf*, and their reconciliation with the founding of the "small" (without Austria) German Reich in 1871. Before his research, another dissertation had been written under the supervision of Langewiesche on this specific topic, which Dowe picks up on.¹¹³ The popularity that the Catholic fraternities received in the first decades of their existence meant that they were able to catch up with the much older fraternities and *Corps* in terms of membership numbers by the 1920s. Furthermore, they, and Catholics in general, proved to be more resistant to National Socialism than other organizations.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger*, 11.

¹¹² See also Christopher Dowe, "Doppelte Eliten. Die Mitglieder der katholischen Studentenkorporationen im deutschen Kaiserreich," in *Religiöse und konfessionelle Minderheiten als wirtschaftliche und geistige Eliten (16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert)*. *Büdingen Forschungen zur Sozialgeschichte 2006 und 2007*, ed. Matthias Asche, Markus A. Denzel and Matthias Stickler (St. Katharinen: Scripta-Mercaturae-Verlag, 2009), 261-282.

¹¹³ Stephan Fuchs, *"Vom Segen des Krieges". Katholische Gebildete im Ersten Weltkrieg. Eine Studie zur Kriegsdeutung im akademischen Katholizismus* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004). On students in general during the First World War, see Andrea Wettmann, *Heimatfront Universität. Preußische Hochschulpolitik und die Marburger Universität im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Köln 2000), Marc Zirlewagen, ed., *„Wir siegen oder fallen“. Deutsche Studenten im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Köln: SH, 2008), Philip Rosin, "'...den Heldentod für Kaiser und Reich erlitten'. Deutsche Studenten im Ersten Weltkrieg," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 17 (2014) [2016]: 201-221, Trude Maurer, *"... und wir gehören auch dazu". Universität und Volksgemeinschaft im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015).

¹¹⁴ Stitz, *Der CV 1919-1938*, Hans Jürgen Rösger, *Die Auflösung der katholischen Studentenverbände im Dritten Reich* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1995), Peter Claus Hartmann, *Kampf und Widerstand. Münchner Katholiken gegen Hitler 1922-1945* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2019).

5.3. New publications on student violence

The topic of student deviance or more specifically student violence in the 19th and 20th century has been discussed more frequently lately and with less nostalgic/romantic exaggeration than before. The German *Yearbook of University History* dedicated its 21st volume to the topic "Student violence in the 19th and 20th century".¹¹⁵ The two editors of the issue, Oliver Auge and Martin Göllnitz, argued in their introduction that the readiness for and the acceptance of violence were an integral part of student culture and radicalism, and the violence itself was a means of communication.¹¹⁶ The range of observed violent phenomena ranges from the early fraternities to the "Tupamaros West Berlin" of 1969/70, to the protests against the Bologna reforms, and to the "uni-brennt" ("university is burning") movement of 2009/10. Holger Zinn, who has made a name for himself with numerous works on student history,¹¹⁷ summarizes the results of the volume in his conclusion¹¹⁸ in a series of considerations. The quantitative participation of students in acts of violence is declining, participation in student campaigns can serve as a career springboard, the political direction of radicalism has been subject to repeated changes. Student fraternities are becoming less important and are leaving behind an institutional vacuum, the media are an important tool for the self-image of the radicals, violence in its various forms is a tradition among students. Student involvement in military units was unprofessional and radicalism is hardly possible during one's studies due to the general conditions of university life. Zinn recognizes the lack of analyzes of individual student biographies and how the range of

¹¹⁵ The 2006 Yearbook dealt with this topic for the first time, see Christian Saehrendt, "Studentischer Extremismus und politische Gewalt an der Berliner Universität 1918-1933," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 9 (2006): 213-233. See also Martin Göllnitz, *Der Student als Führer? Handlungsmöglichkeiten eines jungakademischen Funktionärskorps am Beispiel der Universität Kiel (1927-1945)* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018, written at: Kiel, Univ. Diss., 2017).

¹¹⁶ Oliver Auge and Martin Göllnitz, "Radikale Überzeugungstäter? Studentische Gewalt im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Konzeption und Fragestellung," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021]: 89-101.

¹¹⁷ "Zinn, Holger," in Golücke, *Verfasserlexikon*, 364. See, among others, Holger Zinn, *Das studentische Kameradschaftswesen, Zwischen Republik und Diktatur. Die Studentenschaft der Philipps-Universität Marburg in den Jahren von 1925 bis 1945* (Köln: SH, 2002), "Die studentische Selbstverwaltung in Deutschland bis 1945," in „Klassische Universität“ and „akademische Provinz“. *Studien zur Universität Jena von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis in die dreißiger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Matthias Steinbach/Stefan Gerber, (Jena/Quedlinburg: Bussert & Stadel, 2005), 439-473.

¹¹⁸ Holger Zinn, "Ergebnisse und Ausblick," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021]: 257-269.

activities of student radicalization has rarely been made into the main goal of research. In this regard, another special issue published in 2019 on “*Studentische Gewalt / Violenza studentesca*” (“student violence”), edited by Martin Göllnitz and Matteo Millan, deals with this topic by using and comparing examples from Germany, Italy, Macedonia, Austria, and Spain.¹¹⁹ Some extremely pertinent and well-written essays in this issue are the contributions by Florian J. Schreiner on academic networks and the repression of the Munich soviet republic, and from Juliane Deinert on student riots at the University of Rostock before and after the National Socialist takeover. What all the aforementioned works have in common is that the specific student violence is not classified in teleologically oriented master narratives or traditional contexts, and in this way the actors are not elevated to heroes.

Harro Zimmermann’s book on the *Burschenschaft* member Carl Ludwig Sand (1795-1820), published in 2020, follows the same pattern. Sand was a heroic figure well into the 20th century for the German bourgeois national movement.¹²⁰ Sand’s assassination of August von Kotzebue on 23 March 1819 is deconstructed by Zimmermann, and the book’s subtitle places it in the context of modern, religious or pseudo-religious fundamentalism. However, the author does not have modern Islamist “Jihadists” in mind but much more the romantically-founded nationalism Sand developed as a Protestant theologian, which can be related to modern forms of right-wing extremist violence. The fact that Sand’s act points to modern-day terrorism is indeed obvious, but the author and his publisher minimize the book’s importance by presenting it as just a lucid contribution to the cultural archeology of right-wing radicalism in Germany, when in fact it is actually an important contribution to student historical research. Self-empowerment, ideologically based justifications for one’s own actions, and the willingness to accept death for one’s own convictions are by no means only specific to right-wing radicalism, considering these beliefs were also a deeply-rooted part of the self-image of Red Army Faction terrorists. Making a historical topic more interesting for certain readers by using sensational modern-day analogies may be good way to sell books, but from an academic point of view, such actions essentially oversimplify the issue, and they simply do not do justice to the complexity of the phenomenon of Carl Ludwig Sand or how his actions were received.

¹¹⁹ Martin Göllnitz and Matteo Millan, ed., *Studentische Gewalt / Violenza studentesca, Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione* 28, no. 1 (2019) (Innsbruck/Wien/Bozen: Studienverlag, 2019).

¹²⁰ Harro Zimmermann, *Ein deutscher Gotteskrieger? Der Attentäter Carl Ludwig Sand. Die Geschichte einer Radikalisierung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2020).

5.4. New research on Jewish students and academic antisemitism

An inclusive approach to the topic of Judaism in Germany has become the norm in recent years, i.e., being Jewish is understood as part of Germany's identity and not as something external. That has led to "Jewish topics" being increasingly taken up within the context of student history. This is particularly the case of Jewish student fraternities, which are today, unlike in the days of academic anti-Semitism, understood as a self-evident part of German university and student history. One example of this is the well-researched dissertation written by Miriam Rürup in 2008.¹²¹ Building up on older works,¹²² she showed that Jewish students also adopted organizational forms, values and symbolic practices of fraternities at the time of the foundation of the German Empire.

The Jewish fraternity system, which in its diversity could easily compete with the non-Jewish one, was an important part of academic Germany. Even despite all the hostility it faced from anti-Semites, it was a system that was to be reckoned with until it was destroyed by the National Socialists after 1933. Although the Jewish fraternities never managed to organize the majority of Jewish students, which is why the students affiliated with these fraternities could certainly be described as being a minority within a minority, the leading elites in the Jewish organizations during the Weimar period had mostly been socialized in Jewish fraternities. In this respect, these fraternities actually had a similar vanguard function for German Judaism, much like the *Corps* students did for the educated, wealthy, culturally Protestant bourgeoisie. Mi-

¹²¹ Miriam Rürup, *Ehrensache. Jüdische Studentenverbindungen an deutschen Universitäten 1886-1937* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2008, written at: Berlin, Techn. Univ. Diss., 2006/07).

¹²² See Thomas Schindler, *Studentischer Antisemitismus und jüdische Studentenverbindungen 1880-1933. Mit einem Beitrag von Robert Hein* (Jever: Studentengeschichtliche Vereinigung des Coburger Convents, 1988). Schindler was already researching the topic of "Jewish student fraternities" at a time when this was still considered a rather remote field of research. Also see his other publications: "Studentischer Antisemitismus und jüdische Studentenverbindungen in Würzburg 1880-1914," in *Begegnungen. Judentum und Antisemitismus in Zeit und Geist*, ed. Peter Herde, Thomas Schindler, Kurt Schobert and Stefan Veghazi (München: Schobert, 1986), 57-88, "Steinerne Zeugnisse jüdischen Studentenlebens in Würzburg," in Golücke, ed., *Korporationen und Nationalsozialismus*, 73-85, "Der Kampf des Kartell-Convents (K.C.) gegen den Antisemitismus," *Einst und Jetzt* 36 (1991): 189-203, "Was Schandfleck war, ward unser Ehrenzeichen...! Die jüdischen Studentenverbindungen und ihr Beitrag zur Entwicklung eines neuen Selbstbewußtseins deutscher Juden," in Brandt/Stickler, ed., "Der Burschen Herrlichkeit", 337-354, Andreas Dornheim and Thomas Schindler, *Wilhelm Aron (1907-1933). Jude, NS-Gegner, Sozialdemokrat und Verbindungsstudent* (Bamberg: Selbstverlag des Historischen Vereins Bamberg, 2007). For more on antisemitism, see Konrad H. Jarausch, "Die Vertreibung der jüdischen Studenten und Professoren von der Berliner Universität unter dem NS-Regime," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 1 (1998): 112-133.

riam Rürup does not interpret the emergence of the Jewish fraternity system simply as a reaction to growing academic anti-Semitism and the tendencies of the time, especially in the second half of the 19th century, to deny Jews membership. Rather, she sees it as an attempt to gain recognition and respect from their opponents by demonstrating strength and “honor”. Beginning in 1886, a broad spectrum of ideologically and religiously differently oriented Jewish fraternities and associations were founded and often stood in sharp contrast to one another. These groups ranged from the “*deutsch-vaterländisch*” (patriotic German) minded *Kartellconvent der Verbindungen jüdischen Glaubens* (KC, Union of the fraternities of Jewish faith) to the Zionist aligned *Kartell Jüdischer Verbindungen* (KJV, Union of Jewish Fraternities). The student fraternity hegemonic culture of Imperial Germany was not simply adapted but filled with new content. This ultimately promoted and solidified the formation of a specific group identity. However, the efforts of the Jewish fraternities to gain wider recognition in society ultimately remained unsuccessful, despite the high death toll that their members paid for Germany during the First World War. At this point and from today’s perspective, one must critically state that the Jewish fraternities’ assumption that it was enough to fight anti-Semitism primarily by means of fraternity students’ traditions was a misjudgment. Rürup rightly points out, however, that these traditions did not simply disappear with the destruction of the Jewish fraternity system in Germany, but continued to have an effect even after their emigration and, thus, contributed to the fact that new Jewish life emerged and asserted itself in new places. In this respect, although the reactivation of Jewish fraternities did not succeed after 1945, their history is also part of the history of the State of Israel.¹²³

Unfortunately, Rürup’s study neglects the topic of “*paritätische Verbindungen*” (“equal fraternities”), i.e., the fraternities that accepted both Jews and non-Jews. These fraternities did not see themselves as Jewish at all but were, for all intents and purposes, exactly that. Furthermore, they were also perceived as such by the outside world as fewer and fewer non-Jews joined over time. There were a number of equal fraternities and umbrella federations. The most important of these was the *Burschenbund Convent* (B.C.),¹²⁴

¹²³ For new research on this topic, see Miriam Rürup, “Eine Frage der Ehre. Anerkennungskämpfe jüdischer Studentenverbindungen in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik,” *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 21 (2018) [2021], 135-154. For the history of Jewish fraternities, see Kurt U. Bertrams, *Der Kartell-Convent und seine Verbindungen* (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2009) and *Jüdisch-nationale Studentenverbindungen und Verbände* (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2013). Both volumes contain important data and facts about Jewish fraternities.

¹²⁴ Matthias Stickler, “Jüdische Studentenverbindungen. Anmerkungen zu einem zu wenig beachteten Thema der Universitäts- und Studentengeschichte,” *Einst und Jetzt* 61 (2016): 11-56,

which was founded in 1919 and strongly oriented around *Burschenschaft* ideals. It additionally saw itself as the true heir of the free and liberal traditions of the original *Burschenschaft* movement. The B.C. had a small revival in the early Federal Republic that lasted until the early 1970s and consisted of many Old Boys organizations, but only three active fraternities. One of the B.C.'s most prominent (non-Jewish) members was the liberal politician Thomas Dehler (1897-1967), who was the chairman of the Liberal Party (FDP) and Federal Minister of Justice. Dehler joined a Coburg Convent fraternity after 1945, but he also continued to belong until his death to the *Burschenbund Südmark-Monachia* in Munich, founded in 1923.¹²⁵

As far as anti-Semitism in the student fraternities is concerned, a comprehensive study based on archive sources is now available for the first time.¹²⁶ The fraternities themselves have withdrawn from this debate for decades or made mainly apologetic contributions,¹²⁷ as becomes very clear in Jürgen Herrlein's dissertation on legal history submitted at the University of Bremen in 2015. It is all the more remarkable that Herrlein, a passionate student historian, who is both a lawyer by profession and belongs to five *Corps*, presented this study, which takes a very critical look at the behavior of the corporations and avoids any misguided consideration. Contrary to what the title suggests, the focus lays on the *Kösener Corps*, which was the second largest German corporation association until the 1930s. The other associations are also dealt with by the use of relevant secondary literature, therefore limiting the possible explanations. However, future research on academic anti-Semitism will not be able to ignore this important work.

here especially 14-20, 27-36, and 38-44. A useful reference book on the history of equal fraternities is Kurt U. Bertrams, *Paritätische Verbindungen und Verbände* (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2011).

¹²⁵ Matthias Stickler, "Thomas Dehler (1897-1967) als Korporationsstudent - Anmerkungen zu einem bisher wenig beachteten Thema," in Mohr, ed., *150 Jahre*, 345-367.

¹²⁶ Jürgen Herrlein, *Zur "Arierfrage" in Studentenverbindungen. Die akademischen Korporationen und der Prozess der Ausgrenzung der Juden vor und während der NS-Zeit sowie die Verarbeitung dieses Vorgangs nach 1945* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015). Two important older works must be mentioned in this context: Kampe, *Studenten* and Heike Ströle-Bühler, *Studentischer Antisemitismus in der Weimarer Republik. Eine Analyse der Burschenschaftlichen Blätter 1918-1933* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1991).

¹²⁷ Helmut Neuhaus's very well-done study, *Die Konstitutionen des Corps Teutonia. Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsentwicklung eines Kösener Corps in seiner 150jährigen Geschichte* (Marburg a.d. Lahn: Stelbstverl. d. Verf., 1979), was also written on the basis of internal source material and dealt in detail with anti-Semitism in the Corps Teutonia of Marburg (even though this was not made clear by its title). The study is an early, impressive example of the painful coming to terms with this topic. Unfortunately, this study, although publicly available in libraries, has received little attention thus far.

5.5. New works on female students

In recent years, as a consequence of the increasing importance of gender as a analysis tool in academic historical research, new and innovative topics like women's studies and the self-organization of women at universities have come into the focus of many, in particular female, researchers.¹²⁸ The topic of women's studies in particular has been comparatively well researched. This new research began in the 1990s in connection with the then upcoming hundredth anniversary of the admission of women to universities in the majority of German federal states at the turn of the century.¹²⁹ The habilitation thesis of Claudia Huerkamp (1952-1999), who was a student of Wehler and who sadly died prematurely, must also be mentioned here.¹³⁰ She looked at how public pressure to allow women to study was put on universities and the governments of the individual German states. This pressure arose above all from the fact that foreigners from countries in which women were already allowed to study were attracted by the excellent reputation of German

¹²⁸ Angelika Schaser and Falko Schnicke, "Wege zu einer Geschlechtergeschichte der Universitäten und Geisteswissenschaften: Forschungsstand und Desiderata," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 20 (2017) [2019]: 27-42. This volume's main focus lays on Gender History at Universities and in the Humanities. See also the contribution from Elisabeth Grabenweger, "Die Selbstverständlichkeit der großen Zahl. Die ersten Promovendinnen der Wiener Germanistik (1903-1938)": 97-118. Relevant articles were also repeatedly published in earlier issues of the yearbook: Christine von Oertzen, "Universitärer Nationalismus versus akademische Verständigung. Zur Wirkungsmacht weiblicher Netzwerke, 1918-1933," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 28 (2015) [2017]: 81-100, Trude Maurer, "Ein Lehrstück über die Dialektik des Fortschritts. Die Zulassung von Frauen an der Universität Straßburg: Reichsländische Variationen zu einem gesamtdeutschen Thema (1873-1909/1918)," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 16 (2013) [2015]: 9-50, Sabine Bertram, "Frauen promovieren: Doktorandinnen der Nationalökonomie an der Berliner Universität 1906-1936," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 11 (2008): 111-133, Patricia Mazón, "Die Auswahl der ‚besseren Elemente‘. Ausländische und jüdische Studentinnen und die Zulassung von Frauen an deutschen Universitäten 1890-1909," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 5 (2002): 185-198. Aspects of gender history were also included in the anthology published at the end of the 1990s, see Wolfgang Lipp, "Verbindungen als Männerbünde," and Wolfgang Wippermann, "Männer und Masuren. Waffenstudenten in geschlechtergeschichtlicher Sicht," in Brandt/Stickler, ed., „*Der Burschen Herrlichkeit*“, 375-391 and 239-253.

¹²⁹ Such as Marianne Koerner, *Auf fremden Terrain. Studien- und Alltagserfahrungen von Studentinnen 1900-1918* (Bonn: Didot, 1997) and Ilse Costas, "Von der Gasthörererin zur voll immatrikulierten Studentin: Die Zulassung von Frauen in den deutschen Bundesstaaten 1900-1909," in *Der Weg an die Universität. Höhere Frauenstudien vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Trude Maurer (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2010), 191-210.

¹³⁰ Claudia Huerkamp, *Bildungsbürgerinnen. Frauen im Studium und in akademischen Berufen 1900-1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

universities at the time, including and above all American women.¹³¹ After the turn of the millennium, a number of important overview works were written against the backdrop of additional research on women's emancipation at universities.¹³² Particularly noteworthy here are the very successful anthologies edited by Ulrike Auga and her colleagues,¹³³ by Trude Maurer,¹³⁴ as well as the monographs by Patricia M. Mazón¹³⁵ and Marco Birn,¹³⁶ which offer well-founded and material-rich general overviews. Mazón's approach, however, is much more committed to a gender-historical approach than Birn's. For the "short 20th century", comparable source-based monographic works are so far a desideratum.

Research on the self-organization of female students was slower to start. This is probably related to the fact that sororities did not reappear after the Second World War until the late 1970s.¹³⁷ Traditional fraternity histo-

¹³¹ Sandra L. Singer, *Adventures Abroad. North American Women at German-speaking Universities 1868-1915* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003). For transnational aspects, see for example: Ilse Costas, "Der Kampf um das Frauenstudium im internationalen Vergleich. Begünstigende und hemmende Faktoren für die Emanzipation der Frauen aus ihrer intellektuellen Unmündigkeit in unterschiedlichen bürgerlichen Gesellschaften," in *Pionierinnen, Feministinnen, Karrierefrauen? Zur Geschichte des Frauenstudiums in Deutschland*, ed. Anne Schlüter (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verl.-Ges., 1992), 115-144, "Der Zugang zu akademischen Karrieren. Ein internationaler Überblick," in *Bedrohlich gescheit. Ein Jahrhundert Frauen und Wissenschaft in Bayern*, ed. Hiltrud Häntzschel and Hadumod Bußmann (München: Beck, 1997), 15-34, and "Professionalisierungsprozesse akademischer Berufe und Geschlecht – ein internationaler Vergleich," in *Barrieren und Karrieren. Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums in Deutschland. Conference notes from the conference „100 Jahre Frauen in der Wissenschaft“ im Februar 1997 at the Universität Bremen*, ed. Elisabeth Dickmann and Eva Schöck-Quinteros (Berlin: Trafo-Verl., 2000), 13-32, Christine von Oertzen, *Strategie Verständigung. Zur transnationalen Vernetzung von Akademikerinnen 1917-1955* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2012).

¹³² Annette Vogt, *Vom Hintereingang zum Hauptportal? Lise Meitner und ihre Kolleginnen an der Berliner Universität und in der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), Michael Grüttner, "Zwischen Numerus clausus und Dienstverpflichtung. Studentinnen im Nationalsozialismus," in *Die BDM-Generation. Weibliche Jugendliche in Deutschland und Österreich im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Dagmar Reese (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2007), 321-341.

¹³³ Ulrike Auga, Claudia Bruns, Levke Harders and Gabriele Jähnert, ed., *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften. Zur Geschichte von Akademikerinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2010)

¹³⁴ Maurer, ed., *Der Weg*.

¹³⁵ Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education 1865-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

¹³⁶ Marco Birn, *Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums in Deutschland. Das Streben nach Gleichberechtigung von 1869-1918, dargestellt anhand politischer, statistischer und biographischer Zeugnisse* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2015).

¹³⁷ Simone Ruoffner, "Neue Wege: Das Damenverbindungswesen in Deutschland nach

riography recognized very early on that after the turn of the century women discovered sorority life for themselves and founded their own organizations with their umbrella federations. This corresponded to the described logic of the university in its classic phase, in which, as previously mentioned, fraternity students were the norm and not the exception. In the period that followed, the following sororities came into existence: in 1904 the Protestant-influenced *Deutsche Christliche Vereinigung Studierender Frauen* (DCVSF, German Christian Association of Women Student), in 1906 the bourgeois, liberal-conservative *Verband der Studentinnenvereine Deutschlands* (VStD, Federation of Female Students' Associations in Germany), in 1913 the Catholic and color-wearing *Verband der katholischen deutschen Studentinnenvereine* (VKDSt, Federation of Catholic German Female Students' Associations), in 1914 the right-wing, conservative, nationalist and color-wearing *Deutscher Verband akademischer Frauenvereine* (DVAF, German Federation of Academic Women's Associations), in 1912 the *Gruppe jüdischer Studentinnen* (Group of Jewish Female Students) Beruria (sometimes also referred to as *Bund jüdischer Akademikerinnen*, Union of Jewish Women Academics) and in 1917 the *Hochland-Verband der katholischen neudeutschen Verbindungen* (HV, Highland Federation of Catholic New German Fraternities), which was initially a masculine association, but began to admit women during the First World War, whose sororities were closely affiliated to theirs. All of these associations and umbrella organizations developed quite well and existed until the National Socialists came to power. Between the years of 1933 and 1938 they ultimately fell victim to the general forced disbanding of all fraternities and sororities. This topic has been researched very little thus far, mostly because of the relative scarcity of sources. The first works to be written about the history of the VKDSt and the DCVSF appeared in the 1990s.¹³⁸ Petra Gärdtner¹³⁹ was one of the first researchers to deal systematically with sororities. It is unfortunate that she did not continue with these first promising approaches. A useful, factual, and generally well-researched reference work,

1945," in *Tübinger Töchter. Frauen an der Tübinger Universität im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Marvin Gedigk, Wiebke Ratzeburg, Simone Ruoffner and Andreas Strecke (Tübingen: Universitätsstadt Tübingen, 2019), 95-103.

¹³⁸ Ulrike Hoppe, *Katholische Studentinnenvereine 1909-1936. Ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Vorstellung vom weiblichen Lebenszusammenhang*, ed. Bund katholischer deutscher Akademikerinnen (Bonn: Bund kath. dt. Akademikerinnen, 1990) and Christiana Hilpert-Fröhlich, "Vorwärts geht es, aber auf den Knien". *Die Geschichte der christlichen Studentinnen- und Akademikerinnenbewegung in Deutschland 1905-1938* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verl.-Ges., 1996).

¹³⁹ Petra Gärdtner, *Frau und Couleur. 1. Teil: Das Umfeld* (Wien: Österr. Verein für Studentengeschichte, 1989).

which contains a list of sources and a bibliography, is Bertram's volume on *Sororities and Girls' Associations*.¹⁴⁰ The topic of sororities has now been addressed in many works on women's studies.¹⁴¹ Modern-day network theory research¹⁴² also raised interest in this specific form of socialization. Simone Ruoffner-Unterrainer's dissertation, which is currently being reviewed, provides significant new results based on a comprehensive evaluation of the relevant sources and literature.¹⁴³ Ruoffner is already well-known for being a researcher of sorority organizations.¹⁴⁴ Her study, which goes beyond a purely local study, is likely to become an important standard work that will undoubtedly inspire further research.

¹⁴⁰ Kurt U. Bertrams, *Damenverbindungen und Mädelschaften. Von den Anfängen bis 1945* (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2018).

¹⁴¹ Koerner, *Auf fremdem Terrain*, Britta Lohschelder, "Die Knäbin mit dem Dokortitel". *Akademikerinnen in der Weimarer Republik* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verl.-Ges., 1994), Heike Hessenauer, *Etappen des Frauenstudiums an der Universität Würzburg, 1869-1939* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1998), Marianne Koerner, "Preis der Partizipation. AStA-Beteiligung der Studentinnenvereine vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Karrieren und Barrieren*, ed. Diekmann and Schöck-Quinteros, 303-313, Wiebke Reichmann, *Von der Couleurdame zur Studentin? Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums und der Studentinnenverbindungen an der Universität Münster 1900 bis 1920* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verl. Dr. Müller, 2009), Gedigk, Ratzeburg, Ruoffner and Strecke, ed., *Tübinger Töchter*, 1-29.

¹⁴² Stephanie Bock, "Frauennetzwerke: Geschlechterpolitische Strategie oder exklusive Expertinnennetze?," in *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung*, ed. Ruth Becker and Beate Kortendiek, 2nd, revised and extended edition (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), 870-878.

¹⁴³ Simone Ruoffner-Unterrainer, *Zwischen Verein, Korporation und Gesinnungsgemeinschaft – die Damenverbindungen an den Universitäten Tübingen und Würzburg von den Anfängen bis zum Nationalsozialismus*.

¹⁴⁴ Simone Ruoffner, "Die Tübinger Damenverbindungen," in *Burschen und Bürger. 200 Jahre Tübinger Studentenverbindungen*, ed. Marvin Gedigk, Wiebke Ratzburg, Anne-Jaqueline Schneider und Andreas Strecke (Tübingen: Universitätsstadt Tübingen, 2016), 99-107, "Wir wollten nicht gegängelt werden!'. Damenverbindungen im Deutschen Reich von ihrer Entstehung bis zu ihrer Gleichschaltung," in *Die Vorträge der 77. Deutschen Studentenhistorikertagung Halle an der Saale 2017*, ed. Sebastian Sigler (München: Akademischer Verlag, 2018), 173-190, "Verlorene Erinnerung – Traditionsbrüche und fehlende Erinnerungsarbeit bei Damenverbindungen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik," in *Erinnern, vergessen, umdeuten? Europäische Frauenbewegung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Angelika Schaser and Sylvia Schraut (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2019), 155-172, Simone Ruoffner and Florian J. Schreiner, "Vom „Corps Schlamponia“ zur „Frau Kommilitonin“. Emanzipation und Assimilierung von Studentinnen in der Frühphase der Weimarer Republik," in *Ariadne – Forum für Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte* 73/74 (2018): 110-117.

6. Conclusion

Student history has become a thriving branch of university history since the 1990s. This also led to a rapprochement between academic research and the very heterogeneous group of the so-called student historians, whose works are mostly being read again today. However, as a result of the breaks of 1933/45 and 1968 and the resulting loss of importance of fraternities, many academics socialized at university remain rather unfamiliar with the colorful world of student fraternities and the associations affiliated with them, which is why they often find it difficult to deal with this topic. A bridging function was and is being taken on here by relevant university researchers who, as it were, as wanderers between these two worlds, are familiar with both sides. It would be desirable for this insight to prevail since only through increased cooperation and the attentive perception of the respective research results can university and student history as a whole be enriched.

In university research, the great importance of the fraternity system for the history of German universities in their classical phase should be acknowledged and done so without judgment. Acknowledging this does not necessarily imply a glorified or apologetic view of fraternities. Rather, this topic should be seen for all of its diversity in ideology and beliefs, and it should not be seen as closed topic. Such a differentiated perspective sharpens the view both for sensitive aspects of the history of German students since the 1880s and for the fundamental openness of the situation at the beginning of the 20th century, which Zwicker and Rode pointed out in their research.

It is striking, and possibly also a result of the previous marginality of the fraternity system in university research, that cultural-historical aspects of student history has received such little attention until now. A few examples of topics and individual publications that have been published so far will have to suffice here: the interesting field of fraternity and student houses,¹⁴⁵ student songs,¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Peter A. Süß, "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus. Würzburger Verbindungshäuser. Einige Anmerkungen zur Geschichte, Typologie und Kunst der Korporationsheime," in Brandt/Stickler, ed., „*Der Burschen Herrlichkeit*“, 465-484, Antonin Dubois, "Les maisons des organisations étudiantes en France et en Allemagne. Un lieu de sociabilité masculine et d'encadrement (1871-1914)," *Agora débats/jeunesses* 73 (2016): 35-48, as well as the notes from Harald Lönnecker, "... dienten stets auch der freundlichen Zusammenkunft' – Geselligkeit in akademischen Verbindungen und Vereinen an deutschsprachigen Hochschulen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," in Asche and Klenke, ed., *Von Professorenzirkeln*, 123-146, here 123.

¹⁴⁶ See for example the works of Raimund Lang on student songs: *Ergo cantemus – Texte und Materialien zum Studentenlied* (Köln: SH, 2001), *Cantus – Hymne – Burschenlied. Vom*

clothing, living together,¹⁴⁷ nutrition and consumption, forms of camaraderie and socializing,¹⁴⁸ forms of visual representation,¹⁴⁹ as well as questions of style and form, the construction of identity,¹⁵⁰ or the role of women beyond stereotypes such as "Filia hospitalis" or "decorative accessories".¹⁵¹ Unlike in most other countries with traditional higher education systems, traditional symbolic practices at German universities today do not play any role in consensus building or integration into university life. Thus, these corresponding fields of research no longer come into the view of "post-classical" socialized scholars, as they are viewed as alien or disconcerting. That is unfortunate since these topics are connected not only to classical history, but also to subjects such as German studies, art history, European ethnology, folk studies, and musicology. Therefore, one does not need to possess any prophetic abilities to know that the history of students will continue to be an important research topic.

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¹⁴⁷ See the interesting contribution from Barbara Krug-Becker, "Hund und Student – eine Mentalitätsgeschichte (18.-20. Jh.)," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 10 (2007): 77-104.

¹⁴⁸ See the notes from Stickler, "Verbindungsstudentische" and Lönnecker, „... dienten stets auch der freundlichen Zusammenkunft“.

¹⁴⁹ See for instance Cornelius Lange, "‘Rührende Geschmacklosigkeiten’? Photographische Studentenporträts im Würzburg Dauthendey's," in *Der Photopionier Carl Albert Dauthendey. Zur Frühzeit der Photographie in Deutschland und Russland*, ed. Eckhard Leuschner (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2021), 177-187.

¹⁵⁰ Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "Das Kriegerdenkmal der Berliner Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität 1919-1926: Siegesexegese der Niederlage," *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 5 (2002): 87-116

¹⁵¹ Marvin Gedigk, "Vorreiter oder konservative Bastion? Die Couleurdamen der Tübinger Studentenverbindungen," in Gedigk, Ratzeburg, Ruoffner and Strecke, ed., *Tübinger Töchter*, 43-71.

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