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The elite university – roles and models

Edited by Ditlev Tamm

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Abstract

On October 1st and 2nd 2015 the International Commission for the History of Universities organized its yearly conference in Copenhagen. The theme of the conference was the development of Universities in early modern Europe and the US with a specific view to the origins of the role of Universities in creating an elite and being institutions for an elite. The ten lectures given are published in this volume which covers Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Portugal, Romania and the US. They all take up specific themes related to this part of university history both from a more historical and from a modern point of view. The volume will be of interest for all who take part in or wish to be updated on a current important debate within academic life namely the social role of universities in the past and today.

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Contents

Foreword

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The ten lectures given are published in this volume. The conference was held at the Royal Danish Academy of Letters and Science and the organizers wish to thank the Academy for hospitality and for opening its series for this volume.

The University of Copenhagen was founded in 1479. The Academy was founded in 1742. Both institutions have undergone several changes since their founding. However, the academy stays as an institution for only a small group of those who are considered the most outstanding academics and the number of members does not exceed 300. The University of Copenhagen started as a very small institution, after the Reformation for at least two centuries the Theologian faculty responsible for the education of Protestant ministers was the most important. Later also Law grew as a subject, and since the 19th a series of subject making this university a full university with all faculties and around 40.000 students.

The question, for whom the universities are there, is a question of growing concern and the question how to balance quality and mass education is an issue of utmost importance. The lectures in the volume show how these questions have been posed in various European countries and the US and taken together can be seen as an input in an ongoing discussion. In today's discussion it is sometimes forgotten that universities have a long history and that experiences of the past may shed light over and help us understand today's situation.

Copenhagen June 23rd
Ditlev Tamm

CHAPTER I

Some remarks on the question of "elite universities" with regard to universities in Austria

Walter Höflechner

Abstract

The author of this article is an experienced university historian who has published extensively within the field of the history of Austrian Universities. This contribution is based on a long experience and also reflects the personal opinion of the author as to recent development of Austrian and other European universities.

After 1975, the term "university" was extended to not only include classical universities, but also lower level institutions, like schools of agriculture, mining etc. In Austria institutions with quite different ranks and content are defined as universities. However, only classical universities should be discussed in the view of the term "elite universities". Even in that sense it's difficult to give a clear definition of an "elite university". We may call an institution an elitist university with a great number of participations in high ranked project teams. But this can be dangerous, because the process of approval of the funding of projects inclines to follow scientific fashions and by that restricts the freedom of scientific research. A reform in 1993 pushed the responsibility for the handling of the budget to the universities themselves, and in 2002 the state granted full autonomy, which meant that Austrian universities could suddenly go bankrupt. This has affected the quality of the universities, and not in a positive way. Classical

SCI. DAN. H. 8 · 15 · THE ELITE UNIVERSITY – ROLES AND MODELS
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universities of Austria have therefore lost some of their former dominance and the term "elite university in Austria" can therefore be difficult to define.

Key words: Elite universities, Rankings of universities, Classical universities, Project, Vienna, Reforms of 1993.

Main question

How to define "elite university"? I do not know – we all know the problems of the various world-wide rankings of universities and similar institutions. Besides these difficulties the term "elite university" is ambiguous: "elite human resources for the university" or "university for elite" or "university with elitist performance"? And the following explanations may show, how difficult it is, to give any answer to this question for Austria.

How to define "university" in Austria?

Before 1975 the term "university" without exception meant the classical university with four faculties dedicated to scientific teaching and research. Then, in 1975 the polytechnics and other specialized academic institutions, like veterinary medicine, agriculture, mining and so on, were entitled "university"; in 1998/99 the same happened to the "Kunsthochschulen"[1], and at the beginning of this century even lower level institutions call themselves "universities for applied sciences"[2] and aim for the right of awarding academic degrees

1. They developed from the Musikschulen (music schools) > Konservatorium > Musikakademie > Musikhochschulen > Universität für Musik (and similar for fine arts, performing arts etc.).

2. This resulted from the old problem of the translating the German term „Hochschule" into English, when the literal translation of "Hochschule" is "highschool", what means another type of institution than the German "Hochschule"; this is a fact, which had been the reason for the changings in 1975. But meanwhile another type of institution had been installed, the so called "Fach-Hochschule", which is dedicated to the education in special applied fields like mechanics, electronics, economy etc. and originally is ranked below the old "Hochschule", which in 1975 has been entitled

FIGURE 1: A picture of the main building of the University of Vienna (front view), finished in 1884 (central administration and faculties of theology, law and philosophy). Universität Wien / Foto: Franz Pflügl.

as the master and the doctorate, as also meanwhile since 2000 private universities (in different fields of science, medicine and arts or simply for tourism and "international management") do. So today in Austria the word "university" is used inflationary, excessively for a lot of institutions quite different in rank and content: There exist three old "classical" universities (Vienna, Graz and Innsbruck) and additionally four universities founded between 1962 and 1994 with different structures resp. contents (Salzburg, Linz, Klagenfurt and Krems); in 2004 the former medical schools of the old universities were installed as separate universities. Beside these units exist universities developed out of former institutions in the rank of a *polytechnicum*, six universities for different arts and 12 private universities; in summa there are 34 institutions called "university". A similar development happened in other German-speaking countries and it

"university". The new "Fach-Hochschule" in English figures as "University of applied sciences"

is significant and understandable that a few, very high ranked institutions refused to be entitled as universities, like the Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule in Aachen and the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zürich, they are proud of their old and famous status and not participating in inflationary tendencies (even when they were called "university" in English).

How to define "elite university"?

Such different institutions as listed up above may not be compared at all. So in view of "elite universities" we should speak only about the classical universities, which since the 17th and 18th century were not so much considered as a "universitas magistrorum et scholarium", as it was the case in the late Middle Ages, but as institutions representing the whole of science in the sense of a system of knowledge on the highest possible level of thinking about logics, human beings and nature, as Kant has defined science as a logical consistent system, which Popper emphasized as a never ending asymptotic process running in always higher levels of specialization in all fields.

And even in this sense it is very difficult to give a clear definition – firstly under the aspect that the "Hochschulen" in German-speaking countries as well as e.g. the MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) or the CalTech (California Institute of Technology) set up schools of humanities; by this they came closer to the classical universities and were accounted inside of their ranking, and secondly under the aspect of the immense specialization inside the classical universities since the middle of the 20th century, because this fact, in concern of the funding of the permanent increasing systems, seems to enforce the idea, that even the classical universities finally would have to concentrate on special fields inside the whole of science and by that give up the ideal of representing the whole of the system of (pure) sciences. But, under the influence of the revolution in scientific communication by means of the internet etc. this seems not to be the case: specialization now happens in the way of free communities and in project-communities funded by national and international sources – so new virtual institutions arise, exactly tailored on the specific subject defined as a "project". This is the

new organizational instrument of elite forming and is substituting the single universities in elitist research; and this also has its impact on scientific teaching – so in some way we may differ between basic teaching in classical scientific fields and higher ranked special teaching in context of research.

Under such aspects the question "elite university" is more difficult than ever before. We may call an institution an elitist university with a great number of participations in high ranked project teams. But this is dangerous, when the process of approval of the funding of projects inclines to follow scientific fashions and by that restricts the freedom of scientific research. So even under that aspect we may differ between free, non-project-oriented research with third-part-funding (done in a conventional way at a university[3]) and supra-universitarian project-organized research.

A short outline of the development of the legal situation in Austria

The main periods in the universities legal situation were 1365 – 1752/73 Universities in Habsburg countries were run by the Societas Jesu 1753/1773 – 1848 absolutely state-controlled and centralised system in enlightened absolutism, dominance of utilitarism, some excellence in clinical medicine Since 1848 universities in Habsburg countries became institutions of scientific teaching and research work.

Up to 1848 Austrian universities were not obliged to be active in research – they only had to teach for clericals, clerks and teachers in the secondary school level. The revolution in 1848 caused real and profound reforms, which historians normally connect with the minister Leo Graf Thun-Hohenstein, but he came in this position in summer 1849, when very important decisions already had been made in the time before under the dominant influence of Thuns former

3. It is to be respected, that a researcher may not be interested in a lot of administrative work, when he tries to do his job in quiet intensive work – but performance records do not measure such activities, but only a resulting publication; by that intensive work of years might figure as a simple number in a statistic analysis of activities.

FIGURE 2: A picture of the inner courtyard of the building in nr 1 in present days standing; under the arcades are many monuments of famous scientists.

mentor in Prague, the philosopher Franz S. Exner; but Thuns main merits were, that he followed the intentions of Exner even after Exner's death and that he prohibited the re-confessionalization of the universities by the way of the concordat in 1855. So the years 1848/49 were the real beginning of modern universities in Austria.

From 1848 until 1993/99 in Austria we have universities in a modern sense quite similar to the German model, but still with a centralised state's administration in a strict hierarchy of universities: as in the emperor's residence the university of Vienna was the first rank university at the top of the other universities, which had the equal rights, but in minor levels concerning the equipment and the funding in every sense. A reform in 1922[4] did not cause so much effective changes in organization, but in a political way, when uni-

4. "Bundesgesetz vom 20. Juli 1922, womit das Gesetz vom 27. April 1873 [...] betreffend die Organisation der Universitätsbehörden abgeändert und ergänzt wird" – ... law changing the law concerning the organization of university administration from 1873..

versities were defined as "deutsche Forschungs- und Lehranstalten"[5].

When we skip over the legal changes during the Austrian "Ständestaat" (1933/34-1938) and the nationalsocialist period (1938-1945), the next step happened in 1975, which brought a structural reform under mainly social aspects, when it ended the conservative dominance of the professores ordinarii by giving a say in a lot of decisions to assistants, students and even non-academic staff. When it after years became evident, that this reform caused a lot of struggles, delays and dangerous awkwardness as also an immense increasing of the budget without the desired effects in quality, in 1993 the state capitulated and pushed the responsibility for the handling of the budget to the universities themselves: with the reforms of the years 1993/99 and then 2002 the state granted full autonomy - this was, what the universities had desired and demanded from 1848 on as an ideal erroneously attributed to the Middle Ages. The new laws from 1993[6], in Vienna and Graz not installed before 1999, and then the law from 2002[7] brought a framework concerning some outlines of structure with rector, vice-rectors, senate and faculties under the control of an external board. The number, the content and structure of faculties were to be constituted by the universities themselves[8]. Since then the universities get global five-year's-budgets on the basis of agreements between each university and the state's administration according to the performance of the university and its planning and, very important, also its third-party-funding. This brought the end of centralization, the universities are free to organize their studies (under the aspects of the Bologna system, which should be installed without higher expenses, as a zero-sum-system), are free to open and to close chairs, but at the same time became a subject of a high degree of commercialization: the univer-

5. In the laws before there was no definition of university given - because ist was not considered necessary.

6. Bundesgesetz über die Organisation der Universitäten (UOG 1993, resp. „Universitäts-Organisationsgesetz 1993") ... laws concerning the organization of universities

7. Universitätsgesetz 2002. This law installed the former Medizinische Fakultäten in Wien, Graz and Innsbruck as independent Medizinische Universitäten.

8. So there exist universities with 18 faculties and others with 7 etc.

sities have to act in accordance with the rules of the Austrian Code of Commerce and can go bankrupt. Therefore since 1999 professors are not appointed by the president of State; now they are mere employees of the university on the basis of a treaty with the rector, and very often for limited time (in some cases only 2, very often 5 years, others unlimited) – so many of them will not really identify with the university, but will look and try to qualify for a better unlimited engagement at another university. On the other hand there still exists a large staff of assistants with unlimited agreements with rather fine salaries from the period before 2002 (sometimes higher than the salaries of new professors).

But in one crucial point the Austrian universities are not free – even not in the period since 2002: they have no permission to choose resp. select their students under the aspect of quality as the lower ranked "universities of applied sciences" can do; the consequence is: at the one side the number of students increased immensely during the last decades, whereas at the other side the level of erudition of the graduates at the secondary school level is going down – so we have a mass of students, who are not able to read and understand a demanding text[9]. Only in a few fields like medicine and some discipline, which need labs, the number of students is controlled by entrance examinations, which has been caused by the fact, that Austria gets a lot of students, who failed the entrance examinations at German universities[10]. Fact is now, that Austria today in relation to the number of its inhabitants has more than twice the percentage of

9. In 2016 it was officially published, that 73 % of the pupils of the Austrian elementary schools suffer from a serious lack of commanding writing and reading their German mother tongue; and there is still a high percentage of student graduates from the gymnasium, enrolling at the universities, who suffer from such problems, as everyone knows who is holding oral or written exams. This can easily be documented.

10. 30 to more than 50 % of the candidates of entrance examinations in medicine are students from Germany. This is the consequence of a law of the European Union, that foreigners from the EU have to be treated equal to Austrians; as long as the Austrian government refuses to introduce tuition fees for Austrians, students from Germany or elsewhere in the EU have not to pay any tuition fee in Austria.

students enrolled at universities than it is the case in Bavaria[11]. This is bad enough, but on top of that there exist organizations in some universities, which stipulate that the budget of a curriculum is to be determined by the number of students passing exams, what causes that the number of non-passing students in exams are to be avoided on behalf of saving the budget (and therefore the non-passing goes to zero). All that means a waste of the money, which would be necessary for excellent students.

And there are other problems too: in a higher degree than before the reforms of 1993 and 2002 the quality of Austrian universities depends on the experience and knowledge of the whole system of science and of an university of only a small number of decision makers, specialized certainly in their own specific field but without solid knowledge concerning the development of science at all. The second part of decision making process before the reforms got lost by the reforms: the often maligned experienced officers of the ministry, comparing the universities, looking for balance of the different fields of science, in some way familiar with the history of the development. The rectorates in fact together with a compliant senate are omnipotent, the boards often are ineffective and, if not, primarily interested in the economical standing of the university and without

11. The Advisory Board for Research and Technology at the end of 2015 has presented his "Ratsempfehlung [...] zur Finanzierung von Universitäten und öffentlicher Forschung und Entwicklung in Österreich im Bundesfinanzrahmen 2017 bis 2020, Kapitel Wissenschaft und Forschung" - recommendations to the Austrian Government concerning the funding of universities and scientific research in the years 2017–2020. This advice lead to an increase of funding, which is based by statistic arguments: there are 350.000 students in Austria (13,1 % of them in "Fachhochschulen" = FHS), 234.000 in Switzerland (38,4 % in FHS) and 360.000 in Bavaria (33,9 % in FHS); this means that in Austria the number of students at universities in relation to the inhabitants approximately is twice as high as the numbers in Switzerland and Bavaria; Austria spends 3,8 Mrd € for the universities (12.619 per student), Switzerland 7,2 Mrd € (50.152) and Bavaria 6,3 Mrd € (26.051). The very simple conclusion of the board is to raise the budget for the universities in Austria, not to lower the number of students by the way of quality controls (which would unmask the statistics of unemployment, in which graduated people are not unemployed, when they work as taxi-drivers.)

sufficient specific knowledge[12]. So, in the system there is a lack of experience and, as it is in political life, a lot of work is done under the aspect of re-election for another period. If there does not exist a culture of information and free discussion, it is an absolutistic system as in the 18th century style or in some periods in the 20th century.

There is also, as mentioned before, a lack of corporate identity, which could work as an instrument of discussion and, in some way, as a quality assurance. The situation on behalf of identification in Austria never has been comparable with the US-American universities, when in Austria universities always exclusively have been funded by the state; donors, who supported science, gave their money to the Academy of Science in Vienna (or to fine arts), not to the universities. As shown above the lack of identification inside the universities increased since 2002. The enormous dimension of specialization and the incredible increasing of today's communication inside the specific scientific communities are working against local institutional identification and the connections inside the universities become less important than the global network in the specific field of research interest. It seems that the universities become resolved in favor of communities of research subjects, of organizations beyond universities as shown above.

A look to the past

When in Austria there was a pyramidal structure with Vienna at the top and the other universities in different ranks below, the „elite university" always had to be Vienna. But the reality after 1848 was, that under the influence of the emphatic young scientists from Germany appointed to chairs of Austrian Universities in 1848 and also of eager and well-educated students coming from the also reformed Austrian gymnasium in short time the whole system of Austrian universities got a new quality[13] and within two, three decades many

12. It is an interesting fact, that the law provides, that the members of the boards have to fix the amount of their own salaries as members of the board...

13. It is not the place here, to explain the important preparing effect of the pre-March-era, which was an important stimulus.

FIGURE 3: The campus of the Karl-Franzens-University Graz – the picture dates from ca. 1960 and shows the campus as it has been set up in the time between 1870 and 1905 in its original status: the eldest building (anatomy and physiology) can be seen in the middle directly in front in a small park), then physics (1876, in front left side) and chemistry (1879, at the right side) between the main building (1895); in the background at left the building for theoretical medicine disciplines and at right the building for natural sciences (inside the faculty of philosophy). The buildings for physics and for chemistry at the time of the their construction were worldwide famous – physics partially was built without iron in behalf of special experiments, first professor working there was Ludwig Boltzmann. – Today this campus is still the nucleus of the enlarged university. The clinics of both universities were and are outside; in Graz a new large hospital area with a lot of buildings was opened in 1912. Archive of the Karl-Franzens-University of Graz.

disciplines reached eye level to those of at German universities. This happened mainly, but not only in the core sciences (e.g. Ludwig Boltzmann)

The future?

In some way the present development in Austria remembers to the situation in the years after 1848, when outside the university of Vienna, but in personal connection with corresponding institutes at

the university, special institutions and schools were founded - in physics, history, meteorology, geology - which quickly developed to important scientific centers[14] and achieved high scientific importance and then by the time passed away[15]. In the late 1990ies and specially after 2002 institutions have been created as so called centers of excellence above the level of universities and also "universities for applied sciences" in a lower level, but with much better conditions than the universities[16]; the first ones as institutions of high level research in higher ranked addition to the classical universities, the seconds as centers of applied sciences research and work in addition to the technical universities. So changes are going on and the classical universities in some way seem to lose their former dominant role; but even when it seems that in such a process of transformation the universities will be overarched in some fields by new higher ranked and specially in research more qualified institutions, it is to be expected that these structures by means of the factor of teaching (when students of the normally at the university enrolled

14. These institutions originally were not scientifically oriented but installed for practical applications (meteorology and geology) or simply as „schools" for the education of high qualified teachers in the reformed gymnasia (physics and Austrian history); they very soon changed into effective research institutions in core sciences and even in humanities - e.g. the Central Institute for Geology in 1849, for Meteorology in 1851, as „schools" the Physikalische Institut 1849-1890 (Stefan, Mach, Boltzmann etc.; continued 1910 by the famous Radium Institute inside the Academy of Science) and the Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung (1854-2016), both in legal terms outside, but in terms of teaching in some way situated inside the University of Vienna. These institutions proved very effective for the scientific progress on an excellent international level at the end of the 19th century and up to 1938. So the high excellency given in that time, was not so much an excellency of the University of Vienna itself, but of a cluster of external scientific institutions in personnel connection with the University and of their output in human resources also for the other Austrian universities.

15. Therefore the high excellence given in that time, was not so much an excellency of and at the University of Vienna itself, but by a cluster of external scientific institutions in personnel connection with the university. In consequence they had a significant impact on all the universities in Austria not only in their special disciplines by means of their personnel output, but also as a rolemodel.

16. They can decide on the number and the qualification of students and have rather high budgets.

students will accepted as participants in the lectures at the special institutions) later on will be incorporated in universities, while other external structures will be created and so on. This in practice will result in a basic system of scientific teaching and research at the one side and on the other side of alternately temporary elements of excellence in specific fields of research and teaching.

In the situation we just outlined we can see a quite similar situation as in 1848, but a main different and very important factor in accordance with „elitist universities in Austria" today we have not yet mentioned: we are missing the enormous catalyzing enthusiasm of that revolutionary period around 1848 - on the contrary in the last decades under the pressure of specialization and in connection with the modern electronic devices we have lost a lot of basic knowledge and of education in general as the necessary fundament of specialization, which was so significant even for the natural scientists in the 19th and 20th century[17]. In general we miss some eagerness and punch in activities, in the sense of self-discipline, there is a kind of idleness, in some way indifference[18].

But, maybe, that this all are only wrong impressions of an old man dreaming about an ideal picture of the university and the past...

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Die Baumeister des künftigen Glücks. Fragment einer neueren Geschichte

17. One of the most important German newspapers in the last months has published a series of articles concerning the lack of erudition of students in Germany, e.g. http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article154187052/Die-erschreckenden-Bildungsdefizite-junger-Deutscher.html.

18. Young people, unemployed, because having lost their job, answer to the question, why they lost the job: I do not like to get up in the morning. When companies are looking for apprentices, they find that they may work with 5 %; 95 % are to be categorized as unable. Certainly, these are not students, but it gives an impression of the current situation. At the universities there are scarcely activities on Saturday, only few on Monday morning or on Friday afternoon.

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CHAPTER 2

Which elite? Whose university? Britain's civic university tradition and the importance of place

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Abstract

By any accepted measure, Britain's universities have been the universities of an elite. But Britain did not have one elite; nor a single university system. In this essay, I attempt to go beyond a narrow focus on Oxford and Cambridge and to examine how the civic – or 'redbrick' – universities operated. They were, I argue, the product of a particular sort of social elite: the urban middle class of mid- to late-nineteenth century Britain. They thus reflect the fact of a divided social elite in Britain. Whilst Oxford and Cambridge were for the aristocracy, the Anglican, and the landed; the universities of the great industrial cities were intended to cater to a very different constituency. But – and this is worth stressing – it was an elite constituency nonetheless. For our purposes, this draws attention to the need for historians to recognize the existence of multiple, competing elites; and to explore what impact this has on their universities. Secondly, and still more importantly, these civic foundations foreground a theme all too often ignored in the history of universities: the importance of place. The story I set out is about geography just as much as it is history: about elites concentrated in and controlling different parts of the country and different cities, and producing different sorts of institution as a result.

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Key words: University, Britain, Elite, Geography, Place, Students, Oxbridge, Redbrick.

By any accepted measure, Britain's universities have been the universities of an elite.[1] In the nineteenth century, somewhat fewer than one per cent of the eligible age group attended university. Thereafter, it's true, there was expansion of provision – but it was slow and fitful, and comparatively limited, rising to three per cent in 1950, four per cent by 1960, and eight per cent by 1970. It was not until the 1980s that Britain really entered the age of mass higher education (Halsey 2000). Moreover, throughout the period I shall focus on for the majority of this essay– between 1850 and 1980, say – the mission of Britain's universities was almost always articulated in terms of unabashed elitism. Both those who urged expansion and those who feared it; those who defended the universities and those who attacked them, all did so on the assumption that they existed to train a specially-selected elite: the 'leaders of tomorrow', as it was so often put (Anderson 1992).

In international terms, of course, this does not make Britain look very unusual. Its participation rates in 1900 bear comparison with those of other European countries, and even in 1950 it broadly matched Germany. If the expansion that followed was not as great as some – and certainly did not equal America's, which reached a participation rate of 35 per cent by 1970 – then nor was it wildly out of line with that of France, for instance (Halsey 2010; Ringer 2004; Thelin 2011). As this conference so amply demonstrated, the notion of a university system run by and for elites is hardly specific to Britain in the modern age.

Nonetheless, it is worth remarking that British historians and – still more – British sociologists, educationalists, politicians and policy-makers have been peculiarly obsessed with what they have seen as the peculiarities of British universities, what we might call a sort of higher-education *Sonderweg*. Since the 1960s in fact (if not before), there has been a broad consensus that Britain's universities have

1. The best single-volume introduction to this is Anderson 2000.

been too exclusive, too removed from the realities of life, too much the creatures of an elite. This has had historiographical effects; but it has also helped to shape policy. The massive increase in student numbers from the 1980s onwards; the erosion of any distinction between universities and technical colleges or polytechnics; simultaneous attacks on university autonomy and attempts to create a dynamic market in higher education: all these recent and on-going developments owe much this myth about British university exceptionalism (Whyte 2015).

Historians of the right, like Martin Wiener, have argued that the universities perpetuated an aristocratic ethos which was profoundly at odds with the modern world – and especially with the modern, industrial and commercial world (Weiner 1981). Historians of the left, like Corelli Barnett, have similarly argued that British universities failed to match the innovation, inclusivity, or dynamism of their continental counterparts (Barnett 1985). That both Weiner and Barnett were acknowledged influences on government ministers in the 1980s and 1990s makes sense: they were arguing for an established consensus; a widely-held belief that Britain's universities were not only peculiarly elitist, but peculiarly backward-looking, unable to escape the influence of aristocratic Oxbridge (Annan 1982; Rustin 1986).

There are many ways to challenge this consensus. We might, for instance, point to the European comparisons I have already made, which show a somewhat different story, one that makes Britain more like its neighbours than its critics suppose. We might also point out that higher education is not confined to universities alone, and note that, from the late-nineteenth-century onwards, the most tremendous growth in tertiary teaching and learning took place in technical colleges (Argles 1964). By 1967, for instance, there were about 200,000 university students and another 179,000 at a bewildering range of different sorts of non-university institution (Halsey 2000, 225, 231). The history of these technical colleges and vocational training centres has barely been written – though most are now in fact universities themselves, and although, in their early years at any rate, they offer a very different, non-elite story of higher education to the one that is usually told (Pratt 1992).

In this paper, however, I want to stay with the elites and with the

universities, but to look at a very different range of universities from the ones that have usually been studied. The writings of Weiner, Barnett and the others; the views of politicians, journalists, and other commentators; even the research of sociologists and educationalists: these have tended, disproportionately, to focus on England's two ancient universities – Oxford and Cambridge. For Scotland, of course, we have the work of Robert Anderson, which has called into question a series of lazy assumptions and hazy myths about higher education north of the border (Anderson 1983). But in England and Wales, the institutions which by 1900 provided university education for the majority of students remain quite remarkably under-studied.[2] Looking at these civic universities, I would argue, provides an alternative history of British higher education whilst also helping us to consider what it is we mean by elite universities and what we might mean by the term "elite" itself. It suggests that critics have been right to see the British system as elitist; but they have been wrong – because too simplistic – in their characterization of both the British elite and the British university system.

Finding Redbrick

My paper grows out of a decade-long research project on the civic universities, funded in part by the Leverhulme Trust. In the book that resulted, I traced the history of Britain's civic universities from the 1780s until the present day (Whyte 2015). These "Redbrick" universities, as they were called, have been neglected by historians. Indeed, mine is the first full-scale study for 60 years. Yet as I have sought to show, these foundations – in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and elsewhere – formed an important aspect of Britain's higher education; an alternative model from that of the two ancient English universities: arguably the model to which all Britain's universities have come to cleave in the present day. In a sense, I suggest, all the 132 universities, all the 2.3 million students currently studying in England and the numerous students and institutions in

2. Key introductions to this theme include Jones 1988, Sanderson 1988, Shattock 2002.

FIGURE 1: Redbrick University: Liverpool.

Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, share a similar experience of the university: one shaped above all else not by Oxbridge but by Redbrick.

This would have seemed unlikely in 1850, of course. Then, Oxford and Cambridge were truly dominant. In simple numerical terms, they educated almost all the university students in England (Brock and Curthoys 1997; Searby 1997). The recently-founded University of Durham was all-but moribund; the federal university of London, another establishment of the 1830s, was struggling to graduate more than a few dozen students each year (Andrews 2016; Willson 1995). In Scotland, there were, it is true, no fewer than five older, larger, more inclusive institutions; but, as Robert Anderson has shown us, they too were being reformed in the image of Oxbridge, as Scots commentators feared that their graduates could not compete with students from the south (Anderson 1983).

By 1980, by contrast, the civic universities were in many respects dominant: they were the largest part of the university sector, with the most students, the most staff, and – collectively – the most income. Although, as we shall see, new universities had been founded in the 1960s, the old civic powerhouses in the great industrial cities had borne the brunt of expansion: Leeds grew from just over 3,000 to just under 10,000 students in the decade from 1963 to 1973 (Gosden 1975). Manchester went from around 5,000 to almost 15,000 at exactly the same time, becoming known as the 'empire on which the concrete never set', as it built big to respond to change (Pulland and Abendstern 2000, 265). Even Oxbridge was reshaped in the image of the civics, as the historian Denis Mack Smith observed: "During the last twenty years", he wrote, in 1953, "the older universities have both of them moved far towards Redbrick, a direction symbolised by unexciting and efficient laboratory architecture" (Mack Smith 1953, 54.).

The decades after 1980 would see the Redbrick model predominate further, as the other part of the higher education sector – the Polytechnics established in the 1960s – were transformed into civic universities themselves (Shattock 2012). Their models in this were the old Redbrick foundations, not even older Oxbridge. Thus, for instance, at the University of Staffordshire, one of the first wave of

new universities in 1992, the question being asked was one familiar to the historian of Redbrick, because it was exactly the same one that had been asked for more than a century: 'What is a civic university – and how can we be it?'.[3]

This is a tremendous historical change – a change, I should emphasize again, that has been bafflingly and almost wholly ignored by the majority of writers who continue to be obsessed by Oxbridge. But it is a change that conceals important continuities. One of those continuities is the fact that transformation of Britain's university system was driven by institutions which owed a common debt to their nineteenth-century heritage. These remained civic universities even when part of an expanding national system. The second continuity was the issue with which I began this presentation: the composition of the study body.

It's not simply that these students were an elite – whether at Oxbridge or Redbrick – in comparison with the vast, overwhelming majority of their age cohort, be it the 99 per cent excluded from university in the 1850s and 60s, or the 92 per cent excluded in the 1960s and 70s. No: there was another, even more important, sense in which these universities were elitist; the fact that the social origin of their students remained exclusive.

This was obviously true of Oxbridge, with its links – some of them institutional – with the upper classes, the aristocracy, and the public schools. It's worth remembering, after all, that King's College Cambridge was founded to educate Etonians, whilst Winchester was a feeder school for New College, Oxford. Until the reforms of the 1850s, too, all scholars of my own college, St John's in Oxford, were directly appointed by their own school – Merchant Taylors in London, without the college having even the power of veto, much less the final choice; and it was only scholars, of course, who could become fellows (Brockliss 2016; Leedham-Green 1996).

What's more remarkable, however, is that even as it expanded, even as it transformed Britain's higher education, Redbrick too remained socially exclusive. Indeed, up until 1980 – when changes in British secondary education began to have a countervailing effect,

3. Interview with Paul Richards (deputy-vice-chancellor) 21 December 2010.

at least on the two ancient universities – the trends suggest that whilst Oxford became home to an ever-broader social constituency, the civic universities continued to cater much the same sorts of people. Data on this are hard to come by, but student financial support figures do give something an approximate figure. It's notable, therefore, that the end of the 1920s, for example, 53 per cent of civic university students were in receipt of some sort of financial aid, compared to 38 per cent at Oxford and Cambridge. By the mid-1930s, however, the figures were 46 per cent at Redbrick and 43 per cent at the ancient universities (Whyte, 2015). They appear to have continued to diverge thereafter. Indeed, by the 1960s, one of the leading civic institutions – Birmingham – was, in the words of its historians, faced by a student body which was 'the most select in the University's history' (Schwartz 2000, 385).

Explaining elitism

How do we account for this elitism? What explains this story of remarkable change and yet striking continuity? The answer, I would argue, is that continuity and change are in this case linked – indeed, they're causally connected. This is important for historians of British higher education, and – I should like to argue, for British historians more generally, especially those who (like me) want to challenge the existing assumptions about Britain's higher education failings. But, for our purposes, as part of this project, such a story tells us something useful about elites, about universities, and – above all – about elite universities. In particular – and this is what I will focus on for the remainder of this essay – it raises central, definitional, questions: firstly, the nature of elites; and secondly, the place of these elites and their universities. I shall take each in turn.

In the first place, it's worth remarking that the civic universities were the product of a particular sort of social elite: the urban middle class of mid- to late-nineteenth century Britain. Far more homogenous than the bourgeoisie of earlier decades, less riven by the divisions of politics and faith that motivated the creation of two rival London colleges (one Whig and secular, in UCL; one Tory and Anglican in King's), the middle class dominated the towns and cit-

ies of Victorian Britain – and created institutions which reflected their values and their power.[4] Universities were just a part of this, and relatively small part at that. Indeed, whole cities were rebuilt in the years after 1850 as the broad streets and squares, town halls and municipal libraries, museums, art galleries and the rest still testify.

A good case study of this process at work can be found in Bristol in the decade after 1865. Here, as the urban historian Helen Meller has shown, was an 'urban renaissance'; one driven by an ambitious, upwardly-mobile, bourgeois social elite – an elite which had seized control of municipal life. The result was not just a very different sort of politics, but also a very different sort of town, as Bristol gained new galleries, concert halls, museums, and public spaces: all of them built by and for the bourgeoisie. Amidst all this building, Meller concludes that the founding of Bristol University College marked a climax of the "cultural renaissance" (Mellor 1976, 62).

The same was true, as Simon Gunn has noted, of Manchester, where the future university – Owens College – became a permanent feature on tours for visiting dignitaries: a symbol of the city's culture and of the class that had built it (Gunn 2000, 231). Indeed, this was a pattern found all across England, Wales, and even in Scotland, where the establishment of the University of Dundee served a similar purpose (Southgate 1982). And if course, this was not simply a symbol: it was also an important way of educating the children of these civic elites for future leadership. "It is necessary", wrote the historian Goldwin Smith in 1878, "that the chiefs of English industry should have culture" (Smith 1878, 89). Universities were the result. And, to return to Bristol, what is striking is quite how open these elites were in defending the elitism of the institutions they had established. 'It is for us, the middle class ... to resolve that we will, instead of falling into the back rank, maintain our position of influence in the country,' argued the Liberal MP Samuel Morley at a meeting held to create the University of Bristol. 'This we can only do by promoting the culture and intellectual advancement of our sons and daughters' (*Report* 1874, 41).

4. On the division in London, see Thompson 1990; on the middle classes in nineteenth-century urban Britain, see Morris 2000 and Trainor 2000.

FIGURE 2: Civic University: Birmingham.

Thus – to return to return to the theme of the conference and this volume – we can see that the civic universities founded in the nineteenth century reflect the fact of a divided social elite in Britain. Whilst Oxford and Cambridge were for the aristocracy, the Anglican, and the landed; the universities of the great industrial cities were intended to cater to a very different constituency. But – and this is worth stressing – it was an elite constituency nonetheless. As W. D. Rubenstein has shown, Britain's very wealthiest in the nineteenth century were sharply divided: on the one hand, there was an Anglican elite, based in the south and drawing its resources first from land and then from finance. This was the Oxbridge elite. But there was another elite too: every bit as a wealthy and every bit as socially superior; an elite based in the north and in the midlands; an elite which drew its resources from manufacturing and commerce (Rubinstein 1977).

This helps to explain the paradox once noted by Sheldon Rothblatt, the peculiar fact that in the nineteenth century, Britain had 'two cultural and intellectual centres': one based in London and Oxbridge, but the other to the north (Rothblatt 2006, 138). It also helps to explain why the civic universities were much more than the

cheap imitations of Oxbridge that their critics like Martin Wiener have wrongly described them as being. For our purposes, it draws attention to the need for historians to recognize the existence of multiple, competing elites; and to explore what impact this has on their universities.

Secondly, though, and still more importantly, these civic foundations foreground a theme all too often ignored in the history of universities: the importance of place. The story I've been telling is of course about geography just as much as it is history: about elites concentrated in and controlling different parts of the country and different cities, and producing different sorts of institution as a result. But universities are themselves places – indeed, as the writer Christopher Driver once put it, 'Universities are, before anything else, places: populated packages of bricks and concrete and Gothic mouldings and flowering shrubs, set down in a particular park, suburb, or city, at the bidding of a particular civilisation, to grow up in their own way' (Driver 1971, 33). That insight has been enormously important to me in my recent research – it lies at the heart of my last book, and informs my next project on the material history of universities – and it is important here and now too.[5]

For these universities – these places – were not just built by a particular elite, they were built in the image of that elite: mirroring the houses, the other public buildings, and expressing the particular aesthetic of the elite who constructed them. This is why they became synonymous with a particular style of architecture – why they became known as "Redbrick" universities. So it was that Alfred Waterhouse – the great civic architect of Manchester – was responsible for the universities of Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds. Waterhouse was, as they noted at the time, 'a gentleman already well known in Manchester for the ingenuity and convenience of his plans and the elegance of his designs' (Manchester University Archives 1868/9, 112). He was thoroughly trusted by the elite who were already using him to rebuild the city, constructing town-halls, townhouses, court-houses, and other monuments of civic life (Cunning-

5. The forthcoming book is The University: a material history, for Harvard University Press.

ham and Waterhouse 1992). The university, in that sense, was just another monument to the triumph of a particular local elite.

This architecture was deliberately different from that used by London or neo-Renaissance Oxbridge. The former had embraced neo-classical styles from the start, with University College London, in particular, seeking to evoke 'a palace for genius ... where future Ciceros should record their influence of that incitement which Tully declares he felt at Athens, when he contemplated the porticoes where Socrates sat' (F. A. Cox, quoted in Bellot 1929: 48). At the two ancient universities, by contrast, the later nineteenth century was characterized by a Renaissance revival, a deliberate attempt to escape Gothic forms (Whyte, 2006). The self-conscious adoption of an eclectic Gothic style; the embrace of red brick, terracotta, and faience; the traceried windows and ornamented door-surrounds: all this was intended to be utterly distinct. That they became known as "Redbrick" universities was, in that respect, both apposite and a recognition of just how distinctive their architecture actually was (Whyte, 2006b).

And this architecture was not just intended to mark these out as a very particular sort of university, the product of a special sort of local patriotism (Whyte, 2011). It was also designed to exclude locals who were not part of the elite. In his work of memoir, *The Classic Slum*, for instance, Robert Roberts recalled his uncle, an impoverished wheelwright, going to visit the newly-founded Salford Technical Institute – now the University of Salford – in the 1890s. Looking at the tall, imposing, red-brick and terracotta building, he was clear. This "wasn't for people like me" (Roberts, 1971). And he was right: that was indeed, the impression it sought to convey. Take the University of Cardiff, for example. Here was a building – an institution, a place – defined by exclusion, for as the architect put it, the building was intended to be a place "from which the public can at will be wholly excluded, save for a narrow peep through iron screens just to whet the appetites" (Caroë 1909-10, 23-4).

These origins – in a particular sort of elite and in a particular sort of place – help explain why it was that the civic universities remained middle-class institutions. They were the product of a distinct set of circumstances, elite universities for a particular elite. And they created institutions which functioned as – and were seen as – welcom-

ing for only a very small section of the community. That helps to explain the continuities, not least in the social origins of the students which attended them.

The legacy of Redbrick

The patterns which characterized the nineteenth century continued long into the twentieth century, with working-class students always a minority and often regarded as problematic as a result. One response was the establishment of residential accommodation – the halls of resident which became such a familiar and important part of civic university life. Not least of their attractions was the belief that residence would socialize – and civilize – their inhabitants, inculcating bourgeois values (Whyte, 2013). Offering corporate life and collegiate discipline, combined with the material conditions of middle-class existence, these halls were intended to turn the impoverished into elite. In this context, even the soft furnishings could be thought of as instruments of social transformation, for, as the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals declared in 1948, "thick pile carpets have a remarkably civilising effect on students" (CVCP 1948, 46). In that way, even new developments – like the halls – can be understood as the outworking of older ideas, not least ideas about the values and virtues of an educated elite.

In many respects, this continues to be the case; indeed, as British higher education has expanded, so it has come to reproduce the Redbrick model (Whyte 2015). The creation of nearly twenty universities in 1960s (Beloff 1968; Burgess and Pratt 1970); the conversion of scores of former polytechnics, teacher-training and technical colleges in the 1990s (Scott 1995): each development – no matter how apparently dramatic – simply served to confirm the importance of the Redbrick university model, not least its architectural example. Both waves of expansion involved building; and both waves of new universities thus came to build exactly the sorts of monumental structures that had characterized the Redbrick tradition. The styles may have varied; but the ambition and the intention did not. "The polytechnics come to the new sector with a range of immediate handicaps", wrote one commentator in 1992. "Most do not *look* like

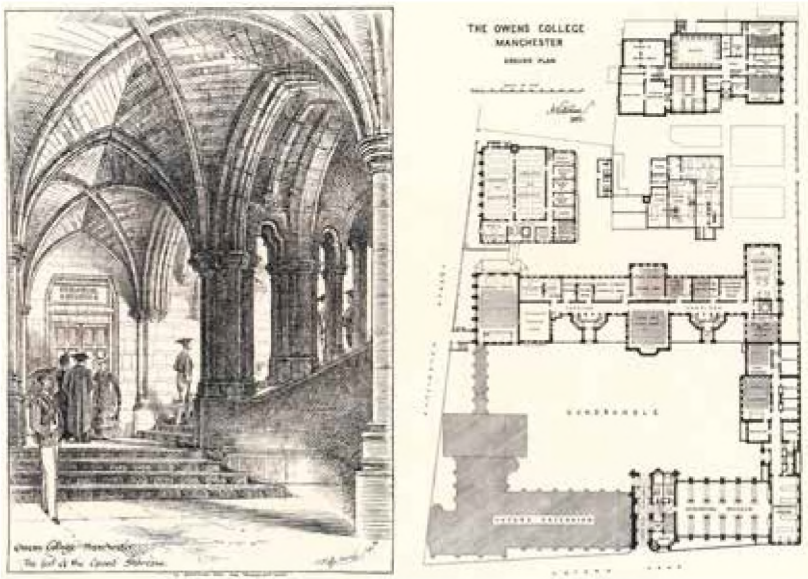

FIGURE 3: Gothic University: Manchester.

universities; environmentally many remain a quantum leap from a university campus culture" (Price 1992, 247). Small wonder the creation of new universities resulted in a slew of masterplans and expensive edifices; small wonder, too, that between 1990 and 1995 British higher education spent no less than £1 billion on student residences alone (Blakey 1994, 77).

This surprisingly stable sense of place has been matched by a remarkably stable student body. For despite the rhetoric about equality and access to university, it must be said that the expansion in provision has not been accompanied by social transformation (Mandler, 2015). Rather, as other, younger institutions have increasingly come to imitate older foundations, so the bourgeois inspiration which animated the Redbricks has become near universal, creating what one commentator – the well-placed journalist-turned-vice chancellor Peter Scott – has termed "a middle-class mass system" (Scott 2005, 73). Each expansion, indeed, has simply served to increase the percentage of middle class children who move on to higher education without significantly advancing the prospects of those

lower down the social spectrum (Boliver 2011). There are many reasons for this - not least the fact that educational inequality reflects widening social inequality (Choudry et. al 2010; Reay et. al 2009). But the fact that British universities - even the newest of the new universities - remain wedded to and modelled after the Redbrick tradition has also proved off-putting for many.

The strength of this tradition has left a higher education landscape that is deeply unappealing to precisely those people who need most encouragement to apply to university, as recent research has shown. "What's a person like me going to do at a place like that?" asked one typical student on a visit to King's College, London (Reay et al. 2011: 864). Similar emotions were expressed by another aspirant undergraduate visiting the dauntingly neo-classical UCL and the shiny new LSE: "wonderful but just very off-putting", she observed; "they are both very rich universities, not really my sort of places" (Reay 2003: 308). That the imposing campuses of Redbrick and its imitators have never felt like the sort of places that are open to everyone tells us much about them, much about the impact of place, and much about elites in modern Britain.

Conclusion

What I have argued in this paper is that the civic universities of Britain were not just imitations of Oxbridge. Indeed, they owe their origins and development to a very different sort of environment. They cannot be explained, indeed, without reference to a very different elite: the (predominantly) northern, non-conformist, middle-class elite who dominated civic life in the late nineteenth century and built universities to reflect - and to perpetuate - this dominance. The model they developed has, however surprisingly, survived the expansion of higher education which characterized the later twentieth century, reproducing institutions - places - which share a family resemblance. They are, as a result, elitist; even if the elite they sustain is bourgeois instead of aristocratic. Such a conclusion raises questions about the idea of "an elite"; it suggests we much always be attentive to the multiple elites which modern societies create. It also draws attention to the geographies of elitism, be they national, local,

or very highly localized. Universities are places before anything else: places which exclude as well as include; places which articulate ideas and identities; places which have a life of their own.

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SCI.DAN.H. 8 · 15 · THE ELITE UNIVERSITY – ROLES AND MODELS
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CHAPTER 3

Universities in the Netherlands

Leen Dorsman

Abstract

At the beginning of the nineteenth century universities in the Netherlands were meant to "prepare for a position in the learned class". In the legislation of the newly constructed kingdom in 1815 almost nothing was to be found on the training of scientists: higher education mostly aimed at class reproduction. If we speak of Dutch universities as elite institutions it is only in this way: they served a social elite. In this contribution the development of the Dutch universities during the nineteenth century is explored. The conclusion is that in the first half of the century there was much dissatisfaction about the functioning of the universities. This is visible on three levels: in the public image students were seen as lazy and violent, the professors as incompetent and greedy and the state as unwilling or unable to act. It is only after the constitution of 1848 that politicians started to discuss a new higher education law. For internal political reasons it lasted until 1876 before this new law was implemented. In this law the definition of higher education read: "Higher education includes training and preparation to autonomous practicing of the sciences...". This resulted in a system of admission rules and although the university for some time was still the place for the social elite to send their children to, there was also a tendency in the direction of a more meritocratic university, which in a certain way may be called 'elitist'.

Key Words: Universities – Netherlands – Elites – Nineteenth Century – Professors – Students

"To prepare for a position in the learned class" (Elite?) universities and public dissatisfaction in the Netherlands in the 19th century

In 1845 a book trader in The Hague published a pamphlet, titled *Something about our Higher Education*. The anonymous author compared Dutch higher education to an ulcer that had to be cauterized by a heavy fire. The author was probably a student, because he had much inside knowledge, especially about the University of Leiden and its Faculty of Theology. Professors were appointed for life, young teaching staff was banned because they constituted a competitive threat. Old Testament studies were neglected and hermeneutics were not taught at Leiden university.[1] Everywhere in Europe in those tumultuous years, the anonymous author exclaimed, science was the only rock-solid phenomenon on which people could count. But not in the Netherlands.

One might think this was a complaint from a failing student who was trying to get even with his university. This seemed not the case. At the end of his diatribe he shifted his focus to the Dutch university system at large and accused it of indifference, of demoralizing students and of wasting public money. The image of the university was at a very low ebb: "Society does not see the pupils from our academies as youthful advocates of truth and virtue, but as frivolous squanderers seeking to ruin body and soul at the same time".[2] And this student from Leiden was not the only one who in those years was criticising the university and its inhabitants the professors and the students.

In the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth century there is no such thing as an 'elite-university'. In the nineteenth century there was actually a dichotomy, originating from the early modern period between a university and a so-called Athenaeum Illustre or Illustrious School. In fact, those Illustrious Schools were universities without the right to graduate students: for that they had to go to a regular university. Four of them survived the Napoleonic age:

1. Iets over ons Hooger Onderwijs (Den Haag 1845).
2. Iets over ons Hooger Onderwijs, p. 25.

Franeker (one of the oldest universities of the Netherlands: 1585, but 'degraded' in 1815), Harderwijk (also a university during the *ancien régime*, and also degraded in 1815), Deventer and Amsterdam. Franeker, Harderwijk and Deventer did not survive the first half of the nineteenth century. The Amsterdam Athenaeum became a regular university in 1877, subject to the same law as the other universities, but financed by the city council. In a certain way therefore one might argue that there were elite universities in the Netherlands, but on the other hand there is also an argument to see those universities as the regular, "normal" universities.

There is another way to look at this question whether there were elite universities in the Netherlands or not. Essentially there were no big differences between the Dutch universities. It is true that there was one university that was considered different from the others: Leiden university for a long time had a special status. It was the oldest university (est. 1575) and closely linked to the rich and successful province of Holland and the house of Orange-Nassau, stadtholders during the *ancien régime* and elevated to monarchs in the nineteenth century. Leiden was the *primus inter pares* and was treated as such in the Royal Decree of 1815 (better known as the *Organiek Besluit)* that regulated higher education in the Netherlands. But giving Leiden the leading position by granting it more professors and some other privileges does not make it an elite university. Only in a certain way Leiden university can be seen as a university of that kind because the ruling elite of the Netherlands inclined to send their sons to Leiden. The other two Dutch universities of the nineteenth century until 1877, Utrecht and Groningen, had different areas of recruitment. Groningen was for the greater part the university for the northern provinces. Utrecht was a mixture of a university were students from non-elite classes were slightly dominant, because of the strong (orthodox) faculty of theology, but also the place for students from the landed aristocracy (Wingelaar 1989, Van Berkel 2014).

The first article of the Royal Decree mentioned above stated in its opening paragraph that "Under the name of Higher Education we understand such education that aims to prepare students after their primary and secondary education to a position in the learned

FIGURE 1: *Gradus academici* or *gradus ad parnassum*, depicting Leiden University. Litho by J.J. Mesker after V.J. de Stuers, 19th century (Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken).

classes of society".[3] In other words, higher education (i.e. universities) was meant for social reproduction and only a few newcomers (mostly by the way of the study of theology) had a chance to enter this system (Schalk 2016). So, there is an argument to see Dutch universities of the nineteenth century as elite institutions, not intellectually as the French *Grandes Écoles*, but socially. There are different ways to look at this. One way is to construct big prosopographical databases of students in which their social background is connected with their later career in society. But because the question if an institution is socially 'elitist' is also in the eye of the beholder, this contribution is about the image of universities in Dutch society in the first half of the nineteenth century. The question is if universities are perceived as elite institutions by society in a broader sense. And if so, how did the general public look at them: did they live up to their assumed status? To study this phenomenon from the angle of public aversion to the elitist character of the university I will look at three constituent bodies of the university: the students, the profes-

3. The exact term is: "geleerde stand".

sors and the state. Important is public opinion as expressed in newspapers, magazines and pamphlets on students. The university was a popular theme in newspapers in the period between 1830 and 1850. In the digital database of newspapers of the Dutch Royal Library the word university gives 4,300 hits, universities more than 900 and "Hoogeschool", which is a nineteenth century equivalent term for university, more than 11.000 hits.

Students

For the Low Countries the shift from the *ancien régime* to the post-Napoleonic world meant an enormous transformation. The Dutch Republic in the North became a kingdom and the Southern part, formerly belonging to the Austrian empire, became incorporated in the new Kingdom of the Netherlands under the Orange-Nassau dynasty. For higher education it meant that it became part of the new centralized system which was governed mostly from the Hague and partly from Brussels. It meant also that there came an end to the relative autonomy of the universities. There were also less institutions of higher education than in the ancien regime. As already indicated above, three universities were left in the North: Leiden, Groningen and Utrecht. In the South the University of Leuven was reopened in 1816 and in 1817 the universities of Ghent and Liège were established. The not so happy years of the union of North and South ended with the Belgian revolution in 1830 and one of the grievances in the South was about universities. Controversy rose, among other things, about the question how much influence the professors would have in the system as opposed to more restrictive ideas about their position by the government. Also the prescribed language (Latin) was part of the conflict. When also budget cuts seemed necessary the existing dissatisfaction accumulated. A state commission which was set up in 1828 didn't solve any of the problems: it was already too late for that. Two years later the United Kingdom collapsed (Dhondt 2011).

Because the union between North and South was so short-lived, the emphasis in this contribution lays on the Northern, the Dutch side. In respect to legislation nothing changed, it was still the Royal

Decree of 1815 that constituted Dutch higher education. The Belgian revolution did not have consequences to this system.

Although the opinion of the general public about students is often cliché-ridden and full of stereotypes it is nevertheless informative. The opinion was not always negative, because students were partly seen as victims of the university system, but there was at least one feature of student life that was felt as a real problem. Already from the end of the eighteenth century the growth of a new kind of student union can be observed. No longer the traditional *nationes* on geographical lines were the dominant way in which students organized themselves, but we see the growth of a kind of student union that is called the Studentencorps. One of the features of these corpora is the ragging or hazing of freshmen, in Dutch "ontgroening", literally the de-greening of freshmen. The effect of this was that the student union was more and more fencing itself off from the rest of the citizens. The author of a pamphlet titled *Three discourses on higher education*, published in 1830, mentions this closing of the student body as one of the reasons of the growing separation between students and citizens.[4] The public abhorred student rowdiness and student violence in general, but the ragging in particular was seen as an unwanted development. It emphasized the idea that the student body represented a social elite which was more and more turning its back to society. This was, according to the author of the pamphlet, confirmed by the judicial system that punished these students much less hard than youngsters of the same age doing the same things. The author of the *Three discourses* demanded punishment in such cases "without fear or favour", without class justice.[5] Especially in the years 1838 and 1839 a few cases of really violent ragging and hazing freshmen among students led to articles in newspapers and letters to the editor in which intervention by "higher governing bodies" was demanded.[6]

4. Drie vertoogen over het Hooger Ondewijs door eenen welmeenenden opmerker (Den Haag 1830). The author does have a solution: students should have more social contacts with "honourable men" (p. 38).

5. Drie vertoogen..., 48-49, 66.

6. Incl. De Avondbode, November 14th 1838; Algemeen Handelsblad, November 11th 1838.

FIGURE 2: Doctoral promotion *cum cappa*, a special ceremony for the last time performed in 1836, anonymous etching, 1836 (Het Utrechts Archief).

The tenor in these discussions was also the assumed judicial inequality between students on the one side and other young people on the other side. The rather progressive and liberal newspaper *Arnhemsche Courant* compared the universities to the military academy in the town of Breda.[7] That was a place, according to the newspaper, parents could send their sons to without worrying about moral degradation. That was a different place from the universities, especially from the law faculties in which young people could spend a few years full of squander and debauchery and subsequently return to their parent's homes without having learned anything. Those students were, as stated by the newspaper, from "the most distinguished descent". Interestingly the commentator in this newspaper added that it didn't matter to these students if they learned something at the university or not: widespread nepotism was the reason that they would get jobs anyway. So there was a certain feeling that the universities in the Netherlands were elite institutions which perpetuated certain social relations.

This was also the main point in a discussion of 1845/1847. All over the country in several newspapers were discussions about admission exams in which the state designed the level of examination. There had never been such examinations. They were established in 1845 and for many discussants this was *the* only way to get rid of the would-be students and, as they were called, "intellectual nullities". Admission exams would also diminish the risk of moral decay of the student body.[8] Some discussants were in general against state interference but welcomed the admission exams. They stressed that this should be only the beginning of an important reform: there still were no final exams.

All in all one can say that in a substantial amount of newspapers and pamphlets in the years between 1830 and 1850 the universities were in social respect contested elite institutions. In those years there were also fierce discussions about the glorious Dutch past of the 'golden' seventeenth century. Comparing contemporary situa-

7. Arnhemsche Courant, November 26th 1840.

8. R. , 'Eenige denkbeelden over de tegenwoordige klagten omtrent het Hooger Onderwijs', in De tijdgenoot 5 (1845) 409-419, in particular 410.

tions with the seventeenth century was a popular pastime which always turned out in favour of the seventeenth century. This was also the case when people compared Dutch youth and especially Dutch students with the past. There was also much mention of the Zeitgeist of the nineteenth century. The laziness and the luxurious lifestyle of the students were contrasted with the vigour and soberness of the seventeenth century. Because this situation was part of the Zeitgeist the behaviour of the students was not always blamed on themselves: criticizing students was also social criticism at large.

Very influential on the public image of students was the publication of a series of written and illustrated literary portraits of Leiden students, named *Studentenschetsen* (Student's sketches). The student types as Kneppelhout described them were rather stereotype indeed, yet very recognizable to his readers and this much read, humorous series helped establishing a certain view on student life in the Netherlands: it was a merry life, with parties, drinking, fighting and an abundance of financial problems which were often solved by "papa".[9]

The professors

When students were criticized this was really meant to make a point by the authors of pamphlets or articles in newspapers, but there was always an undertone of understanding and sympathy, because it concerned young people that could not be held completely guilty of the situation they were in. Wasn't it true, some critics stated, that in the end it was the group of professors that was responsible for what was happening?

There is, however, an interesting disparity in the opinion about the professors. On the one hand in the nineteenth century there is an increasing belief and confidence in general in science and in scientific applications. And wasn't all this based on the work of the

9. The Studentenschetsen by Klikspaan (ps. of Johannes Kneppelhout) appeared originally serialised between 1839 and 1841. The sketches were seen as a realistic image of student life at Leiden university between 1830 and 1840. After being published together in one book in 1841 they had numerous reprints.

professors at the universities? Interesting proofs of this positive attitude towards them can be found in numerous advertisements in newspapers in which hair-tonics, glasses and multifunctional ointments are recommended with reference to findings by professors "in all universities". Even in advertisements of the famous Holloway's Pills, curing "every form of known disease" the manufacturer named himself "professor" Holloway.

That there were, however, problems in the Dutch universities was not a secret. Also the government was aware that things weren't as they should be. After the democratic revolution of 1848, in which the Dutch king William II became a liberal after one sleepless night, as is said, a committee was appointed to deliberate about a new law on higher education. One of the best known and controversial Dutch philosophers of the time, the Utrecht professor Cornelis Opzoomer (in conservative circles nicknamed "a pest of the country") wrote a minority report in which he claimed that students indeed were not studying well and not living well, but in which he also pointed at the body of professors who mainly kept their positions for pecuniary reasons and were very much mediocre in everything. The only thing a student had to do to pass his examinations was carefully study not his books but his professor: how he reacted, what he wanted to hear et cetera. Opzoomer understood very well, he wrote in his report, that the "tabard or the gown of the learned" did not arouse authority anymore among the people.[10]

It was not only Opzoomer, the one from inside, who criticized the university and its professors. Especially the fact that professors were partly directly financially dependent on students was a thorn in the flesh to many observers. Many of them considered professors as self-important people. More than once it was suggested that one of the three Dutch universities easily could be closed down (Dorsman 2001). The opinion on the professors was rather harsh and ex-

10. C.W. Opzoomer, De hervorming onzer Hoogeschoolen. Rapport, Wetsontwerp, en memorie van toelichting (Leiden and Amsterdam 1849), p. 10, 11. Also: An., Een woord over het Hooger Onderwijs door een' student (Leiden 1849) p. 11, 12. This brochure was allegedly written by a student, but it is generally accepted that it was Opzoomer who wrote it.

pressed in strong language. A medical doctor from the town of Arnhem in 1844 wanted the greater part of the medical professors removed from their post, because not seldom "the professor, because of his imbecility was too often the risée of the studiosi", he said.[11] The *Arnhemsche Courant* newspaper, also in 1844, accused the government of consciously appointing weak professors, because they would not ask for much facilities like laboratories or new classrooms.

There were not only fierce comments on the scientific work of the professors which was not seldom ridiculed in the press. It was also their teaching that was considered as a problem. One of the recurrent *topoi* about teaching was the accusation of not renewing their lessons. Year after year, according to the critics, the professors gave the same lesson again and again. And never they showed their enthusiasm about their subject. Every lesson was boring and for students the trick was to train themselves in automatic writing in what Opzoomer called "the factory of doctors, lawyers and vicars".

The government

So in the two decades between 1830 and 1850 the students didn't have much sympathy among their fellow countrymen and professors were quite often ridiculed and accused of incompetence and laziness. The criticism did not stop with those two groups, but was also extended to the government. Of course there was a financial problem. Everyone knew that. The new kingdom inherited a huge debt from the Napoleonic era and was not able to change that. The problems with the rebellious south also were rather expensive and the result were all kinds of budget cuts in the 1830's. Higher education didn't escape those budgetary problems. There were cuts in grants, cuts in prizes in prize-contests etc., but these were not seen by the general public as sufficient, sometimes even as counterproductive. In the 1840s a group of professors from Utrecht even decided to pay these prizes out of their own purse. In a pamphlet

11. S.P. Scheltema, in a review in the monthly De Gids vol. 8 (1844), p. 139-155, esp. 149-150.

FIGURE 3: Three Utrecht law students dissatisfied after their pub is closed for six weeks by the authorities, drawing by P. van Loon, 1851 (Het Utrechts Archief).

some expressed the fear that the Netherlands would become "a second Portugal".[12] What was needed was a more fundamental discussion about higher education.

The result were debates in the press and in parliament on the quality of the Dutch universities (Wachelder 1993). Two themes dominated in these debates. The first theme was the already mentioned defective examination system: there were no admission tests but also no final exams. The debate was rather strong because ideological differences of opinion were involved. A part of the public opinion felt that the government had nothing to do with this: it was the responsibility of the universities and of the professors. Some schoolmasters warned that admission exams were very much to the advantage of those students from higher social circles (the universities thus becoming social elite institutions), because they expressed themselves easier and weren't so quickly impressed by the professors asking questions. But there were also voices to be heard that argued in favour of those admission exams, because this was an opportunity to raise the standards in the universities.

The second big debate about the relationship between the universities and the state in the years 1830-1850 and especially concerning the responsibility of the state circled around the question of how many universities a country like the Netherlands needed. Also king William I had openly asked the question if "suppressing" one of the universities might be an option. Was three enough or maybe too much? Should there be two? Or maybe one? For this last scenario there were two varieties circulating. The first was to keep one Dutch university in Leiden. Leiden was the oldest, the most famous one, at least in the past, and very near to the Hague, where the government had its seat. The already mentioned professor in philosophy Opzoomer had the same idea of one university for the Netherlands, but he saw Utrecht as the best location. That was not because he was a professor in Utrecht, but he thought it best when a university was *not* so near the government. And he saw an important role

12. S.H. Koorders, De gronden voor de vermindering van het getal onzer akademiën onderzocht en onhoudbaar bevonden, door den schrijver van 'Voor achttien jaren', enz. (Utrecht 1849).

for the then upcoming railroads. Utrecht was in the middle of the country and would be easily accessible from all parts of the country.

One other interesting idea was circulating, but had only a few adherents. That was the idea that analogous to the French system there would be one central university, but with faculties spread over the country. In such a system every university town could have its own faculty and could be a part of the higher education system. In this way, the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam could be transformed into a university faculty without the cost of a whole new university.

A failing government

So there were all kinds of plans to meet the financial problems of the state, but in the end every town with a university wanted to defend the status quo and keep its own university. Also the broader public didn't want the closure of one of the universities: "vandal destructiveness", someone called it. But this indecisiveness did not solve any of the problems. The oppositional newspaper *Arnhemsche Courant* especially criticized the lack of ideas and plans. Now, take the possibility of the different faculties in the different towns, it wrote. That was not a well-considered idea, that was designed to run with the hare and hunt with hounds, in other words: the government was afraid to make a choice en tried keeping friends throughout the country. A few weeks later the newspaper again taunted the government: it was always the same, a policy of "do-and-not-do".[13] It was not only the opposition that accused the government, dissatisfaction was broader than that. And although, as we have seen, there was fierce criticism of the students *and* the professors it was generally thought that in the end it was the fault of the government because it didn't act and didn't ask from professors and students alike to meet more stringent requirements. The government had to make a choice, wrote an anonymous author in *De Tijdgenoot* when in 1842 a

13. Arnhemsche Courant, November 26th 1848, December 20th 1848 and January 13th 1849.

rumour spread that a budget cut of fifty thousand guilders was necessary and that this meant that one of the universities had to closed. What does in fact a university cost, he asked? Should the government not follow a fair and honest course? He had calculated that the cost of the whole of Dutch higher education amounted to not more than a quarter of the sum that was spent on the cavalry alone.

Conclusion

The question now is: can all these pamphlets, articles and letters to the editor in newspapers be read as a plea for a new kind of university, for an elite institution? I don't think so. It was just criticism of the malfunctioning of the existing university system. One of the arguments was that there was no admission exam which had as a consequence that anybody who was able to pay for it was able to study. There was no selection whatsoever, which meant that students from the social elite had easy access. They dominated the system, even if they weren't fit intellectually for the university. In this way the answer to the question is: the criticism of the university in the first half of the nineteenth century was not so much a plea for an elite university, it was really a plea to make an end to the Dutch university as an institution for the social elite.

But then came 1848, the liberal revolution that brought the Netherlands a modern constitution. This constitution however was only a framework, after which very much legislative work had to be done to give the country the new system of laws it had hoped for so long. A state commission was installed, but wasn't able to come to conclusions. Yes, they concluded that there was much wrong in Dutch higher education, but there was too much on which they couldn't agree. One of the hot issues was the question if a university should have a faculty of theology or that it needed religion studies in its place.

It was only in 1868 that a bill on higher education was put forward in Parliament. The bill tried to ameliorate the universities by demanding admission exams, more requirements for professors (no jobs on the side for them for instance), retirement for professors at 65 or 70 years, et cetera. But nothing came of it. The government

had to resign for other reasons and the new government had other ideas about higher education. The former bill was rewritten, although some elements were kept in again another bill. Once more, the government resigned before parliament was able to discuss it and it lasted until 1874 that a new bill was put forward in Parliament. In the explanatory memorandum of the minister of the interior, who was responsible for this law, we find on several occasions statements about the explicitly scientific character of the universities, for instance on doctorates.

There was also still the question how many universities a small country like the Netherlands needed. The decision was: keep all three of them. One of the arguments was that three universities were able to compete which would raise the quality of each of them. Although the government fell again, the next one decided to bring this version of the law in parliament which started discussing it in March 1876 and at the end of April it had passed both chambers of parliament. It was published in the beginning of May. Interesting is the first paragraph of the law compared to the Royal Decree of 1815. Then, I mean in 1815, higher education was understood as: "such kind of education which is meant to prepare pupils who have finished primary and secondary education for a position in the learned class in society". In 1876 the first paragraph said: "Higher education includes training and preparation to autonomous practicing of the sciences and to occupy positions in society for which a scientific training is required".

Again, this is not the beginning of an elite university in the Netherlands. But what is formulated here is a wish to develop scientific talent in higher education. No longer the universities were seen as the place for social reproduction of some of the higher strata in society. Of course the university was still the place for the social elite to send their children, but not everyone was automatically admitted anymore. And although Greek and Latin were still required for those who wanted to go to the university, in 1865 an important new type of secondary school was established, the Hogere Burger School (literally translated as High School for Middle Class Citizens). To obtain admission to the university an examination in Greek and Latin was required which could be done in the Gymnasium

schooltype, which still had the character of an elite education. But those with a diploma of the Hogere Burger School were admitted to the university when they did state-examinations, as they were called, in Greek and Latin. Much talented pupils from these schools went to university by this way and brought a new spirit into, especially, the natural sciences. Because of the emphasis on autonomous practicing of science there is an argument, albeit a small one, in favour of calling the Dutch university of 1876 a scientific elite university compared to the social elite university of 1815. Maybe the striking number of Dutch Nobel prizes in the early history of the prize are proof to this statement.

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CHAPTER 4

Keeping up with the Elite. Noblemen at German Universities (15.-16. century) with a Special Regard to Freiburg im Breisgau

Rainer Christoph Schwinges

Abstract

Noblemen were welcome at German universities, where they could, of course, assert their usual privileges. Outside of the universities the nobility got under pressure at the end of the fifteenth century, when a more and more academically educated bourgeois elite advanced into positions of the state and the princes' services, the courts, and the church. Affected by this process were first of all the lower nobility and the chivalry. In response to this, their university attendance increased, especially at the princely provincial universities (Landesuniversitäten). One of these was the Habsburg University of Freiburg in Anterior Austria, whose profile is exemplarily investigated in this article. Most of the noblemen, however, were still satisfied with the mere attendance of the university. Only a minority (12%) of the nobility was taking graduations (usually in arts and law) and thus keeping up with the bourgeois elite. These nobles obviously had not only (official) careers in mind, but were really interested in the academic world. For some (but very few), even the profession of a university professor was an option.

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Much like their European counterparts, German universities not only accepted, but eagerly welcomed the nobility – prominent part of the social elite that it was.[1] Universities explicitly welcomed noblemen, were prepared for their arrival and proud of counting the sons of all ranks of the nobility among their students. In Oxford, for example, all persons of rank were to be accorded their accustomed privileges and honors: the *consueti honores*.[2] In the Holy Roman Empire, this was taken one step further: the statutes of the University of Vienna declared as early as the 1390s and continued to do so in the following century: we want nobles, peers and others of noble rank to be honoured and treated with preference: *volumus nobiles illustres statum nobilitatis tenentes honorari et preferri*.[3]

Privileges

Such statements are to be taken not only as incentives and instruments of publicity, but also as insights into the social circumstances of the time. Some universities incorporated this fact in their statutes, others just applied it in practice. It was always a matter of controlling one's self-representation towards the public both within

1. I use the expression 'elite' pragmatically while acknowledging its ambiguity as described, e.g., by Jean-Philippe Luis, Les trois temps de l'histoire des élites à l'époque moderne et contemporaine, in: Les élites et leurs facettes. Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain, textes réunis par Mireille Cébeillac-Gervasoni et Laurent Lamoine (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 309: Collection ERGA, 3), Rome/Clermont-Ferrand 2003, p. 37-49. See also my introduction to Gelehrte im Reich. Studien zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. Rainer C. Schwinges (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 18), Berlin 1996, p. 11-22 (Karrieremuster).

2. Cf. Statuta antiqua universitatis Oxoniensis, ed. Strickland Gibson, Oxford 1931, p. 239.

3. Cf. Rudolf Kink, Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien, Vol. 2, Vienna 1854 (Reprint Francfort on the Main 1969), p. 91.

and without the university, and all *membra universitatis* had to be treated and positioned according to their status. Following a grave social conflict in Basel in the 1460s, which had gotten its university dangerously close to ruin, a formal *ordo differencie* was devised, which then proceeded to be adopted in other places. In this document, strict adherence to the order of precedence is depicted as a virtual guarantee for the continuity of the university, since 'no society can exist in any other way, unless it is ruled by such a distinction between its ranks': *quia nulla universitas poterit alia racione subsistere, nisi magnus eam differencie regulat ordo.*[4] The universities thus responded to their contemporaries' distinct desire to think in categories of status and to establish themselves within this system. Even the fair copies of the general registers made concessions to this need: The sequence of visitors' names no longer followed the random order of immatriculation according to dates, but a social hierarchy, which at the same time served as a testimonial for the university's social prestige. As such, the noblemen and the (generally clerical) dignitaries can be found at the top of the immatriculation lists, whereas the so-called *pauperes* – students without financial means and/or, more importantly, social connections – at their end.[5] Awarding honours and preferences to certain social groups was simply part of ordinary university life. While all students sat and studied in the same rooms, they did so under very different circumstances: In academic lectures, it was a

4. Liber statutorum (Universitätsarchiv Basel A1), quoted in Guido Kisch, Die Anfänge der Juristischen Fakultät der Universität Basel 1459-1529 (Studien zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Basel, 15), Basel 1962, p. 52-54. For the conflict behind that ordo see Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Reformverlierer an der Basler Universität des 15. Jahrhunderts. Oder: Die verhinderte Definitionsmacht der Juristen, in: Reformverlierer 1000-1800. Zum Umgang mit Niederlagen in der europäischen Vormoderne, ed. Andreas Bihrer and Dietmar Schiersner (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 53), Berlin 2016, p. 255-275, here p. 264-265.

5. On this topic, see Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Rich Men, Poor Men: Social Stratification and Social Representation at the University (13th-16th Centuries), in: Showing Status. Representations of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages, ed. Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse, Turnhout 1999, p. 159-175. Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des Alten Reiches (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, 123), Stuttgart 1986, p. 373-375.

FIGURE 1: A master tells a nobleman-student, that his clothing is not what a student's gown should be. Woodcut in Robertus de Euromodio, Cato moralissimus, Deventer (Richard Paffroed) 1497, from Emil Reicke, Magister und Scholaren. Illustrierte Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens, Leipzig (Verlag Eugen Diederichs) 1901, p. 19.

matter of course for persons of rank – *nobiles, honesti, illustres, notabiles* – to take their seats on the first and foremost benches, which were reserved for them. Commoners, however, always had the option to purchase a *statum honestum* at the front of the room and move up as *statum tenentes*. Much as they sought proximity with princes, nobles and authorities, the medieval universities at the same time were civic, municipal institutions; after all, their origins lay in urban environments, and they were devoted to the economy, values, ways of life and goals of bourgeois society.

Apart from the general preference, universities granted their attendants of rank several other minor or major privileges concerning the general quality of life. One special concession consisted in a partial or complete dispensation from the obligation of the oath of enrollment. Most persons of rank, especially those of the higher nobility, gladly made use of this dispensation, since it allowed them to avoid potential conflicts of interest. Furthermore, persons of rank were awarded liberties with regard to dress code, allowed to choose their living quarters freely without obligation to live in a Burse, to carry weapons and to pursue athletic and chivalric activities such as games, hunts and tournaments as well as social events such as festivities, banquets and feasts. The university leadership, of course, was happy to participate in such occasions, to socialise and mingle with the nobility, and was therefore rather half-hearted in prescribing a certain upper limit on expenses. Additionally, many universities offered a formal honorary rectorship to students of higher nobility.[6]

Students of rank

Of course, it was a very small minority to whom the universities extended such a welcome – it corresponds, *cum grano salis*, to the per-

6. Rainer A. Müller, Universität und Adel. Eine soziostrukturelle Studie zur Geschichte der bayerischen Landesuniversität Ingolstadt 1472-1648 (Ludovico Maximilianea, Forschungen, 7), Berlin 1974, esp. p. 44-52. Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Student education, student life, in: Walter Rüegg (Ed.), A History of the University in Europe, Vol. 1: Universities in the Middle Ages, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Cambridge 2ed. 1994, p. 195-243, here p. 199-200, 223-230.

centage of nobles, which for the 15th century has been estimated to amount to roughly 2 % of the Empire's total population.[7] Among the older universities founded in the fourteenth century, only Heidelberg has a verifiable, disproportionately high attendance rate of nobles (3,4 %) – the highest in the entire period of the fifteenth century. This rate is significantly higher than in other places such as Cologne (2,3 %), Erfurt (2,0 %), Vienna (1,3 %), and Leipzig (0,8 %), to name only the major universities.[8] Based on the universities' own sources – especially the general registers – those percentages seem rather high; however, they are considerably lower if seen in the context of presumed actual circumstances. The rectors keeping the records did not always indicate the noble status of their attendees clearly (e.g. with the title *nobilis* or the name element *von*, Latin *a* or *ab*), particularly if they were only of the lower nobility. This was only to noticeably change at the turn of the sixteenth century.

Attending university was neither a given nor even necessary for the nobility of the late Middle Ages not only in the Holy Roman Empire, but also in all of Europe – much less the taking of any exams. *Begehr nit doctor zu werden, und habs Gott seys gedanckht, nit im Sünn* (I do not desire to become a doctor, nor am I planning to, thank God): This remark of a noble student in the seventeenth century denotes the persistent cultural and social attitude towards academic titles, which prior to 1500 would of course have encompassed all academic degrees.[9] However, this appraisal mainly concerns the lay nobility,

7. Peter Moraw, Von offener Verfassung zu gestalteter Verdichtung. Das Reich im späten Mittelalter 1250 bis 1490 (Propyläen Geschichte Deutschlands, 3), Berlin 1985, p. 68.

8. These numbers are based on random samples, see Schwinges, Deutsche Universitätsbesucher (note 5), p. 379-381. For a more detailled study (also for the privileges mentioned above) see Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Die Universität als sozialer Ort des Adels im deutschen Spätmittelalters, in: Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert. Akten der internationalen Kolloquien in der Villa Vigoni 1999 und im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris 2000, ed. Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini (Beihefte der Francia, 60), Ostfildern 2005, p. 357-372.

9. Quoted according to Müller, Universität und Adel (note 6), p. 161. Cf. furthermore Gerhard Fouquet, „begehr nit doctor zu werden, und habs Gott seys gedanckht, nit im Sünn". Bemerkungen zu Erziehungsprogrammen ritterschaftlicher

whose functions were still mainly of a political and military nature, making an academic education unnecessary. The situation was slightly different for aristocratic clergymen, who, provided with prebends or sinecures at cathedral chapters or collegiate churches, pursued an academic education, if only to fulfill the required *biennium*. This could be done before or after accession to the prebend and usually consisted of basic liberal arts or, more frequently, legal studies at both German or foreign universities. However, the numbers of aristocratic clergymen enrolled in universities remained comparatively low.[10]

More significant than average numbers, however, are trends and tendencies. Those at least seem to generally prove true, while numbers, due to different research methods and periods, can rarely be directly compared to the findings of other studies.[11] This is partly due to the fact that university attendance became more attractive for persons of rank after 1450. In some years, ten or more out of 100 enrolled students were noblemen. This increase, however, was disproportionate to the rapid growth in general attendance numbers at German universities, which comprised 2500-3000 additional matriculations each year since the 1470s. In spite of the absolute increase in attendees, the ratio between noblemen and commoners shifted more and more in favour of the latter. It can be said that the nobility had its place within the university, but the university was not yet a place for the nobility. Apparently, in addition to the familiar crises of legitimacy, the late medieval nobility also struggled

Adliger in Südwestdeutschland (14.- 17. Jahrhundert), in: Wirtschaft - Gesellschaft - Städte. Festschrift für Bernhard Kirchgässner zum 75. Geburtstag, ed. Hans-Peter Becht and Jörg Schadt, Ubstadt-Weiher 1998, p. 95-127.

10. See for example: Horst Rudolf Abe, Der Anteil des Adels und der Geistlichkeit an den Promotionen der Erfurter Artistenfakultät im Mittelalter 1392-1521, in: Beiträge zur Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte Erfurts 20, 1985, p. 7-14.

11. See e. g. Müller, Universität und Adel (note 6), p. 70-76. James H. Overfield, Nobles and Paupers at German Universities to 1600, in: Societas. A Review of Social History 41, 1974, p. 175-210. Beat Immenhauser, Wiener Juristen. Zur Sozialgeschichte der juristischen Besucherschaft der Universität Wien von 1402 bis 1519, in: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte 17, 1997, p. 61-102, here p. 86-89. Fouquet, Begehr (note 9), p. 107-109.

with a cultural crisis, a crisis of education among the ruling class. This crisis only deepened around the turn of the century, as Ulrich Hutten, among others, recognised correctly.[12]

An economically prospering, confident and increasingly educated bourgeoisie began to take over positions in the church, administration and territories of the Empire that had hitherto been more or less exclusively the realm of the nobility. This concentrated competition was also a result of the growing supply of university graduates towards the end of the fifteenth century, to which the nobility reacted swiftly and in the only way possible: "Um universitärer Bildung und Ausbildung nicht nur honorige Geburt als Äquivalent entgegensetzen zu können, entschied er sich gleichfalls für das Universitätsstudium" ('In order to be able to counter academic education with more than just honourable birth, they decided to attend university as well').[13] Apart from the high esteem in which they held the humanist ideal, they had also realised the "bittere noodzaak".[14] This does not concern nobility as a whole nor its higher ranks, but specifically the groups that depended upon making their livelihood in the service of princes – where they now had to deal with the competition of educated commoners. Their decision to pursue academic education was facilitated by the fact that they found their accustomed privileges and prerogatives to naturally still apply at university, which made it possible to keep up with the elite of educated citizens without sacrificing one's status.

12. For a general orientation on this topic see Müller, Universität und Adel (note 6), p. 44-59. Andreas Ranft, Einer vom Adel. Zu adligem Selbstverständnis und Krisenbewusstsein im 15. Jahrhundert, in: Historische Zeitschrift 263, 1996, p. 317-342. Christian Wieland, Status und Studium. Breisgauischer Adel und Universitäten im 16. Jahrhundert, in: Zeitschrift für Geschichte des oberrheins 148, 2000, p. 97-150. For more literature, even in European perspective, see Schwinges, Sozialer Ort (note 8), p. 363-364.

13. Quoted according to Rainer A. Müller, Aristokratisierung des Studiums? Bemerkungen zur Adelsfrequenz an süddeutschen Universitäten im 17. Jahrhundert, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für Historische Sozialwissenschaft 10, 1984, p. 31-46, here p. 31.

14. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Adel en Universiteiten in de zestiende eeuw. Humanistisch ideaal of bittere noodzaak?, in: Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis 93, 1980, p. 410-432.

Initially, however, the nobility lost important ground, and at a time when the universities of the Empire entered a critical phase of expansion in the 1470s. A countertrend can be identified; however it was strictly regional. Apart from Erfurt, all universities in the northern part of the Empire – from Leuven and Cologne in the West to Leipzig, Rostock and Greifswald in the East – experienced a decrease, if not a well-nigh stagnation, in the number of attendees of rank.[15] It was not primarily its university that drew persons of rank – and particularly the higher nobility – to Cologne, anyway, but its cathedral chapter as well as its other major collegiate churches. The two Baltic universities, which exhibited a clear penchant towards the merchant class and the Hansa, had no force of attraction to speak of beyond their immediate area and hardly managed to gain the loyalty of the local nobility, not even of its lower ranks, which were not officially acknowledged anyway, but generally treated as *communis status*.[16] In all three Eastern university towns, this was compounded by the lack of church establishments which could have supplied the nobility with benefices and education.

The University of Erfurt was an exception to the general situation in the North. While the general attendance numbers had begun to decline in the 1470s, heralding the gradual conclusion of the town's great medieval period, the attendance rates of persons of rank increased. The university, aided by the two eminent collegiate churches St. Marien and St. Severi, had early developed a considerable appeal for the nobility of Thuringia, Hesse and parts of Franconia; this appeal did not only persist, but grew considerably over time. Erfurt thus forms a link to the situation in Southern Germany,

15. Schwinges, Deutsche Universitätsbesucher (note 5), p. 385; in der Tendenz schon Overfield, Nobles (note 11), p. 184-185.

16. This differs from conditions in Germany and the example of Erfurt, cf. Schwinges, Deutsche Universitätsbesucher (note 5), p. 349-350. The number of enrolled noblemen increases in the Early Modern period, however: see Matthias Asche, Von der reichen hansischen Bürgeruniversität zur armen mecklenburgischen Landeshochschule. Das regionale und soziale Besucherprofil der Universitäten Rostock und Bützow in der Frühen Neuzeit (1500-1800) (Contubernium. Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 52), Stuttgart 2000, p. 387-390. Zu Löwen see De Ridder-Symoens, Adel (note 14), p. 420-421.

which differed considerably from the Northern state of things. All universities from Heidelberg to Vienna – not least the newer universities founded after the mid-fifteenth century such as Freiburg, Basel, Ingolstadt, and Tübingen – had been registering an increasing frequency of nobility amongst their attendees since the 1480s.[17] The North only caught up in this matter after 1525, which was, among other factors, due to the new situation after the Reformation as well as the influence of its central university in Wittenberg, which recruited its attendees from all over the Empire.

The initially different circumstances in the South may be the result of the following five factors[18]: On the one hand, Southern Germany had a much higher concentration of nobility than the northern regions. Lest the quantitative aspect be forgotten, one need only think of the numerous small dominions such as the imperial knights of Franconia and Swabia, the noblemen in the service of the great secular and spiritual sovereigns of the Empire (Rhineland-Palatinate, Württemberg, Baden, Bavaria, Austria), and the prince bishoprics on the Rhine (Basel, Strasbourg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz) as well as in Franconia and Swabia (Bamberg, Würzburg, Freising, Constance, Augsburg). This circumstance must have had immediate consequences when, around 1500, the decision emerged that the nobility would join the academic trend.[19]

On the other hand, for the nobility studying came combined with an educational journey often including sojourns at several different universities. Such journeys were an unmistakable marker of aristocratic status, since changing universities was very uncommon in Germany.[20] On the contrary: students usually chose their univer-

17. Overfield, Nobles (note 11), p. 185-186. Müller, Universität und Adel (note 6), p. 70-73. Immenhauser, Wiener Juristen (note 11), p. 86-87. Berta Scharnke, Über Zusammensetzung und soziale Verhältnisse der Heidelberger Universitäts-Angehörigen im 15. Jahrhundert, unpublished Diss. Heidelberg 1921, p. 29 -32.

18. My earlier remarks on this are not only still valid, but have, in light of more recent research, been confirmed and rendered more precise, cf. Schwinges, Deutsche Universitätsbesucher (note 5), p. 386-389; idem, Sozialer Ort (note 8), p. 366.

19. See also Müller, Universität und Adel (note 6), p. 74-75.

20. See Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Migration und Austausch. Studentenwanderungen im Deutschen Reich des späten Mittelalters, in: Migration in der Feu-

sities according to regional accessibility. Only the nobility and their close associates such as descendants of municipal patricians and dignitaries had a wider horizon to choose from. Their journeys often took them abroad, mainly to the prestigious law schools in France and Italy: to Orléans, Dôle, or Bourges or to Bologna; after the middle of the century, Padua, Pisa, Pavia, Perugia, and Siena, among others, began to gain on Bologna's formerly unrivalled status. On such a journey abroad, Southern German universities frequently represented starting or ending points – mainly Ingolstadt, but also Freiburg, Basel, and Tübingen, and sometimes the university of Vienna, although the latter, being positioned somewhat remotely, played only a minor role in this respect. Under these circumstances, some noblemen did not even take the trouble to attend the nearby local university, but travelled directly south or west.[21]

dalgesellschaft, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Albert Müller, Frankfurt/NewYork 1988, p. 141-155. One example from the higher nobility: Idem, Illustre Herren. Markgrafen von Baden auf Bildungsreise (1452-1456), in: Königtum und Adel am Oberrhein. Festschrift für Thomas Zotz, ed. Andeas Bihrer et al., Stuttgart 2009, p. 393-405.

21. For the European perspective, see Jacques Verger, La mobilité étudiante au Moyen Âge, in: Histoire de l'Éducation 50, 1991, p. 65-90. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Mobility, in: Rüegg/De Ridder-Symoens, University in Europe (note 6), p. 280-304. Idem, Les origines géographique et sociale des étudiants de la Nation Germanique de l'ancienne université d'Orléans (1444-1546), in: The Universities in the Late Middle Ages, ed. Jozef Ijsewijn and Jacques Paquet (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, 6), Leuven 1978, p. 455-474. Winfried Dotzauer, Deutsches Studium und deutsche Studenten an europäischen Hochschulen (Frankreich, Italien) und die nachfolgende Tätigkeit in Stadt, Kirche und Territorium in Deutschland, in: Stadt und Universität im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, ed. Erich Maschke and Jürgen Sydow (Stadt in der Geschichte, 3), Sigmaringen 1977, p. 112-141. Agostino Sottili, Università e cultura. Studi sui rapporti italo-tedeschi nell'età dell'umanesimo, Goldbach 1993. Idem, Humanismus und Universitätsbesuch / Renaissance Humanism and University Studies (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 26), Leiden/Boston 2006. Werner Maleczek, Deutsche Studenten an Universitäten in Italien, in: Kommunikation und Mobilität im Mittelalter. Begegnungen zwischen dem Süden und der Mitte Europas (11.-14. Jahrhundert), ed. Siegfried de Rachewiltz and Josef Riedmann, Sigmaringen 1995, p. 77-113. Immenhauser, Wiener Juristen (note 11), p. 73-75, 86-87. Ingrid Matschinegg, Österreicher als Universitätsbesucher in Italien (1500-1630), unpublished Dissertation Graz 1999. Ad Tervoort, The iter Italicum and the Northern Netherlands. Dutch Students at Italian Universities and

Thirdly, apart from the *Artes*, noblemen mostly studied the Laws – at least they often attended introductory lectures on the *Institutiones*: For someone wanting to rule or govern, it was advisable to acquire the current standard of knowledge on ruling. The local law faculties or foreign law universities were the appropriate place for this: an exclusive space for the ruling elite and their associates. There, they were mostly among equals: Between 1265 and 1425, the German Nation in Bologna, e.g., fairly consistently had a 75% fraction of noblemen and other upper-class individuals. Between 1470 and 1525, when the middle-class competition had risen to a notable extent, it was still around 35%.[22] This state of things was boosted by the fact that law faculties everywhere expanded in the second half of the fifteenth century; especially the newly founded universities in the south of the Empire benefited greatly from this. Corresponding to the increasing importance of secular Roman Law in administration and courts, chairs in Civil Law were added to the already existing chairs in Canon Law (Heidelberg, Vienna) or established directly upon foundation of the university (Basel, Freiburg, Ingolstadt, Tübingen).[23]

Their Role in the Netherlands' Society 1426-1575 (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 21), Leiden/Boston 2005. Melanie Bauer, Die Universität Padua und ihre fränkischen Besucher im 15. Jahrhundert (Nürnberger Werkstücke zur Stadt- und Landesgeschichte, 70), Nuremberg 2012.

22. See Jürg Schmutz, Juristen für das Reich. Die deutschen Rechtsstudenten an der Universität Bologna 1265-1425 (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2), Basel 2000, part 1, p. 83-84. Thomas Schmid, Iusticie cultores. Die deutschen Rechtsstudenten an der Universität Bologna 1426-1525, unpublished Licence phil. Bern 2006, p. 47-49. See also Immenhauser, Wiener Juristen (note 11), p. 61-63. Idem, Iudex id est rex. Formen der Selbstwahrnehmung gelehrter Juristen im späten Mittelalter, in: Ständische und religiöse Identitäten in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, ed. Stefan Kwiatkowski and Janusz Mallek, Torún 1998, p. 43-61. Dietmar Willoweit, Juristen im mittelalterlichen Franken. Ausbreitung und Profil einer neuen Elite, in: Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 18), Berlin 1996, p. 225-267.

23. See the ‚classical' studies: Helmut Coing, Die juristische Fakultät und ihr Lehrprogramm, in: Handbuch der Quellen und Literatur der neueren europäischen Privatrechtsgeschichte, Vol. 1: Mittelalter (1100-1500), ed. Helmut Coing, Munich 1973, p. 39-128. Karl Heinz Burmeister, Das Studium der Rechte im Zeitalter des Huma-

Humanism may be stated as the fourth factor. It did not have any mass effects in regards to increased university attendance. On the contrary: Precisely the so-called centres of humanism, all of them situated in the south (if Erfurt may be included under this aspect), reported high losses or stagnation in their attendance numbers. Matters are different, however, if the attendance of nobility at the universities in question is considered. A causal connection is very likely to have existed. Fifteenth and sixteenth century German humanism was a typical small class culture in which the nobility and the upper middle classes partook together. Humanism usually entered the universities via cities and courts; once it had taken root, the *studia humaniora* and *studia lucrativa* quickly merged - though not through scholarly endeavours, but rather through the persons who pursued both disciplines in the small and exclusive world of lawyers. This process is already well-known from Italian and French universities.[24]

As for the fifth factor: With regard to potential careers in the service of a sovereign, municipal universities increasingly became the wrong choice for noblemen. Instead, they sought out the state universities and at the same time proximity to court. This development began in Heidelberg around the middle of the fifteenth century, then in Freiburg, Ingolstadt, and Tübingen, and finally in the 1490s in Vienna, however only after Maximilian's accession to the throne.[25] As regards the municipal university of Cologne, the pro-

nismus im deutschen Rechtsbereich, Stuttgart 1974.

24. For the seminal studies on this, see Walter Rüegg, Anstösse. Aufsätze und Vorträge zur dialogischen Lebensform, Frankfurt am Main 1973. Idem, Der Humanismus und seine gesellschaftliche Bedeutung, in: Artisten und Philosophen. Wissenschafts- und Wirkungsgeschichte einer Fakultät vom 13. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 1), Basel 1999, p. 163-180. Idem, „Humanistic education" as a civic training of new types of elites in ancient Rome and modern Europe, in: Mare nostrum - mare Balticum. Commentationes in honorem Professoris Matti Klinge, ed. Paul Raudsepp, Helsinki 2000, p. 485-508. See further Christine Treml, Humanistische Gemeinschaftsbildung: Sozio-kulturelle Untersuchung zur Entstehung eines neuen Gelehrtenstandes in der frühen Neuzeit (Historische Texte und Studien, 12), Hildesheim/Zurich/New York 1989.

25. See Müller, Universität und Adel (note 6), p. 76-78. Overfield, Nobles (note 11),

cess of re-orientation of the nobility began as early as the 1460s and 70s. Neither the cathedral nor the electoral court of Cologne nor the other rhenish courts could compete with the state university's proximity to the royal court. If the sons of the great secular rulers of the area such as the Dukes of Jülich-Berg, Geldern, and Cleve did not attend university in the powerful commercial and imperial city of Cologne, it was certainly due to political decisions - the princes proved otherwise well-disposed towards the university and were notably happy to utilise its lawyers and physicians as consultants, councillors, diplomats and personal physicians.[26] The same was largely true for the University of Erfurt after 1525. Up to then, it had served as an 'alternative state university', especially for Thuringian and Hessian nobility; now - reinforced by the denominational aspect - it lost that special status to the state universities in Leipzig, Wittenberg, and finally also in Marburg.[27]

Keeping up with the elite: The example of Freiburg (1500-1545)

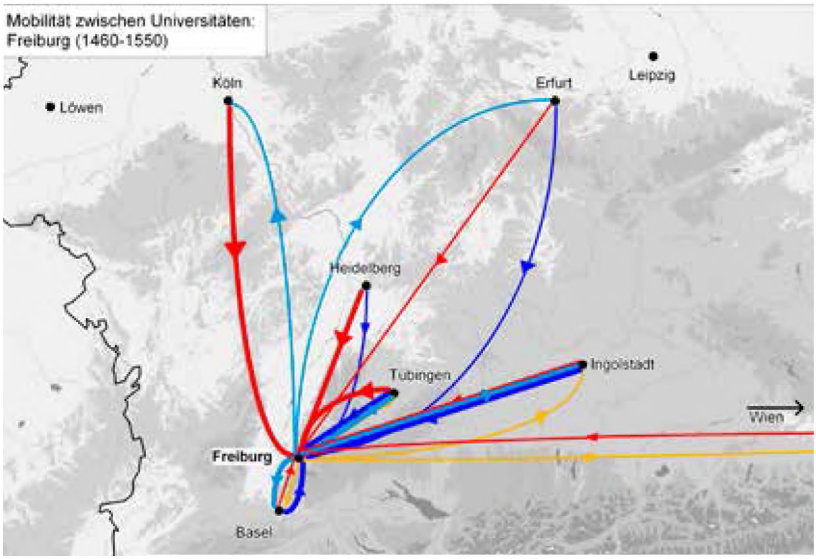
A large number of attendants of rank had the power to give a university the reputation of a 'university of nobility'. This was the case for Ingolstadt in Bavaria[28] as well as the small Anterior Austrian

p. 199. Peter Moraw, Heidelberg: Universität, Hof und Stadt im ausgehenden Mittelalter, in: Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, ed. Bernd Moeller et al. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3. Folge, 137), Göttingen 1983, p. 524-552. Immenhauser, Wiener Juristen (note 11), p. 87-88, Idem, Iudex (note 22), p. 52-53.

26. See Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Zur Professionalisierung gelehrter Tätigkeit im deutschen Spätmittelalter, in: Recht und Verfassung im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit, Teil II: Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung des Spätmittelalters. 1996-1997, ed. Hartmut Boockmann et al. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse 3. Folge, 239), Göttingen 2001, p. 473-493.

27. See Erich Kleineidam, Universitas Studii Erffordensis: Überblick über die Geschichte der Universität Erfurt, Vol. 3 (Erfurter Theologische Studien, 42), Leipzig 1980.

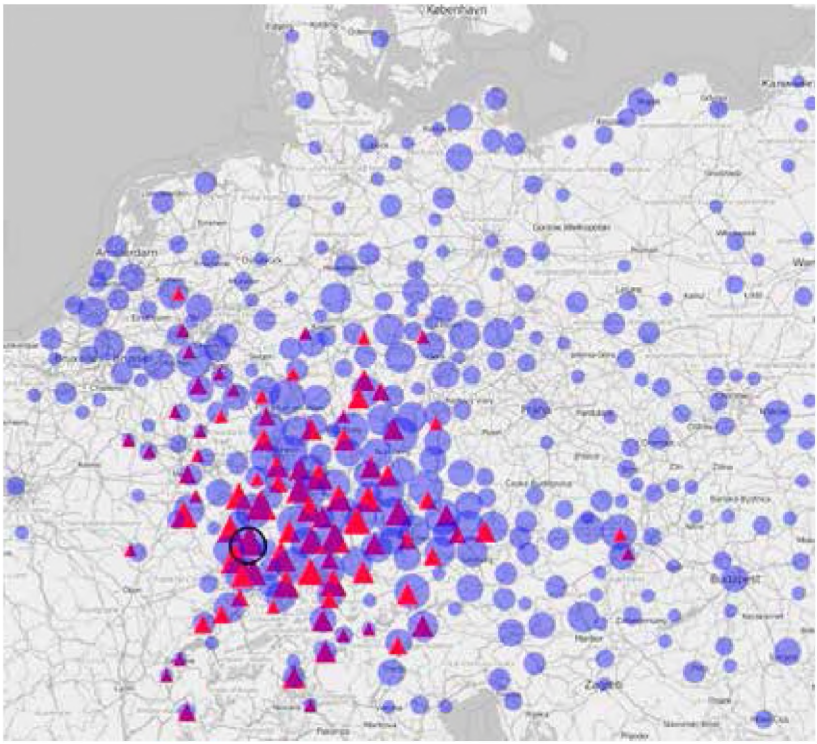
28. See Müller, Universität und Adel (note 6), p. 72, 77-79.



MAP 1: Mobility of *magistri artium* and university attendants of rank towards and away from Freiburg 1460-1550. Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG), Tobias Steiner.

state university of Freiburg im Breisgau. The latter had a 'nobility quota' of 8 to 9 % as early as the 1480s and 1490s, which proceeded to grow from 13 to over 18 % between the 1530s and 1540s.[29] This in-

29. According to research of the RAG – Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (www.rag-online.org) – which considers not only academic graduates, but (precisely because of the issue of elites) noble university attendants as well. For all persons mentioned below, see here. On the RAG see most recently Christian Hesse, Das Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG). Perspektiven zur Erforschung der Gelehrten, ihrer Netzwerke und ihres Wirkens im Alten Reich (1250-1550), in: Stand und Perspektiven der Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte zum römisch-deutschen Reich. Der Forschungseinfluss Peter Moraws auf die deutsche Mediävistik, ed. Christine Reinle, Affalterbach 2016, p. 53-64. Rainer C. Schwinges, Das Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG). Ein digitales Forschungsvorhaben zur Geschichte der Gelehrten des alten Reiches (1250-1550), in: Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte 16, 2013 [2015], p. 215-232. – The numbers quoted for Freiburg and Tübingen in Müller, Universität und Adel (note 6), p. 70ss, are much too low as only nobiles were included. The data concerning the Breisgau nobility alone show higher attendance numbers, cf. Wieland, Breisgauer Adel (note 12), p. 108-117.



MAP 2: The noblemen enrolled in Freiburg (O) compared to the noblemen studying in the whole Empire (1460-1550). Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG).

crease in university attendance already points to a notion of 'keeping up', hence we shall focus on the period from 1500 until around 1545. Freiburg appealed to the nobility both as a (catholic, after 1530) state university and as a stage on educational journeys towards other universities in southern Germany as well as Italy and France. This was apparently widely known, as the following map (Fig. 1) demonstrates: Regarding the presence of Nobility in Freiburg, the map shows that a large number of *magistri artium* migrated to Freiburg, while only very few moved away to other universities. It is significant that the *magistri* came for the most part from Cologne, Heidelberg, and Tübingen, and only rarely from other 'universities of nobility' such as Erfurt, Ingolstadt, Basel, or Vienna. Many a *magister* may have speculated to enter a nobleman's service as a *preceptor*

in Freiburg and be able to accompany him on an educational journey at his expense or to profit from further support. There was, for example, one Magister Laurentius Schleenrieth, who got to accompany a group of noblemen including the two counts Heinrich and Konrad of Castell from Freiburg to France (Dôle, Orléans 1536-1539) and who, expedited by their support, proceeded to make a very impressive career.[30]

The noblemen enrolled in Freiburg hailed from all over the Empire. However, there appear distinct regional clusters, among which the Breisgau region as well as the whole Anterior Austrian area stand out (over 35%), as far as it can be assigned to the upper Rhine dioceses of Constance, Basel, and Strasbourg in Alsace, Baden, and Swabia (Fig. 2).

As can be seen, the nobility really came from the whole length of the Rhine and mostly oriented towards the West: from the Diocese of Chur via Besonçon and the above-mentioned dioceses as well as from Speyer, Worms and Mainz, Toul, Metz, and Trier to Cologne, Liège and Cambrai (71%). Freiburg's reach clearly reflects the Habsburg influence in the west with respect to the state university (over 10% from the Lorraine region alone). If one adds the dioceses of Salzburg and Brixen with the seat of government in Innsbruck as well as Augsburg in Swabia, around 87% of the nobility enrolled in Freiburg are already covered. The scarcity of attendance from the nobility-heavy region of Franconia with its dioceses Würzburg and Bamberg (only 2% each) appears to be founded in tradition, since Franconia tended to be oriented towards the universities in Heidelberg, Erfurt, Leipzig, and Wittenberg.[31] This orientation also

30. Cf. Stephan Sauthoff, Adliges Studentenleben und Universitätsstudium zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Darstellung anhand des Ausgabenbüchleins von Conrad zu Castell, Bern/Frankfurt on the Main 1988 pp. 16-17, 85-86, 97-98.

31. See Sarina I. Jaeger und Frank Wagner, Werdegänge mittelalterlicher Gelehrter, in: Akademie Aktuell. Zeitschrift der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 04, Munich 2016, p. 53-57. Rainer C. Schwinges, Franken in der deutschen Universitätslandschaft des späten Mittelalters, in: Die Universität in der Welt - die Welt in der Universität, ed. Hans-Albert Steger and Hans Hopfinger (Schriftenreihe des Zentralinstituts für Fränkische Landeskunde und allgemeine Regionalforschung an der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 33), Neustadt/Aisch 1994, p. 1-26.

demonstrates that the issue of denomination was not yet relevant in the period in question. Students enrolling in Freiburg were Catholics, at least for the duration of their studies, and were considered Catholic nobility, even though some of them later converted either personally or with their whole family and dominion. Accordingly, clerical noblemen were still highly present; also indirectly facilitated by the above-mentioned Rhine region with its numerous great and well-endowed cathedrals and collegiate churches. However, the portion of laymen amongst the students of rank as well as amongst the whole student body had greatly increased, as was the general trend after 1500.[32] The rector's register of Freiburg in particular picked up on that trend and systematically differentiated between *clerici* and *laici* from about 1532 onwards.[33]

The majority of students of rank were noble knights; partly imperial knights, the lower landed gentry which is known to have suffered particularly hard from the crisis[34], such as the houses of Blumenegg, Freyberg, Landenberg, Neuneck or Reischach (Diocese of Constance), the von Capal, Salis or Schauenstein (Diocese of Chur), the von Ampringen, Andlau, Bollweiler or Pfirt (Diocese of Basel), the von Fleckenstein, Krantz or Rodeck (Diocese of Strasbourg), the von Eberstein, Flersheim, Gemmingen, Helmstatt, Liebenstein, Löwenstein or Rüppur (Dioceses of Speyer and Worms), the von Eltz, Enschringen or the von der Leyen (Diocese of Trier), the de Chastel, Gaillard, Harancourt, Lenoncourt or Saussure of Lorraine (Diocese of Toul) – often several members of one family or its branches. In addition to these knights, there were such students of rank whose families had emerged from the patriciate of the imperial cities of Upper Germany and the Upper Rhine and had found their way into knighthood via fiefdoms – e.g. the Reichlin von Meldegg from Überlingen on Lake Constance or the Ifflinger von

32. See Beat Immenhauser, Bildungswege – Lebenswege. Universitätsbesucher aus dem Bistum Konstanz im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 8), Basel 2007, p. 138-139. Wieland, Breisgauer Adel (note 12), p. 120-123 .

33. Die Matrikel der Universität Freiburg im Breisgau von 1460-1656, Vol. 1, ed. Hermann Mayer , Freiburg 1907, p. lxxxv, 282.

34. Wieland, Breisgauer Adel (note 12), p. 99-104.

Granegg from Villingen in the Black Forest. By comparison, the higher nobility was still attending rather more scarcely in numbers, and if they did, then mostly in the context of high church functions requiring a *biennium*, a stay of at least two years at a university. The same regional distribution applies for the counts and princes of Baden, Bayern-Landshut, Waldburg, Zimmern, Montfort, Fürstenberg, Hohenzollern, Castell, Erbach, Solms, Isenburg, Henneberg, Manderscheid and Zweibrücken; not, however - unlike Ingolstadt in Bavaria - for the members of the family of the Habsburg sovereigns.[35] It was mostly this exclusive circle that was offered honorary rectorates, even though not all of the young gentlemen wanted to appreciate that this honour was an honour and not a right to meddle in university matters, such as count Konrad of Castell demanded in 1537.[36]

As has been demonstrated, the nobility preferred an education in law; this was also the case in Freiburg. For more than half of the persons of rank enrolled, the faculty or branch of study can be determined through sources pertaining to the university. According to these, in the first half of the sixteenth century, 69% studied Law (Canon and/or Civil), 17% various *Artes*, 7% classical languages (*Humaniora*, Greek and Hebrew), 4% Medicine and only 2% Theology.[37] One might think that this choice was connected with the teaching activity of the famous professor Ulrich Zasius (+1535) in Freiburg. However, a look at the noblemen's provenance paints a different picture. Like the other students, the growing number of students of rank just happened to be present at the right time to hear Zasius and later his successors. What attracted students in larger numbers was never the great scholars; as is the case today, the reasons were rather more mundane.[38] It may certainly have been true in individual cases, however. As was the custom amongst professors, Zasius, too, had opened his house to students for board,

35. Müller, Universität und Adel (note 6), p. 78.

36. Sauthoff, Studentenleben (note 30), p. 15-16.

37. These figures pertain to primary enrollments in Freiburg; this means that changes in the course of studies, such as from the faculty of arts to the faculty of law, are possible.

38. Schwinges, Deutsche Universitätsbesucher (note 5), p. 204-207.

lodging and instruction. Amongst those students were even a few persons of rank who apparently had come to Freiburg for Zasius' sake; in particular noblemen from beyond the immediate vicinity, e.g. the brothers Andreas, Christoph and Erasmus von Könneritz from the Diocese of Merseburg in Saxony who, in 1538, were staying with Erasmus of Rotterdam, or the Tyrolean nobleman Franz Friedrich von Schneeberg or the knights Degenhard von Haes and Konrad von Heresbach from the Cologne region.[39]

As explicit as these results about the acquisition of legal knowledge (or knowledge on ruling) by the nobility are, in order to properly appraise the notion of ‚keeping up', it will still be necessary to analyse attitudes towards graduation and the acceptance of academic grades in general and among the nobility in particular.[40] At the universities, two orders of precedence collided: the academic and the social order, which – *ratione gradus aut status*, as the saying went – needed to be conciliated. It was essential for the university that its own order of precedence, its grade system of *baccalaureus*, *licentiatus* and *doctor*, gained acceptance by the hierarchical society and established itself in public – sometimes great ceremonial efforts were made in aid of this.[41] This self-assessment, however, never really coincided with the view from outside – *gradus* remained secondary to *status*, within the universities as well as without. The academic grades' real function was to attain and gradually expand one's teaching qualifications, which simply could not compete with real

39. Cf. Hans Winterberg, Die Schüler von Ulrich Zasius (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B: Forschungen, 18), Stuttgart 1961, p. 48-50, 64-65, 41-43.

40. See Suse Baeriswyl-Andresen, Akzeptanz der Grade. Die Antwort der Gesellschaft bis 1500, dargestellt am Beispiel der Markgrafen von Ansbach und Kurfürsten von Brandenburg, in: Examen, Titel, Promotionen. Akademisches und staatliches Qualifikationswesen vom 13. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 7), Basel 2007, p. 451-487.

41. Cf. Rainer C. Schwinges, Promotionen in historischer Perspektive: Organisation und Gesellschaft, in: Der Doktortitel zwischen Status und Qualifikation, ed. Nathalie Huber, Anna Schelling und Stefan Hornbostel (Institut für Forschungsinformation und Qualitätssicherung: IFQ-Working-Paper Nr. 12), Berlin 2012p. 15-23 http://www.forschungsinfo.de/Publikationen/Download/working_paper_12_2012.pdf.

social status. For a long time, this had benefited the nobility. The problem, however, was that studying noblemen no longer stood vis-à-vis a great mass of commoner students which, by 1550, had reached 300'000 persons in the Empire. They now stood opposite a relatively small minority of a size similar to their own group. It was precisely this relative equilibrium that allowed this minority to compete; to peddle and pitch their knowledge, accredited by promotions and grades, all over the country, as normally it was not even necessary to attain a formal grade – just having studied at a university sufficed. A university's graduate profile resembled a pyramid with a very wide base of undergraduates and *baccalaurei artium*, which up until the mid-sixteenth century was made up of about two thirds of all students. The remaining third consisted of *magistri* and *licentiati*, while only 3-4% attained the topmost grade of *doctor* in one of the three higher faculties, i.e. law, theology or medicine.[42]

In this light, the attitude of the Freiburg nobility towards graduation turns out to be rather unsurprising. Only 12% of the students of rank obtained a degree, of which 3% were *baccalaurei artium*, another 3% *magistri artium*, and 5,6% attained a degree in law, usually *doctor utriusque iuris* (considering only the highest degree attained by each person). Only in very isolated cases do we find a nobleman with a doctorate in theology or medicine. At least where the percentage of doctorates in law is concerned does the nobility outnumber the commoners in Freiburg. This also means, however, that 88% of noble students remained without a degree. So for the vast majority, the presumed ‚catching-up' with the middle classes' advance in education – keeping up with the bourgeois elite – only consisted in attending university, not in attaining academic degrees.[43] It is possible that sitting exams with non-aristocratic professors was still incompatible with the aristocratic norms and standards – especially since there were practically no role models and incentives, professors of rank still being extremely rare. Noone of higher nobil-

42. Schwinges, ib. On the numbers see Christian Hesse, Acta Promotionum II. Die Promovierten der Universitäten im spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Bemerkungen zu Quantität und Qualität, in: Examen, Titel, Promotionen (note 40), p. 229-250.
43. See also Wieland, Breisgauer Adel (note 12), p. 119-120.

ity, no *illustris dominus*, had ever attained an academic degree, neither in Freiburg nor elsewhere. Knights and the lower nobility, on the other hand, clearly dominated the lists of law graduates; this includes second-generation members of newly ennobled families, be it from the imperial cities' patriciate or from the officialdom in service with kings, emperors, or sovereigns. Most of them had completed the educational journey typical for their class, either within Germany (Heidelberg, Tübingen, Ingolstadt, Vienna, Leipzig, and Wittenberg) and/or in Italy (Bologna, Padua, Ferrara) or France (Orléans, Dôle, Paris). They mostly chose Freiburg as their university to graduate from, however. Apparently, a doctoral promotion now served not only to reinforce their existing status, but the newly gained knowledge – especially legal expertise – could be used to secure adequate careers, i.e. appointments in the state government or churches, for oneself and one's family of origin. This strategy resembles the behaviour of the municipal elite – in southern Germany called the *Ehrbarkeit* – which had embraced university attendance and academic degrees as a part of its family advancement strategy.[44]

Admittedly, all of this only applies to the small group of doctors of rank in Freiburg. The behaviour of the nobility in general – whether and how its lives were influenced by academic education – still remains to be further investigated. It can be expected that for the nobility as well as for society in general, academic knowledge was decidedly in demand, but in most areas of occupation degrees were entirely unnecessary. Barring a small number of leading positions in privy councils, imperial and ecclesiastical courts as well as the medical field, the majority of state and city administrations, schools, trade, and even churches of all sizes functioned perfectly fine without academic expertise. There always were viable alternatives.[45]

44. See Immenhauser, Bildungswege (note 32), p. 228-230

45. See Rainer C. Schwinges, Zur Professionalisierung gelehrter Tätigkeit im deutschen Spätmittelalter, in: Recht und Verfassung im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit, Part II: Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung des Spätmittelalters. 1996-1997, ed. Hartmut Boockmann et.al. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3/239), Göttingen 2001, p. 473-493.

One thing, however, stands out: Unlike the noblemen of equal rank who only attained artistic grades (*bacc.* or *mag. art.*), the noblemen with doctor's grades proceeded to have outstanding careers and gain entry into the academic elite. The *Artes* graduates – as tradition would have it – succeeded almost exclusively within the church, be it as canons and capitulars or perhaps as provosts.[46] The doctors, on the other hand, primarily prospered in secular functions, sometimes after having resigned their canonries, gotten married and converted. Zasius' above-mentioned student Dr. iur. Andreas von Könneritz initially served as an assessor at the Imperial Chamber of Court in Speyer, then became privy councillor to King Ferdinand I. and bailiff for Anterior Austria in the Ortenau. Though he graduated from Leipzig, the connections he had forged in Freiburg clearly had an effect on his career. Dr. iur. Christoph von Mellinger from Innsbruck, graduated from Freiburg, likewise became an assessor at the Imperial Chamber of Court, then Imperial Commissioner and *Regimentsrat* in Innsbruck. Christoph Mattias Reichlin von Meldegg from Überlingen on Lake Constance, graduating as Dr. iur. after studying in Ingolstadt, Tübingen, Freiburg, and Orléans, set out as a procurator at the Imperial Chamber of Court, advised the government in Innsbruck and held office as chief bailiff in Sigmaringen. Knight Georg Pfau von Rüppur, Dr. iur., presumably graduated from Freiburg, became Imperial Councillor in Vienna. Dr. Julius Gut, a nephew of Dr. Oswald Gut of Rheinfelden, an ennobled councillor and chancellor of the Margravate of Baden-Durlach from Baden, officiated as a councillor for Baden and a *Landschreiber* in Emmendingen in Breisgau. The two knights from the Cologne region, Degenhard von Haes and Konrad von Heresbach, initially aspired to a church career after having pursued further studies in Italy and obtained doctor's degrees in Padua and Ferrara, respectively. However Degenhard, canon at St. Gereon in Cologne and St. Cassius in Bonn, resigned his benefices, married,

46. An interesting analogy to this state of things is the predominance of artes graduates in Swiss collegiate churches; see Christian Hesse, Artisten im Stift. Die Chancen, in schweizerischen Stiften des Spätmittelalters eine Pfründe zu erhalten, in: Gelehrte im Reich (note 1), p. 85-112.

became a special assessor at the Imperial Chamber of Court in Speyer, and finally lived in Linn (Krefeld) as a councillor and officer for the Electorate of Cologne. Konrad was a canon at St. Viktor in Xanten and held the provost's office in Rees; he, too, resigned and became privy councillor to the Duke of Jülich-Kleve. Balthasar Hellu, descended from impoverished Dutch lower nobility, made an impressive career securing the status of his family when he tried to settle down in Alsace (Hagenau). Although he could not afford the high fees for a doctoral promotion and remained a mere *licentiatus* of both laws, he rose via personal connections to become chancellor of the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg and the dominating political figure of the *Hochstift*.[47]

It is not possible to make general statements, but for the University of Freiburg, new fields appear to have opened up: Some noblemen now became professors – without exception in the legal field, of course. Adam von Müllberg, a knight from Diessenhofen (Switzerland), held a chair in Canon Law at the University of Basel as well as the university prebend at the collegiate church of St. Peter in Basel and the deanery at St. Mauritius in Zofingen. Martin Trainer zu Moos, from a family of Bavarian knights near Braunau am Inn, became professor in Canon and Civil Law in Vienna after having studied in Ingolstadt, Leipzig, Freiburg, Bologna, and Vienna. Dietrich von Hattstein, descendant of a family of imperial knights in the Mainz region which later was to bring forth Marquard von Hattstein, a prince bishop of Speyer, became a student and occasional teaching substitute of Zasius and ended up teaching the Laws himself in Freiburg. Another part of this circle was Joachim Mynsinger von Frundeck, perhaps Zasius' most eminent student who, after Zasius' death in 1535, took over his chair in *Institutiones* and later the chair in Canon Law. Mynsinger (or Münsinger) was descended from a family which originally had been native to Münsingen near Bern (Switzerland), but as Habsburg supporters

47. On all persons mentioned see www.rag-online.org. On the latter in particular see Heinzjürgen N. Reuschling, Die Regierung des Hochstifts Würzburg 1495-1642. Zentralbehörden und führende Gruppen eines geistlichen Staates (Forschungen zur fränkischen Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte, 10), Würzburg 1984, p. 247-250.

later emigrated to Württemberg. In 1548 he resigned his professorial chair, became an assessor for the Upper Rhine district at the Imperial Chamber of Court in Speyer, and from 1565 onwards officiated as chancellor of the Duchy Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, where he co-founded the University of Helmstedt and became its first vice-chancellor in 1576.[48]

48. See again www.rag-online.org. Winterberg, Schüler (note 39), p. 53-55. See also Sabine Schumann: Joachim Mynsinger von Frundeck (1514-1588). Herzoglicher Kanzler in Wolfenbüttel - Rechtsgelehrter - Humanist. Zur Biographie eines Juristen im 16. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden 1983 (but consider the corrections by Walther Ludwig, Joachim Münsinger und der Humanismus in Stuttgart, in: Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte 52, 1993, p. 91-135).

CHAPTER 5

Legal education as a channel to the social elite

Pia Letto-Vanamo

Abstract

The article discusses university education of legal professionals as an example of training the socio-legal elite in the Western world. Moreover, the current tension in academia between natural sciences on the one hand and social sciences and humanities on the other hand, with its impact on legal education and legal scholarship are touched upon. At the same time, the role of legal professionals as societal actors will be analysed, with Finland and other Nordic Countries as examples.

Key words: Legal education, Law faculties, Legal scholarship, Legal profession, Assessment, Evaluation of research.

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1. Introduction

In the following, I will discuss university education of legal professionals as an example of training the socio-legal elite in the Western world. Moreover, the current tension in academia between natural sciences on the one hand and social sciences and humanities on the other hand, with its impact on legal education and legal scholarship will be touched upon. At the same time, the role of legal professionals as societal actors will be discussed, with Finland and the Nordic Countries as examples. The analysis starts at founding of the first university in Finland, in the 17th century, and ends up at current developments.

Three incidents or developments inspired me to talk and write

on university education in law. The first of these are news from Japan: The Government requested national universities to close faculties / departments of social sciences and humanities. The universities should produce "human resources that match the needs of society by accurately grasping changes in industrial structure and employment need". At least 26 of Japan's 60 universities were considered a risk to close faculties affected during 2016 or convert them to "areas that better meet society's needs". Hence, university education should be reoriented at the expense of "non-practical" or "non-useful" disciplines. However, the plans were softened, while discussion of useful - useless disciplines stayed, and is not only a Japanese phenomenon but also well known in Northern Europe.

The second episode is from 2013: a proposal by US President Barrack Obama to cut a year off law school education. Education, especially at the elite law schools, is too expensive. The annual tuition fee at Harvard Law School is over 50, 000 US Dollars - mainly because of the professors' salaries. These are, for instance, twice as high as those of US Supreme Court judges. In reactions to the proposal, two educational models seemed to compete. Hence, the question was, whether the "most powerful elite" - at least in terms of Alexis de Tocqueville[1]- should be trained by law schools or by trade schools. Actually, the tension between theoretical (/university) and practical education has characterized initiatives for reform of legal education for centuries, and is clearly seen also in Finnish university history. Moreover, it can be said that other similarities also exist between the USA and Finland: While the traditional nobility - even the classical bourgeoisie - was missing in these countries, the societal elite was formed by other groups, first and foremost by members of the legal profession.

The third developments are from my home university, the University of Helsinki, which is the oldest (founded in 1640) and biggest as well as the only university in the country that is still hosting all traditional faculties and disciplines. However, the question whether it is an elite university or not will be touched later in this chapter. Either way, the University stands in 2017 as 56th on the

1. De La Démocratie en Amérique, 1835-1840.

Shanghai List but is working hard to be among the 50 best.[2] Hence, competitiveness, efficiency and internationalization are key terms in the University´s strategy documents influencing resource allocation, even ranking between individual researchers.

2. University for civil servants

Studies in Nordic university history often emphasize more general phenomena such as "the late modernization" of societies or "the late formation" of professions and professional culture. Compared to many other European countries, the Nordic countries *are* late modernized, late urbanized and late industrialized. For a long time, big cities, their bourgeoisie and complicated economic transactions were missing. The Nordic Countries are also welfare (/social) states with free and equal access to school and university education, and because of the Nordic tax and social security policy (economic) differences between social groups are quite small. Besides, the Lutheran religion and close cooperation between the State and Church have played an important role in organizing the Nordic societies and their educational institutions.[3] As with many other professions, the Nordic trained legal profession is a new phenomenon.

In Finland, the first university, the Royal Academy of Åbo (in Finnish: Turku), was founded by the Swedish Crown in the year 1640.[4] The aim of founding the University was to educate local priests and civil servants. Priests, who needed to learn the Finnish language, were to contribute to civilizing the "Eastern land" of the Realm, and civil servants to its 'Swedification' as well as to centralization of the Royal administration. From the outset, courses in law were taught at the Academy, but the history of a university-trained

2. It can, however, be noted that when the positions of the Nordic universities in the international ranking lists are analysed in relation to numbers of inhabitants, the Nordic countries stand on the top of the ranking.

3. See for instance Ditlev Tamm: The Faculty of Law. The teaching of law at the University of Copenhagen since 1479. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum 2010.

4. The country was part of Sweden until 1808; as to the history of the University of Helsinki, see Matti Klinge: A European University. The University of Helsinki 1640-2010, Helsinki: Otava 2010.

The Main Building of the University of Helsinki was designed together with the Senate Square by the German architect Carl Ludvig Engel in 1820-30s. The square brings together the academic, religious and governmental aspects of life, as it is surrounded by the Main Building, the Cathedral and the Government Palace. The Main Building was built as an identical copy of the Government Palace that lies on the opposite side of Senate Square. Photo: Samuli Junttila, UNI Material Bank.

legal profession starts as late as the 19th century.[5] Before that, civil servants, even judges were recruited mostly from among Swedish noblemen, who were privileged to obtain the highest civil and military offices, so that legal knowledge was hardly needed. For a long time, the main fora for conflict resolution – and thus for discussions on law – were local peasant assemblies (called *ting*).

In 1809, Finland became an autonomous part of the Russian Empire, as the Grand Duchy of Finland.[6] The Academy was renamed as

5. The 17th and 18th century Academy was mostly an institution for the education of priests. However, for other students, especially for sons of the (few) noble families, this early university was rather like a gymnasium where one could come at the age of 13-15 years for a general education in, e.g., Latin, philosophy, rhetoric, theology, law and fencing.

6. Until its independence in 1917, Finland belonged to the Russian Empire.

Imperial Alexander University and moved to Helsinki[7] in 1828. For the first time, Finland's own administration was built up for the country. In spite of the autonomous position, the role of the Parliament (Estates) was either non-existent (1809-1863) or weak. Many legal reforms necessary for industrialization and modernization of legal institutions were realized through administrative decisions and court practice. Moreover, because of lack of democracy and constitutional guarantees, legalistic thinking (referring mainly to the Swedish 18th century fundamental and other laws that still were in force in Finland)[8] and constitutional dogmatics became important, too. It can be said that the key players of society became high officials,[9] including appellate court judges.[10] Thus, civil servants, who formed the largest part of the societal elite, powered 19th century Finland. [11]

Towards the end of the 19th century, the number of Finnish-speaking[12] university students also increased. They came through the newly founded Finnish-speaking gymnasiums, and often from families of the so-called "third estate" but with a peasant background, as well. More generally, the University of Helsinki formed one of

7. Helsinki became the new Capital of the country instead of Turku/Åbo in 1819.

8. Based on the promise (oath) of the Russian Tsar that the Finns could retain their "old laws" (from the Swedish regime), their own languages (Finnish and Swedish) and the Lutheran religion.

9. Some of them were former Swedish army officers who became "unemployed" when Finland was attached to the Russian Empire.

10. During the period of Russian rule (1809-1917), supreme jurisdiction in Finland was exercised by the Governing Council, later renamed as the Senate. Thus, judicial affairs were dealt with by one of the senate divisions, the Judicial Division, which indicates that no clear separation of powers was in effect in Finland at that time. The independent highest instance, that is, the Supreme Court, was established in 1918.

11. See for more detail Jorma Selovuori (ed.): Power and bureaucracy in Finland 1809-1998, Helsinki: Edita 1999.

12. For a long time (only) the Swedish language was used as the sole administrative and judicial language. Finnish became the official language of the country in 1863, and the administrative language at the University in 1903. Since 1863 Finland has had two official languages: Swedish and Finnish. However, today only 9 % of the population speaks Swedish as their first language. The only bilingual university in the Country is (still) the University of Helsinki, which has, e.g., a yearly quota for Swedish-speaking students in law as one of the acts of protection of the linguistic minority guaranteed in the Constitution of Finland.

the main foundations of the essence of the Grand Duchy[13] and the formation of the Finnish nation: When national identity, language policy, journalism, economic or parliamentary activities were concerned, the University professors were involved. In this context such professors as philosopher, statesman and founding father of the Finnish currency (*markka*) Johan Vilhem Snellman (1806-1881) and physician, philologist and collector of the *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finland, Elias Lönnroth (1802-1884) should be mentioned.

At the same time, the University followed the Russian educational ideal of promoting professional and civil servant education. A university education in law became an important channel to the Finnish societal elite. Since 1828 civil servants needed to have a university degree.[14] A degree in law was the only one that guaranteed access to all state offices. From those days on, the law faculty at the University of Helsinki has been the most important institution in the country for educating not only civil servants but also judges for local and higher courts. However, it has also educated practicing lawyers (solicitors, advocates) and legal academics.[15] It is the university [16] – not the State (as e.g. in Germany), the Bar, or an "academy for judges" – that provides the basic qualification for the legal professions. Here, one can easily find reasons why discussions on university education in law and its reforms so often reflect the dilemma between the ideal of professional training and that of a more general, academic education.

This dilemma came clearly to the fore, for instance, in the 1970s when the Finnish school system[17] and university education were re-

13. A demonstration of the exceptional policy of the Russian Tsar towards Finland.

14. Letto-Vanamo: Juristische Fakultät als Beamtenschule, in J. Eckert and K.Å Modeér (ed.): Juristische Fakultäten und Juristenausbildung im Ostseeraum, Stockholm: Institutet för rättshistorik forskning 20014, 63-71. For developments in other Nordic countries see articles by other authors in the volume concerned.

15. Later, the great majority of the Presidents of the Republic have been with a university degree in law.

16. Since the middle of the 20th century, more universities have been founded. At the moment, graduation in law is possible at four of them (at the Universities of, respectively, Helsinki, Eastern Finland [in Joensuu], Lapland [in Rovaniemi], and Turku).

17. Since then, Finland has had a general, well-functioning primary school system.

The view from the Main Building to the Government Palace. Photo: Veikko Somerpuro, UNI Material Bank.

formed. During that decade, "democratization" of educational systems was insisted upon and the "too narrow" social background of the judges criticized.[18] Moreover, the subject of studies in law was slightly reformed through discussions about approximating legal science to other social sciences. Still, the practical and professional nature of legal education, covering all central fields of law, remained. However, current changes in the university funding system with an assessment culture as well as the internationalization of le-

18. Judges seemed socially and politically distanced from citizens, which gave rise to a lack of trust in the courts. Concrete changes in the recruitment base began with the changeover to a salary system and with the establishment of the position of district judges. Ever since the 1970s, the number of first instance judges has increased considerably, and at the same time, the proportion of women in the judiciary has begun to rise. In 1950, the Finnish judiciary consisted of 557 judges, 45 of whom were women. In 1970, the corresponding numbers were 699 and 84. And according to the statistics for 1990, the numbers had grown to 1,981 and 914. On the Finnish judiciary see further Letto-Vanamo: Finnish Judges between Tradition and Dynamism. In Sophie Turenne: Fair Reflection of Society in Judicial Systems – A Comparative Study, Cham: Springer 2015, 157-167.

The doctoral graduation of the Faculty of Law in the Main Building in 2010. On the back wall is a mural by artist Albert Edelfelt depicting the opening procession of University of Helsinki's predecessor, the Royal Academy of Turku, in 1640. After the Great Fire of Turku, the Royal Academy was transferred to the new capital city where it was renamed the University of Helsinki in 1919. Photo: Ari Aalto, Eero Roine, Faculty of Law, University of Helsinki.

gal orders, discussed later in this chapter, have put the traditional, national scope of legal studies under question.

As noted earlier, it is not easy to speak in economic terms of an elite in Finland or in other Nordic countries – and even less so in Finland than elsewhere. Be that as it may, the faculty of law at the University of Helsinki could (still) be seen as an elite institution taking in yearly around 250 students, which is roughly 10 % of applicants, selected through an entrance exam. The students are highly motivated, and do not quit their studies. They come from middle class (civil service) families and from the best high schools in the country, and after finishing their studies obtain the best jobs in the public or private sectors.[19]

19. Currently, over 50 % of law students will obtain work in the private sector: in law firms and private companies.

At the same time, the university education – as at the other Nordic universities – is free, paid by the public purse and, as already stated, gives basic competence to all branches of the legal profession.[20] Also in more general terms, the symbolic self-differentiation of Finns – unlike that of, for example, the French – is not linked to the formation of social classes over time or to any concomitant values or conceptions. In contrast, the protestant work ethic, a kind of pioneer spirit, has been important for defining commonly accepted and desired values. This is not to say, however, that Finnish law professionals would not be clearly a part of the middle class, characterised by expertise gained through education, and enjoying a highly respected and legitimate status as a part of the community. It is not uncommon that the profession of law is 'inherited'; it is only very seldom that a legal professional would have a working class background.

3. University scholars as legal actors

In all Nordic countries, modern national legal scholarship[21] was born as late as during the 19th Century, although in Denmark a little earlier than elsewhere. Inspiration was taken foremost from German scholars. For instance in Finland, the first text book on civil law, written (in Swedish) by Robert Montgomery[22] was partly a di-

20. For judges' qualifications, see Section 102 of the Constitution of Finland, and Section 2 of the Act on Judicial Appointments. Thus, the applicant must be a "righteous Finnish citizen who has earned a Master's degree in law and who by his or her previous activity in a court of law or elsewhere has demonstrated the professional competence and the personal characteristics necessary for successful performance of the duties inherent in the position". Membership of the Finnish Bar Association requires a Master's degree in law, the (Finnish) Bar exam and two years' practice in a law firm.

21. For a history of legal scholarship in the Nordic Countries, see esp. Lars Björne: Den konstruktiva riktningen – Den nordiska rättsvetenskapens historia, Del III, 1871–1910, Lund: Institutet for rättshistorisk forskning, 2002 and Björne: Realism och skandinavisk realism – Den nordiska rättsvetenskapens historia, Del IV, 1911–1950, Lund: Institutet for rättshistorisk forskning, 2007.

22. Montgomery: Handbok i Finlands allmänna privaträtt I, Helsinki 1889; Windscheid: Lehrbuch des Pandektenrechts I, Düsseldorf 1862. The influence of Windsc-

rect translation of Bernhard Windscheid´s "Lehrbuch des Pandektenrechts".[23] Additionally, theoretical impacts, especially those of Conceptual Jurisprudence (*Begriffsjurisprudenz*) were German, but only until the 1920s. Since then, ideas from (Scandinavian) Realism[24] have dominated legal thinking and judicial argumentation in the North. Courts refer to so-called real considerations (in Swedish: *reella övervägande*n), and respect *travaux préparatoires* as legal sources. The realistic approach, together with general democratization tendencies, led for instance to reforms of legal procedure and the Swedish court system in 1948[25] while similar reforms in Finland were realized as late as the 1990s.

Finland, however, has been an exception in this development: The German influence, especially Conceptual Jurisprudence, lasted much longer. This was superseded by the ideas of the Analytic School[26] as late as the 1950s. Reasons for this "exceptionalism" can

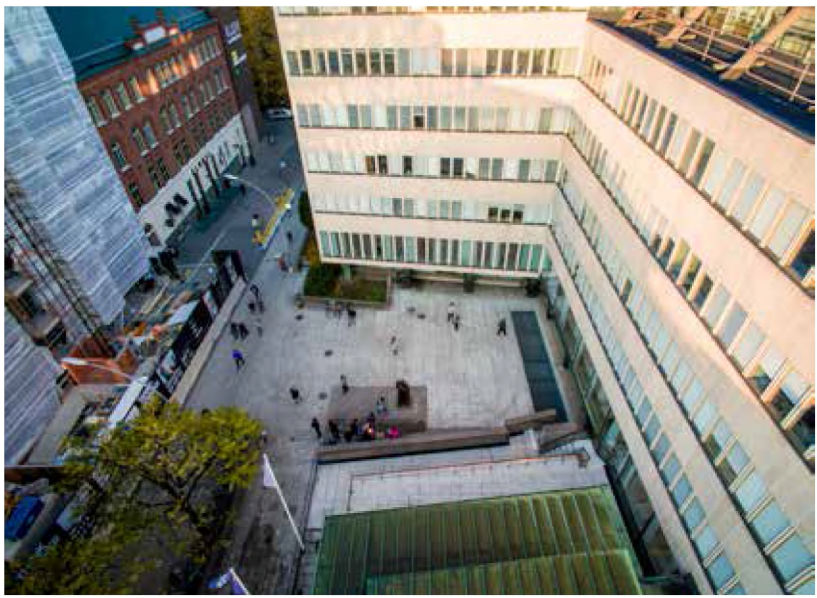
heid can also be seen in Denmark e.g. in Julius Lassen: Obligationsretten. Almindelig del, Copenhagen: Gad, 1892.

23. In other fields of law, too, an orientation towards Germany was common. The early civil law doctrine (e.g. by Montgomery) was influenced by the German pandect literature. The founding father of Finnish procedural law, Rabbe Axel Wrede, adopted ideas mainly from the Germans Oskar Bülow and Adolf Wach. However, interest in German legal science was not only a Finnish phenomenon. It is well known that German legal literature inspired legal professionals in many other European countries, too. A Finnish phenomenon, however, is that this influence was both long lasting and quite one-dimensional.

24. The first critical remarks against "constructivist orientation" in Sweden are from the first decades of the 20th century. In this context especially, such names as Axel Hägerström, Vilhelm Lundstedt, and Carl Olivecrona, and the so called Uppsala School should be mentioned, while the Danish Alf Ross and his "Realistic doctrine of legal sources" cannot be forgotten.

25. See further Kjell Åke Modéer: Den stora reformen: rättegångbalkens förebilder och förverkligande. Svensk juristtidning 1999, 400-427.

26. The domination of Begriffsjurisprudenz diminished in Finland above all through the influence of the Analytic School of law. This was closely connected to the Finnish philosophy of the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. G.H. von Wright and Jaakko Hintikka), which was strongly influenced by Anglo-American analytic philosophy. "Analytic" criticism focused mainly against "conclusions from concepts". But concepts were not neglected. They played a heuristic role – they were necessary for clarifying and classifying legal problems.



The Faculty of Law is currently based in the Porthania building, designed by architect Aarne Ervi. It was built to satisfy the need for more space caused by a vast growth in the number of university students in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Porthania's style represents 50s modernism and was the first notable building in Finland to be built of concrete elements. It contains both study facilities and students' social premises. Photo: Samuli Junttila, UNI Material Bank.

be found in the country's political history. During the Russian era, when Swedish legislation could still be kept in force, legalistic ideology played an important role[27], and because of the absence of democracy, law and legal institutions were reformed not only by administrative and court decisions, but also with the active role of the (few) scholars in law[28]. For instance, the first professorship in the Nordic countries solely for administrative law was founded at the

27. The legalistic approach was typical especially during the last two decades of the Russian era because of the Russification proposals of the Empire, heavily opposed e.g. by Finnish appellate court judges and law professors.

28. Actually, many of them were also actively in politics as members of the Government (Senate) or the Parliament (Estate) – R.A. Wrede, mentioned in fn 23, is a good example.

University of Helsinki in 1907. Central topics of the discipline were, and still are, the principle of the rule of law and its interpretations. An important model for Finnish doctrine was the German literature discussing the concept of the *Rechtsstaat* and the principle of legality.

During the turbulent first decades of independence (from 1917), the autonomous[29] and apolitical role of the law was pointed out – while discussions among Realists[30] on criminality and property or on the role of the courts did not gain a hold. Thus, it is quite common to maintain that Conceptual Jurisprudence with the idea of autonomous legal science was the most influential doctrine in Finland until the 1950s. Generally speaking, the analytic turn in Finland after World War II can be seen as a reflection of social changes, but also of efforts by legal scholars towards concepts which could serve the interests of trade and business better than the old ones. Nevertheless, positive law was analysed through logical conceptual methods, in spite of the common understanding that the content of legal norms is (also) influenced by the socio-economic environment, and *vice versa*.

Many crucial changes in Finnish society can be dated to as late as the 1970s. Then it became possible to speak of a welfare (social) state with the idea of the active role of the "good state". The decade is characterised by various democratization and modernisation processes: as we have seen, the school system and university education were reformed. [31] Not only was approximation of legal studies to other social sciences required but also trends in legal research

29. According to Björne, conceptual jurisprudence and its "apolitical" nature and its self-referential notion of legal science fitted very well with the political and social climate in Finland – first with the Era of Autonomy's orientation towards legalistic thinking, and then with the politically sensitive circumstances after the Civil War of 1918; Lars Björne: Realism och skandinavisk realism. Den nordiska rättsvetenskapens historia. Del IV, Lund: Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning 2007, 224.

30. See e.g. Toni Malminen: So You Thought Transplanting Law is Easy? Fear of Scandinavian Legal Realism in Finland 1918-1965. In: Nordic Law – Between Tradition and Dynamism, ed. by Husa et al. Cambridge: Intersentia 2007, 75-88.

31. On legal reforms of the 1970s see further Pia Letto-Vanamo and Timo Honkanen: Lain nojalla, kansan tuelle. Moments of Finnish Justice in the 1970s, Helsinki: Edita 2005.

changed,[32] as can be seen, for instance, in dissertations and in other academic works where the social dimension of law was pointed out. Here, especially[33], should be mentioned texts by Lars D. Eriksson inspired by Marxist theory and the Italian School "*L´uso alternativo del diritto*".

Regardless of criticism, the Analytic School preserved its importance in Finnish legal scholarship. Today, however, legal principles have become important, but concepts are still in use: they prepare the way for principles-based legal argumentation. From a comparative perspective it is also possible to say that, in spite of certain reorientations, legal science (legal scholarship) retains an exceptionally strong position in the country´s legal life. Even "critical" Finnish legal scholars share the view of three equally powerful legal actors (the legislator, the judiciary, and legal scholarship), and the *ethos* of the active role of legal scholarship as a means of changing law and society.[34] In particular, so-called general doctrines (in German: *allgemeine Lehren*) of law are important. General doctrines, i.e. the central concepts and principles of various legal fields of law, also stand at the core of Finnish legal education and legal thinking. They define the identity of particular legal fields or disciplines, and possibilities for a new legal field are combined with possibilities to discover and develop own concepts and principles.[35]

4. Towards a new elite?

Even today, a degree in law is the most "useful" and – just because of it – perhaps the most respected university degree in Finland, although legal professionals participate in State politics more seldom than before.[36] At the same time, legal scholarship plays an import-

32. The number of professors and other researchers in law has also heavily increased since the end of the 1960s.

33. Lars D. Eriksson: Marxistisk teori och rättsvetenskap. Helsinki: Juridica 1980.

34. See Letto-Vanamo: Meaning(s) of Social Justice in the Nordic Countries. In: Hans Micklitz (ed.): The Many Meanings of Social Justice in European private law, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing 2011, 257-276.

35. See especially Kaarlo Tuori: Critical Legal Positivism. Aldershot: Ashgate 2002.

36. Respect is also quite high in the other Nordic countries.

ant role in discussion and implementation of legal and societal reforms[37]. One example of the scholarly influence can be found in the work of the Constitutional Committee of the Finnish Parliament. In constitutional monitoring of new legislation, the Committee plays a central role while its opinions are drafted on the basis of hearing leading university professors specialized in constitutional law.[38] Still, the difference from the power of law professionals in the USA is remarkable: In Finland, as in the other Nordic countries, the legal sphere is more limited, and the borderline between politics and law quite strict. For instance, in Finland fundamental questions of same sex marriage or abortion, decided by the US Supreme Court, belong foremost to political debate, and are decided by the legislator (the Parliament).

At any rate, law as an academic discipline is changing. Legal regulation is not losing its importance, and jurists are still needed. However, especially the so-called Europeanization of law – all Nordic countries have ratified the European Convention on Human Rights, and Denmark, Finland and Sweden are members of the European Union (EU) – is both questioning the traditional, national approach of legal scholarship and changing legal practice, too. At most universities, law is still taught in national languages, and the main focus of training lies on the application of national law. At the same time, the daily work of many legal professionals has changed. Even judges ought to use foreign languages and be familiar with legal sources other than from their own country. Moreover, Nordic legal professionals are also involved in cross border (economic and other) activities, and compete for positions in "global lawyering" (in international institutions, arbitration, consultations, etc.).

At the same time, new ideals of university education and academic research are affecting law faculties, not only in Japan or in the USA, but also in Europe. One of the main ideals of university work

37. However, law professors and even other legal professionals are very seldom seen today as members of the Finnish Parliament.

38. On constitutional review in Finland, see e.g. Juha Lavapuro, Tuomas Ojanen and Martin Scheinin: Rights-based constitutionalism in Finland and the development of pluralist constitutional review. International Journal of Constitutional Law 2011, 505-531.

today is effectiveness, measured foremost by the number of (internationally highly ranked, peer reviewed) publications, with impact factors and citation indexes. At the same time, the success of a discipline or an individual professor is evaluated through the amount of external (non- university) funding and the intensity of international networking. The assessment culture together with the internationalization of legal regulation has also intensified the dominance of the English language as the *lingua franca* at the Nordic universities, even in law.

At the University of Helsinki, one half of the doctoral works in law are today written in English and published as articles or monographs by a foreign / international publisher. This happens in legal fields that are by nature international such as international law, European law or legal theory, but also in traditionally more national fields such as criminal or family law. At the same time, students are intensively participating in European exchange programs and more often obtaining law degrees (in English) abroad.

Thus, one could ask whether the traditional, national elite is losing its prestige within Finnish society, or is at least one part of it becoming even more powerful through activities in the international forefront. In any case, there is an international group of university professors and other academics, including Finnish scholars[39], that takes part in discussions on developments in European Union law and on more general issues of legal harmonization and transnational law. In those cases, the main language of communication is English. However, despite the legal cultural importance of the language, English seems neither to change national legal systems towards the English common law nor to increase convergence between the European legal families[40]. Moreover, legal scholars from Germany or France or from other countries with a "world language" are still intensively using their own languages. Interestingly, "international" or common-European discussion in English is dominated

39. This also concerns Finnish scholars in International law, comparative law, legal history and legal theory.

40. Here, at least the common law family and the continental-European civil law family should be mentioned.

not only by scholars from English speaking countries but also including an active group of scholars from countries with minor languages. [41]

Nevertheless, a university education in law still guarantees access to an elite powering the most important State institutions – and the position of a legal scholar to discussions with other legal actors. Nevertheless, changes both within the legal system and in university culture are challenging the elite´s position. Thus, the balance between the practical / useful and the theoretical / "useless" in education and between national and international orientation should be taken into consideration. It is not only the country´s (legal) history or the glory of the first university that enables writing about the legal profession as the leading elite group in Finnish society – in the future as well.

41. See further Bruno De Witte: European Union Law: A Unified Academic Discipline? In Antoine Vauchez – Bruno de Witte (eds): Lawyering Europe. European Law as a Transnational Social Field. Oxford: Hart Publishing 2013, 101-116.

CHAPTER 6

'What for – what ultimately for?' Liberal Arts and Elite Universities in the United States

Helle Porsdam

Abstract

The question of "what for – what ultimately for?" was asked by F.R. Leavis in response to C.P. Snow's famous lecture, "The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution," given at the University of Cambridge in 1959. What has since come to be known as 'the Two Cultures' debate concerned the gap – and the proper balance – between the technological and natural sciences on the one hand, and the humanities on the other. In his lecture, Snow had argued that the British educational system had over-rewarded the humanities at the expense of scientific and engineering education with the result that people in politics, administration, and industry were ill-equipped to manage the modern scientific world.

'The Two Cultures' debate was a fierce dialogue between two Cambridge colleagues about higher education and core curricula – about what we should teach young university students, and what a university education is and should be about. It has surfaced, since the 1960s, in various contexts – most recently in debates concerning the digital humanities and the future, in general, of the humanities. It is therefore a good place to start any discussion about 'the liberal arts' – a concept or idea which is the closest equivalent in the Amer-

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ican educational context of the German concept of Bildung (and the Danish 'dannelse').

My chapter is divided into two parts. First, I will offer a few additional observations on the issue of 'the Two Cultures'. Then, in part II, I will move on to my central topic: liberal arts and US elite universities. University rankings currently seem to be increasing in importance - or at least to be referred to more and more often by university presidents across Europe and the US - and the top universities ranked invariably include several American universities. It therefore makes good sense to have a chapter on US elite universities in a volume on elite universities. In my conclusion, I will return to 'The Two Cultures Debate' and compare it to debates currently taking place in the US concerning the future of the liberal arts.

Key words: The 'Two Cultures' debate - the importance of the humanities - the history of liberal arts in the US - US elite universities - debates on the future of the liberal arts in the US.

> In coming to terms with great literature we discover that at bottom we really believe. What for - what ultimately for? What do men live by - the questions work and tell at what I can only call a religious depth of thought and feeling.
>
> F.R. Leavis, 1962

The question of "what for - what ultimately for?" was asked by F.R. Leavis in response to C.P. Snow's famous lecture, "The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution," given at the University of Cambridge in 1959. What has since come to be known as 'the Two Cultures' debate concerned the gap - and the proper balance - between the technological and natural sciences on the one hand, and the humanities on the other. In his lecture, Snow had argued that

the British educational system had over-rewarded the humanities (especially Latin and Greek) at the expense of scientific and engineering education with the result that people in politics, administration, and industry were ill-equipped to manage the modern scientific world.

Leavis' reaction to Snow's lecture was delivered in his 1962 Richmond Lecture, "Two Cultures? The Significance of C.P. Snow." In and of himself Snow did not matter to Leavis; it is what he represented that was the problem. With all his clichés, repetitions and sentimental banalities, Snow was too obvious, too lacking in depth to question the received truth, Leavis thought. Snow could not stop talking about "social hope," and he preached a way of salvation that entailed welfare for all in terms of material standards of living and advantages of technology only.

'The Two Cultures' debate was a fierce dialogue between two Cambridge colleagues about higher education and core curricula – about what we should teach young university students, and what a university education is and should be about. It has surfaced, since the 1960s, in various contexts – most recently in debates concerning the digital humanities and the future, in general, of the humanities. It is therefore a good place to start any discussion about 'the liberal arts' – a concept or idea which is the closest equivalent in the American educational context of the German concept of *Bildung* (and the Danish 'dannelse').

My chapter is divided into two parts. First, I will offer a few additional observations on the issue of 'the Two Cultures'. Then, in part II, I will move on to my central topic: liberal arts and US elite universities. University rankings currently seem to be increasing in importance – or at least to be referred to more and more often by university presidents across Europe and the US – and the top universities ranked invariably include several American universities. In the *Times Higher Education* World University Rankings 2015-2016, for example, which lists the best global universities and claims to judge world class universities across all of their core missions – teaching, research, knowledge transfer and international outlook – this year's list of the 800 best universities from 70 different countries in the world features 147 of the top universities in the US. 63 of those

American universities make the top 200 of the list and even though the US seems to be losing some of its dominance,[1] it makes good sense to have a chapter on US elite universities in a volume on elite universities.

In my conclusion, I will return to 'The Two Cultures Debate' and compare it to debates currently taking place in the US concerning the future of the liberal arts.

The 'two cultures' debate - and beyond

The dimension that Leavis most of all found lacking in Snow was the individual, the human one[2]. Though all human beings share certain common features - hunger and thirst, for example, and the fact that we all have eyes, noses, legs and arms - "individual lives cannot be aggregated or equated or dealt with quantitatively in any way." (Leavis 1962 : 20) Spiritually, we are all different and it counts - or ought to count - how each individual human being thinks and feels. Snow's "social hope" did not catch that inward quality of individual life, that kind of existential thought and experience which might ultimately lead to something as old-fashioned as wisdom. At one level, what was at stake was what the Germans would call *Weltschmerz* - the tragic feeling and creative probing into the big questions about life and death which may at its best produce great art and literature.

At another level, the issue, as Leavis saw it, was the pace of life that modern science and technology seemed to result in. Snow had kept stressing, in his Rede Lecture, the urgency of his concerns, the speed with which today turns into tomorrow - "we have very little time. So little I dare not guess at it" (Snow 1998: 51) - but he hadn't really paused to consider the deeper implications of this. Brakes must be applied sometimes, Leavis thought. It was not that Snow

1. See Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2015-2016 - available at https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2016/world-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/sort_by/rank_label/sort_order/asc/cols/rank_only.
2. This next part of my chapter which concerns 'the Two Cultures' debate is taken from Porsdam, 2013.

1. Yale University - an Ivy League university, and one of the oldest in the United States.

was wrong in advocating improvements in scientific education and in living standards for everyone; it was more that "such concern is not enough - disastrously not enough." (Leavis 1962: 25) Things were changing so rapidly, and critical reflection was urgently needed to help make sense of it all - and to prevent the worst scientific blunders which, in the atomic day and age, could have fatal results. Moreover, important ethical issues could well be at stake - issues that perhaps scientists themselves would not be aware of:

> The advance of science and technology means a human future of change so rapid and of such kinds, of tests and challenges so unprecedented, of decisions and possible non-decisions so momentous and insidious in their consequences, that mankind - this is surely clear - will need to be in full intelligent possession of its full humanity (and 'possession' here means, not confident ownership of that which belongs to *us* - our property, but a basic living deference towards that to which, opening as it does into the unknown and itself unmeasurable, we know we belong). I haven't chosen to say that mankind will need all its traditional wisdom; that might suggest a kind of conservatism that, so far as I am concerned, is the enemy. What we need, and shall continue to need not less, is something with the livingness of the

> deepest vital instinct; as intelligence, a power - rooted, strong in experience, and supremely human - of creative response to the new challenges of time; something that is alien to either of Snow's cultures. (Leavis 1962: 25-26)

Intellectual depth and complexity along with a both critical and creative response to change - or *life*, an essential concept to Leavis because it was right at the core of what it means to be human - this is what humanities scholars such as Leavis himself could help preserve. Without "the creation of the human world, including language," he argued, "the triumphant erection of the scientific edifice would not have been possible." The word "language" is crucial here. To Leavis, language was not just a means of communication; it was through language that meaning was created - meaning which was then transmitted through literature as a "cultural community or consciousness." The place where this cultural consciousness might be sustained was the university, and because language was central to thought and thought, past as well as present, would be communicated via literature, the center of the university ought to be a "vital English School," Leavis maintained:

> Like Snow I look to the university. Unlike Snow, I am concerned to make it really a university, something (that is) more than a collocation of specialist departments - to make it a centre of human consciousness: perception, knowledge, judgment and responsibility. And perhaps I have sufficiently indicated on what lines I would justify my seeing the centre of a university in a vital English School. (Leavis 1962: 27, 28, 29)

Snow's lecture got an immediate response, both positive and negative, and he later thought that this must be because he had touched on something which was already "in the air": "It was clear that many people had been thinking on this assembly of topics. The ideas were in the air... any of us could have produced a hubbub." Apart from the fact that these ideas were not all that original to him, what could be inferred from this, Snow claimed, was that "there must be something in them." (Snow 1998: 54-55)

Snow had a point. Whether or not people agreed with him - and Leavis and many others obviously did not - he was on to something that greatly interested people. In fact, there was a similar debate going on at the University of Oxford. Here, Isaiah Berlin took the leading part in building a new graduate college, Wolfson College, which would promote the powerful scientific and technological developments of the time. (Hardy et al. 2009) And across the Atlantic, famous historian and special assistant to President Kennedy between 1961 to 1963 Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. gave a talk to the American Sociological Association at its fifty-seventh annual meeting in August 1962 (a mere six months after Leavis had reacted so strongly to Snow) in which he discussed what he considered to be the hegemonic drive of the quantitative approach. This particular annual meeting of the ASA being in honor of Paul Lazarsfeld, who was considered by many to be one of the founders of modern empirical sociology, Schlesinger had called his talk "The Humanist Looks at Empirical Social Research".(Schlesinger, Jr. 1962)

Schlesinger started out with a *cri de coeur*:

> Insofar as empirical social research can drive historians to criticize their assumptions, to expose their premises, to tighten their logic, to pursue and respect their facts, to restrain their rhetoric - in short, insofar as it gives them an acute sense of the extraordinary precariousness of the historical enterprise - it administers a wholly salutary shock to a somewhat uncritical and even complacent discipline. (Schlesinger, Jr. 1962: 768)

Having thus demonstrated that he had absolutely no quarrel with empirical social research per se and that, as a historian, he felt indebted to sociologists such as Lazarsfeld, Schlesinger then went on to clarify that the problem he wanted to address concerned the way in which many sociologists had come to consider empirical social research "not one of several paths to social wisdom, but the central and in-fallible path." Having fallen under the spell of what Schlesinger thought could only be called "the mystique of empirical social research," these sociologists had increasingly come to understand empirical social research as "above all, quantitative research - that

is, research which deals in quantifiable problems and yields numerical or quasi-numerical conclusions." He stressed once again that he did not wish to be misunderstood; no historian could possibly "deny that quantitative research, complete with IBM cards and computers, can make an important contribution to historical understanding." What he questioned was the assumption that such quantitative research "can handle everything which the humanist must take into account." And perhaps worst of all, Schlesinger argued, was the dismissal of everything non-quantifiable as being irrelevant and un-important. What quantitative methods are not very good at handling can in fact well be "the things that matter most," (Schlesinger, Jr. 1962: 768–70) he speculated – and then ended by going beyond his own discipline to conclude with a couple of paragraphs that concerned the humanities as a whole:

> There is much, I would add, which we must leave, whether we like it or not, not just to historians but to poets, novelists, painters, musicians, philosophers, theologians, even politicians, even saints – in short, to one form or another of humanist. For an indefinite future, I suspect, humanism will continue to yield truths about both individual and social experience which quantitative social research by itself could never reach. Whether these truths are inherently or merely temporarily inaccessible to the quantitative method is a question which only experience can answer.
>
> In the meantime, this humanist is bound to say that, as an aid to the understanding of society and men, quantitative social research is admirable and indispensable. As a guide to the significance of problems, it is misleading when it exudes the assumption that only problems susceptible to quantitative solutions are important. As a means of explaining human or social behavior, it is powerful but profoundly incomplete. As the source of a theory of human nature and of the universe, it is but a new formulation of an ancient romantic myth. (Schlesinger, Jr. 1962: 771)

Leavis would have agreed wholeheartedly. As Guy Ortolano has shown, it was not the importance of science and technology that Leavis questioned, but rather the complete endorsement by modern civilization of ideals such as description, logic and clarity – to the

exclusion of older, more qualitative ideals. (Ortolano 2005 & Ortolano 2009) For neither Leavis nor Schlesinger, that is, was it ever a question of science/technology versus the arts and humanities - but instead a question of finding the right balance between quantifying and qualitative ways of thinking. Both are important - and both offer us something that we cannot do without.

Liberal arts and American elite universities

Schlesinger received his BA at Harvard University - where he also later taught (before becoming a part of President Kennedy's team), even without having ever obtained a proper PhD-degree. This was unusual. Since the late 19th century, and at the instigation of, among others, Charles William Eliot, who had become president of Harvard in 1869, research-based learning and scientific knowledge had become the norm. Under Eliot's leadership, the undergraduate curriculum was liberalized, and highly structured professional and advanced degrees were developed. From now on, only by completing a Bachelor's degree could a student proceed to either graduate school (for his/her Master's or PhD) or professional school (law, medicine, nursing etc.). This is pretty much the system we know today - a system which is very different from the Danish and other mainland European systems. While still in high school, an American student applies to college - a four-year degree which will give him/her a Bachelor's degree. Unlike in Denmark or Germany, the student does not apply to study a particular area of study (say, history or English or political science); he or she only chooses a major in his or her third year. During the first two years, he or she has to take courses in many different fields, ideally covering not only the humanities or the social sciences or the natural sciences - but all of these. "Implicit in the notion of such education as it is practiced in the US is the concept of breadth. You concentrate in one field, but you get exposure to a range of others. You don't just learn to think; you learn that there are different ways to think." (Deresiewicz 2014: 151)

If a student wants to go on studying beyond his or her Bachelor's degree, then he or she has to apply again to either graduate or

professional school. Advancement to a Master's degree is not automatic. A second application must be written – most often to a different university than the one at which a student did his or her Bachelor's degree. From now on, however, specialization occurs in the American as in the mainland-European systems. And if the undergraduate years are characterized by breadth and relative freedom, (post)graduate education is much more rigorously structured and linked to achievement in research (graduate school) or capacity to practice a profession (professional school).

The model of the modern research university that motivated Charles Eliot at Harvard and his colleagues was an importation from Germany. According to the German idea of the university, which was, in part, inspired by the writings of Wilhelm von Humboldt, "the pursuit of scientific knowledge, in religion, biology, or history, meant endless systematic inquiry and open publication and discussion," the practical use of scholarly findings always taking "a back seat to protecting the ongoing pursuit of knowledge for its own sake." (Roth 2014: 107) Students would work together with their professors to pursue knowledge – a pursuit that can be successful only if it is free, not just from censorship, but also from being directed by the powers that be in terms of what to study and how to publish and make use of the fruits of such study. The result for US education, argues Michael S. Roth, was that liberal education came to be seen as a preparation for further academic or professional study:

> Whether one was to pursue engineering or medicine, law or commerce, students were imagined to continue their specialized training on the base of the broad liberal learning they experienced as undergraduates. Colleges were seen as components of universities in which students would receive the benefits of professionalization through more advanced study, and universities were organized not primarily to disseminate knowledge to students but to produce knowledge through research. (Roth 2014: 106)

Before the mid- to late 19th century, liberal education had been seen as an end in itself. The mission had been character building – to

2. Harvard University - another Ivy League university, and the oldest in the United States.

produce citizens who could act responsibly because they had learned to think for themselves. At least until the 1970s or so, a version of this latter mission still existed at many elite undergraduate institutions. Then, for reasons that I shall come back to, things changed. A fierce debate has followed these changes. The scientific and vocational model has won out completely in relation to graduate and professional schools; the debates currently raging in the US concern the undergraduate or liberal arts level.

It is no coincidence that the September 2015 issues of both *Harper's* and *The Atlantic* (two well-respected magazines) carried lead articles on the state of higher education in the US, for example. The article in *Harper's*, "The Neoliberal Arts: How college sold its soul to the market," is written by William Deresiewicz. (Deresiewicz 2015) The title of *The Atlantic* article, written by Jonathan Haidt and Gred Lukianoff, is "The Coddling of the American Mind." (Haidt & Lukianoff 2015) Whereas in his article, Deresiewicz criticizes the culture of the market and neoliberalism for reducing all values to money values, Haidt and Lukianoff take aim, in their *Atlantic* article, at phenomena such as "vindictive protectiveness," "trigger warn-

ings," "microaggression," and "emotional reasoning" – all new ways in which college students, in the name of emotional well-being, are demanding protection from words and ideas that they consider offensive. The thematic focus of these articles may thus be somewhat different, but they both point to recent developments that their authors deem disastrous for the liberal arts and for the opportunity of American students to get a good education.

Deresiewicz and Haidt are both academics while Lukianoff is an attorney and the president of a foundation. All three are vocal participants, both as public intellectuals and as academics, in the current debates on liberal arts education and elite universities. (Deresiewicz 2014; Haidt 2012 and Haidt 2005; Lukianoff 2014 and Lukianoff 2012) Their writings on the skills and values they want these institutions to impart to their students reflect the way in which college and university degrees are a major marker of status in the American context. And today, of course, the Ivy League Schools and certain other universities such as Stanford and MIT have become brand names that attract many, many more applicants than they have seats for. These are also the schools that for a number of years have topped every ranking of the most elite universities in the world (along with a few European ones such as Oxford and Cambridge).

Competition to get into these elite schools is accordingly fierce, just as admission standards are extreme. Most of all, though, these schools are very expensive. The average college tuition has increased over 1,200 percent since 1978 (the first year that records were kept), claims Fareed Zakaria in his 2015 book, *In Defense of a Liberal Education*. "That is four times the pace of the consumer price index and twice as fast as medical costs"– an extraordinary cost spiral and "one of the most striking phenomena in modern American life." (Zakaria 2015: 119-120) A liberal education was affordable to a middle-class family in the 1950s and 1960s. This is no longer the case, Zakaria writes – no wonder, therefore, that many parents worry about their son or daughter "jeopardize[ing] everything by majoring in the 'wrong' subject or getting a less marketable degree." (Zakaria 2014: 120)

The rise in cost is at the heart of many of the present debates

about the value of a college degree. As many as forty percent of the current student body at both Harvard and Yale, by some estimates, come from the top six percentile of American households, just as about twenty two percent of students at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton come from only about one hundred high schools (0.3 percent of the nationwide total) - "the 'feeder' system is alive and well," as Deresiewicz puts it. (Deresiewicz 2014: 207-208) What this means is that whereas there may well be diversity in terms of gender and race, there is an increasing economic *re*segretation happening at the moment on the campuses of US elite schools: "Economic inequality leads to educational inequality, which leads to an applicant pool that is heavily skewed toward the rich." (Deresiewicz 2014: 207) As both his article in *Harper's* and the title of his 2014 book, *Excellent Sheep: The Miseducation of the American Elite and the Way to a Meaningful Life* imply, Deresiewicz is highly critical of what is currently going on at the country's elite schools, not just in terms of elite education today reproducing the class system, but also in terms of the quality of such education and its impact on students. Himself a product of elite education and having for a number of years taught in the English Department at Yale University, Deresiewicz left in 2008 and has since dedicated his freelance writing career to precisely the issue of the fate of the liberal arts in the US.

"What are the liberal arts," Deresiewicz asks in his recent book - and then answers: "They are those disciplines" - the humanities, but also the sciences and social sciences - "in which the pursuit of knowledge is conducted for its own sake...They stand in contrast to applied or vocational fields like nursing, education, business, and even law and medicine (though they furnish the knowledge that underlies them)...". (Deresiewicz 2014: 149-150) Without regard to any vocational utility or financial reward, "in the liberal arts, you pursue the trail of inquiry wherever it leads. Truth, not use or reward, is the only criterion" (Ibid.) - or this is at least the general idea. Students study the most challenging works of art, history, politics, philosophy, science and literature in order to learn, to educate themselves and to discipline their minds.

This is obviously of great importance at the individual level, to each student him- or herself; but educating a well-rounded citizenry

who can speak truth to power and make informed choices is just as important at the societal level. This is what several of the American Founding Fathers thought. Thomas Jefferson (the third president of the US) was committed to the idea, for example, that freedom is based on literacy and knowledge, and that the new republic's success, perhaps even its survival, depended upon the "virtue" of its citizens. He was convinced that only by educating its citizenry could the new American Republic avoid both governmental tyranny and popular anarchy. John Adams (the second president), otherwise Jefferson's political rival, agreed on the necessity of education as a foundation for maintaining freedom. He thought, like Jefferson, that education should be a project for the government – not a private initiative. In order to ensure that the US would be a place of merit where birth and hereditary privilege would not count for much, "the whole people," Adams wrote, "must take upon themselves the education of the whole people, and must be willing to bear the expenses of it...There should not be a district of one mile square, without a school in it, not founded by a charitable individual, but maintained at the public expense of the people themselves." (Quoted in Zakaria 2015: 113) And it was not just the popular instruction of the citizenry that mattered; higher education was also very much on the minds of many of the Founding Fathers.

Jefferson helped found the University of Virginia in 1819 (known to his contemporaries simply as 'Jefferson's university'), and a few years before that, in 1751, Benjamin Franklin was instrumental in forming an Academy which was the first independent, non-religiously affiliated college in the colonies and later became the University of Pennsylvania. A self-taught man and an inventor, Franklin was more focused, than were both Jefferson and Adams, on the practical and useful than on learning for its own sake. Knowledge was power, and Franklin thought that education should help students make better choices as they embarked on their careers in business or law, or in politics or some other field. One did not need a university to teach one how "to carry handsomely, and enter a Room genteenly (which might as well be acquir'd at a Dancing-School)...," as he once put it in his criticism of America's leading colleges at the time, for example Harvard, which produced, he thought, privilege

and conceit rather than practical and useful knowledge. (Quoted in Roth 2014: 96-97)

Though we are essentially talking about education for the few at this point - white, male property owners - the idea was to make higher education work toward inclusion and toward nation building. Many Founding Fathers worried whether citizens of the new American Republic would be able to set aside self-interest in favor of the general common good. Liberal education, they thought, would encourage the kind of disinterested behavior and the careful cultivation of every man's innate moral sense that is needed to further thinking along both individual and collective lines. The Constitution, created in 1787 and coming into force in 1789, did not specifically mention education so the American Philosophical Society (APS) sponsored a national competition in 1795 to elicit proposals for a "system of liberal education" and "a plan for instituting and conducting public schools" in America.[3]

Founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1743, the APS was one of the country's oldest and most prestigious scholarly organizations. Proposals were to be submitted anonymously, and the APS expected a great many of them. But only seven proposals were handed in. Members of the prize committee were especially pleased with two of these, both of which were declared winners of the competition. Written by Presbyterian minister Samuel Knox (1756–1832) and publisher and APS member Samuel Harrison Smith (1772–1845), respectively, both proposals called for the nation to adopt a hierarchical system of schooling from the primary to the college level and for the establishment of a national university which, in addition to having students read the classics, would emphasize distinctly American ideas.

Education, democracy, and nation building have been inextricably linked in the American context and in American social thought and practice ever since. As the higher education system has gradually been opened up to non-WASPs (white Anglo-Saxon Protes-

3. Benjamin Justice and others tell this fascinating story in Justice, Benjamin (ed.): *The Founding Fathers, Education, and "The Great Contest": The American Philosophical Society Prize of 1797*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

tants) and women, attending college has been viewed as a means to promote social mobility and to overcome structural barriers to status and opportunity. For a number of immigrants, for example, college has been much more than "a glorified trade school," as Fareed Zakaria puts it. (Zakaria 2015: 17) "Newcomers," Zakaria (himself an immigrant from India) writes, "often from lower middle-class backgrounds and immigrant families with little education, enthusiastically embraced the liberal arts. They saw it as a gateway to a career, and also as a way to assimilate into American culture." (Ibid.)

Zakaria especially points to the post-war years during which this was a familiar pattern. Today, as we have already seen, the picture is somewhat different. For the past couple of decades politicians and others have sought to reorient US higher education into something more focused and technical, just as the cost of a decent college education has become prohibitive. "Education," write Grace Kao, Elizabeth Vaquera and Kimberly Goyette, has always been "an important way to judge how well immigrants 'fit in' or assimilate into the US." (Kao et.al., 2013: 2-3) However, opportunities to succeed in the American educational system are not the same for all immigrants. "Race, ethnicity, gender, national origin and the ability to speak English fluently are important in shaping the very different lives experienced by immigrants." (Ibid.)

The discussion about how inclusive and meritocratic American higher education (and especially elite schools such as the Ivy League schools) is and ought to be, but also how practical/vocational a liberal arts education ought to be has been there ever since - as has the question of whether it would be better to have a fixed curriculum of topics for all to pursue (the 'Great Books' approach), or whether the students ought to be able to choose for themselves. But whatever their take on this, most American educators have seen the development of character as one of the most essential results of a liberal arts education.

For William Deresiewicz's "excellent sheep," those "miseducated" members of the American elite, however, neither talk of character building nor of meritocracy seem to matter anymore, however. Already privileged, Deresiewicz's Yale undergraduates do not see college as a time for self-discovery so much as a time to accumulate

extra credentials or gold stars. Deresiewicz calls them "credentialists" because they only do things (double-majors, say) to boost their CVs and out of a lust for prestige and affluence - not to follow their dreams, experiment, or find their true passion. Some of this is a response to their parents' need for gratification through achievement, and Deresiewicz sees Yale Law Professor Amy Chua's book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* from 2011 as the perfect example of all that is wrong with US elite academia today. Chua intended her book to be a rebuke to lazy American parenting styles; instead, claims Deresiewicz,

> Chua's 'Asian' parenting style is simply an extreme version of upper-middle-class practice - the unrelenting pressure as she hounds her daughters to excel, the willful disregard of everything except 'achievement' - and it shows us all that's wrong with it and that lies behind it. Perusing her book is like reading a novel with an unreliable narrator: she is constantly revealing things she doesn't realize about herself, is blind to the meaning of her own story. (Deresiewicz 2014: 46)

The very fact that her daughters did get into Harvard, should not be seen as a validation of her method, but instead as "a condemnation of Harvard's, and of the system as a whole," Deresiewicz maintains. "Of course her daughter[s] got into Harvard: that is exactly the kind of parenting the system rewards. That's exactly what is wrong with it." (Deresiewicz 2014: 48)

Concluding remarks

One of the academics who has joined the chorus of criticism against the way in which liberal arts have developed in the US is the former Dean of the Yale Law School, Anthony Kronman. Since he stepped down as Dean in 2004, Kronman has taught in the so-called Directed Studies Program at Yale, devoting himself to the humanities. In his 2007 book, *Education's End: Why Our Colleges and Universities Have Given Up on the Meaning of Life*, he makes a passionate plea to revive what he sees as the lost tradition of the liberal arts, especially the humanities, of preparing young people to address life's most im-

portant question: what is living for? Echoing, but never quoting or referring directly to F.R. Leavis, Kronman claims that defining a 'good life' has been pushed to the margins of respectability in the fields of literature, philosophy, history and politics. The result is a lot of unhappy young people who get no spiritual guidance. Looking for answers to the most important, existential questions having been demoted in the humanities by now, Kronman argues, these young people end up being attracted, sometimes fatally so, to various religions and dubious sects. This is a problem both at the personal and the societal level.

Like several of the other critics mentioned already, Kronman puts part of the blame for this sorry state of affairs on the advancement of the technological and natural sciences at the cost of the humanities. But he adds one more reason: the rise from the 1970s onwards of political correctness which has shut down any serious discussion of life's meaning in favor of a multicultural take that is focused exclusively on race and gender equality. He sums up his argument in this way:

> ...the culture of political correctness that strangles serious debate, the careerism that distract from life as a whole, the blind acceptance of science and technology that disguise and deny our human condition. It is these that now put the idea of an art of living at risk and undermine the authority of the humanities teachers to teach it. (258-59)

I encountered political correctness of the sort that Kronman talks about when I first came to the US to do a PhD in American studies at Yale University in 1983. The 1980s was the decade that saw the first serious cannon debates and culture wars. These were very much with us in the American Studies Department. As graduate students, most of us would be teaching assistants for professors teaching core courses on American literature and history - and for these courses, the question of **whose** literature, **whose** history invariably came up. When I decided to do my dissertation on the author Henry James and the way in which he discussed the relationship between his native America and his adopted Europe, one of my fellow students asked why I wanted to write on one of these dead, white, (semi-)

3. "The Ivy League consists of these eight prestigious universities, seven of which were founded in the U.S. colonial period."

European males – why not write on Toni Morrison instead, she suggested.

Before going to Yale I had finished an MA in English at the university where I now teach and do research. The University of Copenhagen that I knew in the late 1970s and early '80s was in the last throes, so to speak, of the kind of Marxist thinking that characterized the humanities around and after 1968. We didn't do literary theory in the English Department; we did Marxist literary theory, for example. The sort of dogmatic thinking that this would sometimes result in was wonderful to get away from. Yale was a great relief for me in this sense as in so many others; spending four years at this magnificent university opened my horizon in every way – even though you could say that I exchanged one kind of political correctness for another.

The 1980s was also the decade of deconstruction at Yale. Paul de Man and Hillis Miller were there, and Derrida would come to town regularly to lecture. Deconstructivist and postmodernist thinking have quite obviously been important in so many different ways; the pompousness of certain Eurocentric ways of thinking and reacting needed to be exposed and discredited. But deconstructivist thinking has also left one sad legacy: an overly developed way of being critical. For several decades now, students have been taught that being smart means being a critical unmasker of all that doesn't make sense:

> Our best college students are really good at being critical…But…being entirely negative, is not only seriously unsatisfying; it is ultimately

> counterproductive. And not only because those outside the tribe see these marks of sophistication as politically correct groupthink...In training our students in the techniques of critical thinking, we may be giving them reasons to remain *guarded* - which can translate into reasons *not* to learn...Critical thinking is sterile without the capacity for empathy and comprehension that stretches the self. (Roth 2014: 182-184; emphases in the original)

Things are deconstructed - but rarely then reconstructed. This allows students to develop a critical distance to the context or culture under study, but it does not necessarily help them address ethical issues and issues of values (including their own). As Roth puts it, "we have been less interested in showing how we make a norm legitimate than in sharpening our tools for delegitimation." (Roth 2014: 185)

That "what for - what ultimately for?" question with which I opened is just as important today as it was when Leavis raised it. For Leavis and several of the other critics of the liberal arts that I have considered here, the main culprit is the rise of the quantitative and technological. That may be - but to this should be added the legacy of deconstruction, in my opinion. Investigating "how we generate the values we believe in, or the norms according to which we go about our lives", and "how we make a norm legitimate" (Roth 2014: 185) is important - why else would our students leave university with a belief that it matters to get engaged and to fight for that in which you believe?

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CHAPTER 7

Inaugural Addresses of Prague University Rectors between Science and Providing Service to Society, Nation, and State in the First Half of the 20th Century

Petr Svobodný

Abstract

Based on analysis of a series of rectorial inaugural addresses from both Prague universities (a Czech one and a German one) from 1890s–1947, the author tries in his presentation to capture the development of views regarding the goals and aims of two particular Central European universities. In the perception of the relevant protagonists, the view of university's mission oscillated between its role of an elite scientific institution which keeps up with international trends (this was often asserted in the speeches of rectors whose background was in natural or medical sciences) and the need for university to play a central social and political role. The latter view was expressed in particularly strong terms especially when inaugurations took place during the turning points of Central European history (WWI, post-1918, 1930s, post-1945) and it usually came from representatives of humanities, social, economic, and legal sciences. The function and content of Prague rectorial speeches are analysed both in the context of research of rectorial speeches at German universities and in the context of recent research into academic celebrations of important anniversaries.

SCI. DAN. H. 8 · 15 · THE ELITE UNIVERSITY – ROLES AND MODELS
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Key words: Inaugural addresses - Prague universities - Elite scientific institutions - Ideological and political instrumentalisation - 20th century

Introduction

In 1882, the ancient Prague university was by law split in two parts. From that time until 1939 (1945), Prague was thus the seat of two formally equal universities. Both remained integrated in the network of universities in the western part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Over time, however, their position and status within both the 'national' and international academic environment and broader social context evolved, among other things due to changes linked to the break-up of old state formations and the emergence of new states in Central Europe.

Prior to 1882, the university of Prague was more or less a provincial teaching and research institution, which educated the intellectual and professional elites of Bohemia and Moravia. Yet while its students came both from the ranks of the German-speaking minority and increasingly also from the Czech-speaking majority population, its teaching staff consisted mainly of German-speaking academics who migrated not only within the Austrian academic environment but within all of the German-speaking regions. After the 1882 split, the German university maintained not only its position of a regional Austrian university, but also its frequent contacts with universities in Germany. Its students, however, still came mainly from the Bohemian Lands. In connection with the increasing success of the Czech emancipation movement in late 19th and early 20th century, which culminated in the creation of an independent state in 1918, the German university in Prague was undergoing a complicated transformation of loyalties. Nonetheless, throughout the entire period in question, it maintained its status of the top academic institution of the German-speaking population of Bohemia and Moravia and until 1914, it was one of many loyal institutions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

During the First World War and then prominently again in the 1930s, however, many of its students and teachers increasingly sym-

pathised with pan-Germanic movements of various ideological orientation, including Nazism. During the interwar period, the German University at first sharply opposed the new 'national' state of the Czechs. Relatively soon, though, it became reconciled with its new position of a leading academic institution representing the most important national minority in Czechoslovakia, that is, with a status unique in the European context.

The new Czech university, too, was after 1882 formally one of many regional Austrian universities. Moreover, like some other universities in the Austrian provinces which taught in national languages (e.g. Kraków/Krakau or Lviv/Lemberg), it was already during the existence of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy the top academic institution of the Czech nation, whereby in the Central European context, a nation was defined mainly by language. After the creation of Czechoslovakia, the Czech university in Prague became the top academic institution of an independent state. This position implied not only a certain role in research and education, but also in political and social transformations.

Regarding the scientific standards of the two Prague universities, the German one maintained its reputation of a distinguished university, which attracted teachers from Austria and Germany before they managed to receive appointments at first-rate universities in Berlin or Vienna. The Czech university quickly overcame the initial teething problems and established itself as a standard teaching and research institution that kept in touch with international developments. In the interwar period, however, its social role, which included not only its position of a 'national treasure' but also active involvement of many of its professors in cultural and political life outside university, was as important as its main mission. This brief introduction indicates that even at the beginning of the 20th century, both Prague universities had to balance their position between service to society (city, region, nation, state) on the one hand and issues of scientific research which transcends state borders or ethnic affiliation on the other hand.[1]

There are several ways in which we can try to capture the charac-

1. Svobodný 2015; Havránek and Pousta 2001; Seibt 1984.

FIGURE. 1: The Great Aula in the Carolinum, where inaugural ceremonies of the both Prague universities were held until the mid-1930s (1928).

ter of a university and its role as an institution in the service of society, elite scientific centre, or an organisation balancing between the two. On the one hand, we could analyse the programmatic statements made by representatives of the institution in question, that is, declarations which were usually intended for a broad public and delivered at special occasions. The other way, which delves deeper into institutional history, involves an analysis of actual results (the development of infrastructure, numbers of students and teaching staff, publication activities, etc.) on the one hand and the study of the direct and indirect impact of academic activities on the society, economy, technology, culture, and politics in general.

In my current contribution, I choose for the former approach, that is, an analysis of programmatic statements by leading representatives of the two universities. It is worth noting that in the 19th century, the then young Norwegian university in Kristiania (now Oslo) struggled with a similar dilemma as the Prague universities when it had to balance between its service to a small nation under-

going a process of national emancipation and the high demands of international science. Its delegates, headed by the rector and representatives of some of the most important sciences represented there, presented their vision of the university to a broad Norwegian and international, academic and non-academic public in 1911 at the occasion of celebration of centenary of their university's foundation. Some of their speeches focused on the social role of the university, while others emphasised its status of a leading scientific institution. In practice, the university tried to meet both roles in which it was 'cast' in about an equal measure.[2]

Prague universities, too, had several times prepared for a presentation of their achievements and visions to the broad public at the occasion of celebrating an anniversary of their foundation. It is an irony of history that the planned grand celebrations of the 500th anniversary in 1848 and the 600th anniversary in 1948 were prepared by two very different institutions and in both cases, the celebrations were significantly disturbed, or rather modified in reaction to precipitous political developments.[3]

For the Prague universities, programmatic statements delivered during such anniversary celebrations are of little use, which is why we chose other, no less representative texts. We have decided to focus on the inaugural addresses of rectors, who assumed their function at the beginning of each academic year. Much like at universities in Germany, both Prague universities kept almost complete collections of inaugural addresses of rectors from the late 19th and the first third of the 20th century. In Prague, the German collection covers the period from 1894 to 1936, the Czech one 1907 to 1938, with the exception of two rectorial addresses from 1945–1947.[4] (A

2. Fure 2015.

3. Ďurčanský and Dhondt 2015.

4. Rectorial addresses of the German University in Prague appeared regularly in print. They were published as part of anniversary publications under various names, such as Rectors-Instalationen der k. k. deutschen Carl-Ferdinands-Universität in Prag, Die feierliche Inaugurationen der Deutschen Universität in Prag, Die feierliche Inauguration des Rektors der Deutschen Universität in Prag, Bericht der deutschen Karls-Universität in Prag über das Studienjahr…, etc. They are kept in the Archive of the Charles University in Prague. A list of titles of rectorial addresses of

comprehensive overview of rectorial addresses at universities in German-speaking lands, that is, Germany proper, Austria, Switzerland, but also the German University in Prague since the end of the 19th century until the second half of the 20th century has been compiled by project *Rektoradsreden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert - Online-Biblographie.*)[5]

Inaugural Rectorial Addresses in the 19th an 20th Century

In Germany, intense research based on the abovementioned sources has been going on for several years.[6] Our German colleagues expect that a thorough analysis of these sources should not only help evaluate the quality of the university in question but also contribute to an assessment of contemporary political atmosphere and its accents (especially so for the period after 1933).[7] German historians view inaugural addresses, as well as reports by rectors who are leaving their office, as sources of extraordinary importance, as - to use a somewhat poetic expression - *'jewels of academic historiography'*.[8] Incoming rectors regularly and relatively frequently (annually) ac-

the German University in Prague in 1894–1931 is also found in an online database: http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/anzeige/index.php?type=universitaet&id=168

Rectorial addressed of the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University and later Charles University appeared as part of anniversary publications, usually under the title Inaugurace rektora [Rector's Inauguration], Zpráva o studijním roce... [Report on the Academic Year...], or Universita Karlova v Praze v roce... [Charles University in Prague in the year...]. In the Archive of the Charles University, these inaugural brochures are bound together with lists of lectures and lists of personnel and institutes for the relevant academic year. Some rectorial addresses were published separately (sometimes in an extended form), while others, after 1945, appeared in the daily press.

5. http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/anzeige/index.php?type=list&id=universitaet

6. http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/texte/unigeschichte.php and

http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/texte/organisation.php

7. Häuser I, 2009, p. 3.

8. Häuser I, 2009, p. 1.

quainted the entire academic community, assembled representatives of social, political, and cultural elites, but also the broad public not only with the most recent discoveries but often also with more general trends and problems in their field of expertise, often linking these subjects to current social and political realities.[9]

At both Prague universities – like at universities in Germany – representatives of all four faculties (faculty of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy) regularly took turns in the elected function of a rector. After 1920, they were joined by representatives elected from the new faculties of natural science. Natural scientists, however, were represented among rectors even before, as representatives of the faculties of philosophy from which their sciences had separated. Nonetheless, rectorial addresses presented the state of various sciences unevenly, since as part of the regular rotation, theology and legal sciences were relatively overrepresented, while the now expanding and further specialising medical, social, and especially natural sciences were represented in the rotation of faculties relatively less. In Prague, much like in Germany, incoming rectors tended to focus in their speeches on issues relevant not only from a professional but also a social point of view. Their speeches thus reflected also various current scientific and popular discussions, and especially during the troubled periods of the 20th century they did not avoid even controversial political topics.

Prague Inaugural Rectorial Addresses in 1894–1947

In the last decades before the First World War, the German University in Prague was headed by several scientists of European stature. Shortly after the split in 1882, its rectors included, for instance, the physiologist Ewald Hering (1882/83), physicist Ernst Mach

9. For more on the definition, development, contents, and preservation of rectorial addresses in German-speaking countries: http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/texte/rektoratsrede.php

On their preservation and accessibility in libraries and archives, see:

http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/texte/standort.php

(1883/84), and chemist Karl Huppert (1895/96).[10] The earliest published rectorial addresses come from the 1890s, a period when issues that could interest broader public and not only experts were usually taken up mainly by lawyers. This was repeatedly the case at the German university (Joseph Ulbrich, Friedrich von Wieser, Emil Pfersche, Heinrich Rauchberg, Adolf Zycha),[11] less frequently at the Czech one (Jaromír Čelakovský, Kamil Henner).[12] Among the inaugural speeches of natural scientists and physicians from this period, historians of science rate highest the 1895 lecture by Karl Huppert (1832–1904), professor of medical chemistry. In his address *Über die Erhaltung der Arteingenschaften*, Huppert for the first time presented and later published his idea, inspired by his colleague Ewald Hering, professor of physiology, about a connection between nucleic acids and the issue of heredity.[13]

At the time of our interest, historical argumentation was often part not only of social discussions but also political conflicts in the Czech Lands.[14] It is therefore rather unsurprising that at both universities, excellent historians were often elected rectors. In 1902, Adolf Bachmann (1849–1914), professor of Austrian history and an active politician,[15] presented in his address at the German university an overview of German historiography in the 19th century.[16] His Czech counterpart, Jaroslav Goll (1846–1929), founder of Czech positivist historiography, was elected rector of the Czech university in 1907 and his inaugural address traced the history of 25 years since

10. For a list of rectors of the German university in 1882–1918, see Havránek 1997, pp. 343–347.

11. Titles of their inaugural addresses can be found at http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/anzeige/index.php?type=universitaet&id=168

12. The lower number of inaugurations of lawyers is due to the fact that Czech inaugurations are preserved only after 1907/1908.

13. Huppert 1895; Štrbáňová 2004, pp. 195, 205–207.

14. Kutnar et al. 1997, pp. 384–40, 449–458.

15. He was a deputy of the Bohemian provincial diet and the Austrian Imperial Council for the German Progressive Party. Within both Bohemian and imperial Austrian politics, Bachmann represented German nationalist positions and rejected the Czech efforts to achieve greater autonomy.

16. Bachmann 1903.

the split of the Prague university.[17] Unlike his followers in 1920 and 1934, he did so quite factually and objectively. Especially noteworthy from the perspective of later developments are the inaugural addresses of physiologist František Mareš (1857–1942), the last Czech rector to be elected before the outbreak of the First World War. In his 1913 speech, he presented the core principles of his vitalist philosophy (according to which life equals creative power).[18] In 1920, after he was elected rector for the second time, his address was dedicated to a defence of his political activities (see below).

Typical examples of lectures which summarised a broader context of research in natural science and medicine are found in the inaugural addresses of both Czech and German rectors from 1910 and 1912. They spoke of the challenges which biological research faces,[19] about the mysteries of biology,[20] and – in a summarising contribution of the famous German medical chemic Richard von Zeyneck in 1913 – of progress in research in natural sciences.[21] And last but not least, the abovementioned philosophising lecture by František Mareš also belongs this group.

The First World War tested the loyalty of both universities to the state, i.e., the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and to the nation, that is, Czech and German nation in their various definitions: Germans in Bohemia, Germans in the Habsburg Empire, or Germans in general (including the allied German Empire). Throughout the war, obligatory praise of the dynasty, the empire, and its war effort was repeatedly a conspicuous part of rectors' reports about the previous academic year. Czech rectors usually emphasised loyalty to fatherland in the narrow sense, i.e., the Czech Lands, while the German rectors tended to include the German Reich as well.

Remarkably, the wartime was also reflected in some inaugural addresses. Two German rectors, Heinrich Swoboda (1856–1926), professor of Classical philology and history, and Ottokar Weber

17. Goll 1908.
18. Mareš 1914.
19. Janošík 1910.
20. Vejdovský 1912.
21. Zeyneck 1914.

(1860–1827), professor of general history, analysed the historical and current concept of alliances.[22] The ophthalmologist Anton Elschnig (1863–1939) addressed pressing health issues linked to the war in his considerations about various ways of treating eye injuries.[23] Incoming rectors in Leipzig also explicitly reacted to the war, much like rectors of the German University in Prague. At the beginning of the war, Albert Köster (1862–1924), professor of German studies, analysed the role of universities in times of war,[24] while the economist Wilhelm Stieda (1852–1933) already during the war tried to outline a prognosis of its impact on Germany's post-war economic development.[25]

In inaugural speeches of Czech rectors, one would search for direct references to the war in vain. One cannot tell, however, whether this is because so few inaugural addresses were actually delivered or whether rectors, by not speaking about current affairs, demonstrated their reserved approach to the war, which they did not see as something they should be involved in. On other occasions, Czech rectors, however cautiously, dared to express their loyalty. This was not only in their regular addresses when leaving the office, but also, for instance, in an official speech of the historian Josef Pekař (1870–1937) at a memorial gathering commemorating the recently deceased Emperor Franz Joseph in 1916.[26] This speech is the more interesting because after the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, professor Pekař was often asked to deliver official addresses about former 'traitors' (and his scientific opponents, among others) who were now 'national heroes', such as president of the Czechoslovak Republic Tomáš G. Masaryk or Ernest Denis (a French historian, Bohemist, politician, and ardent supporter of Czech and Slovak independence).[27]

And finally, in the context of loyalties demonstrated at the most important festive academic occasions, let us note that not only the

22. Swoboda 1915; Weber 1917.

23. Elschnig 1918.

24. Häuser II, 2009, pp. 1081–1092.

25. Häuser II, 2009, pp. 1131–1148.

26. Zpráva o studijním roku 1916/17, pp. 3–8; Hanzal 1993, pp. 13–23.

27. Hanzal 1993, pp. 103–117, 132–139.

German, but also the Czech university in Prague awarded in 1916 an honorary doctorate to Archduke Charles, heir to the Austrian throne.[28]

In 1918, the break-up of the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the creation of new 'national' states, including Czechoslovakia, radically changed the mutual position of the two main ethnic groups inhabiting the Czech Lands. The Czech population became the 'state nation' while the German inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia overnight found themselves in an undesirable position of the largest ethnic minority within the in fact multi-ethnic Czechoslovakia. Mutual relation between the two universities, which were still formally equal, had also radically changed. The Czech university became the most important academic institution of the new state. Aided by a new ambitious education policy, it started a new stage of its development, which, however, in late 1920s reached its limits due to an economic and later also political crisis. Activities of the German university, which was hitherto in many ways favoured by the Austrian state apparatus, were not restricted and the university managed to maintain its position within the network of German-speaking academic institutions, i.e. both in Austria and Germany. On a symbolic level, however, which was reflected even in legislation, the Czechoslovak state did relegate it to a secondary status.[29] Mutual relations between the two national communities and their universities were also reflected in the sources we are interested in, that is, in declarations by the leading representatives of these universities. References to this subject appear already in the first post-war years.

The mutual relation between the two Prague universities was newly defined by a law of February 1920, called after its main advocate 'Lex Mareš'. František Mareš (1857–1942), professor of physiology and a Czech nationalist politician, was for his work on behalf of the Czech university elected in 1920/21 rector of the Charles University – as the Czech university came to be called based on the new

28. Zpráva o studijním roku 1915/16, p. 14; Die Feierliche Inauguration... 1916/17, p. 10.

29. Svobodný 2015, pp. 112–114.

FIGURE. 2: The Carolinum (Charles College), historic seat of Prague University (1938).

law. Its German counterpart was denied this name and the law also rejected its claim to being a successor of the ancient Prague university. Mareš's inaugural address was in fact a defence both of his person and of actions of the Czech academic and state institutions which the German university had accused of 'falsifying history'. It contained mainly various detailed historical and legal arguments which led to the endorsement of the abovementioned legal act, arguments which failed to convince even some Czech academics. In his historical argumentation, Mareš among other things referred to Goll's inaugural address, or rather its extended version from 1908. At the same time, he explicitly disagreed with August Naegle's views as expressed both in his published works and in speeches he made while rector of the German University.[30]

During the hectic times of the end of the war and in the first post-war months, thus also a time when this law was being pre-

30. Mareš 1921.

pared, it was August Naegle (1869–1932), professor of theology, who was twice in a row elected rector of the German university. The main subject of his inaugural address of January 1919 was St. Wenceslas, a historical prince and patron saint of Bohemia. In his critical biography, Naegle emphasised his accommodating approach to the 'German Empire' and his transformation into the national saint of the Czechs. He then appealed to Bohemian Germans not to give up their share in the historical legacy of Bohemia as represented, among others, by St. Wenceslas.[31] Just two years later, however, Czechoslovak politicians with the support of part of the Czech academia did deny the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia their part in the shared historical legacy, as represented in this case by the academic tradition. Naegle's address when leaving the rector's office in the fall of 1920 was then a direct and sharp polemic with arguments presented by Rector Mareš in his inaugural speech of 1920 and a harsh indictment of actions of the Czech authorities and the Czech university.[32] Yet even his historical and legal argumentation, which he, like Mareš, prepared with the help of some other academic colleagues, was not utterly convincing and in all particulars correct.

Implementation of the law regulating the relation between the two Prague universities was not fully consistent. For instance, representatives of the German university for a number of years refused to hand over to the Charles University the historical sceptres of the Prague university.[33] It was another Czech nationalist politician, Karel Domin (1882–1953), professor of botany, who used his time as rector to press for a thorough implementation of this part of the law. He then described his 'struggle for the completion of historical justice' both in his report when handing over his office in 1934 and in a

31. Naegle 1919.

32. Naegle 1921.

33. The insignia of the Prague university, partly medieval, partly from the Early Modern Era, especially the sceptres of the rector and the deans of faculties, were traditionally another symbol of academic autonomy. After the 1882 split of the university in two, they were kept by the German university. After 1918, they were granted to the Czech Charles University and in 1939, they were again appropriated by the German Charles University in Prague. At the end of the war, in 1945, they were removed, transported away, and their further fate remains unknown. See: Hruza 2008.

separate publication called *Můj rektorský rok* [My Year as Rector].[34] His own inaugural address, delivered in November 1933, in the year of '*the fifteenth jubilee of national liberation*', as Domin often emphasised,[35] rather remarkably did not mention either this anniversary or the mutual relation of the two Prague universities. Instead, Domin spoke of conservation of nature from the perspective of a biologist and his rectorial address later appeared as a separate publication.[36]

Some other inaugural addresses of rectors of the Charles University also quite pragmatically reacted to pressing problems of the young state, though not always in a way as political as the one mentioned above. Especially rectors elected from the Faculty of Law tended to choose subjects which reflected problems and challenges in the area of legislation, monetary policy,[37] and national economy.[38] Most programmatic and state-building of these lectures was the inaugural address of Karel Hermann-Otavský (1866–1939), professor of business and exchange law and the first rector of the Czech university in the newly independent Czechoslovakia. He spoke about the imminent tasks which the legal system of the new republic would have to face and presented his address in the presence of president of the republic.[39] The exceptional character and social relevance of this speech was highlighted also by the following rector, Josef Zubatý (1855–1931), who said: "*It has been a time-honoured custom that the rector, upon introduction to his office, speaks on a subject from his area of expertise. My predecessor, His Magnificence Mr. Pro-Rector, deviated somewhat from this custom. While choosing a subject from his speciality, he presented a speech interesting not only by its scientific core but also most timely and relevant. He did so, as he himself said, 'under the dictate of the times when the eyes of all aim forwards, to a road we are to travel in a new situation, when our freedom is still young'. I believe that it would be propitious to follow his example.*"[40] And indeed, Zubatý, pro-

34. Domin 1934.
35. Domin 1934, p. 53.
36. Domin 1933.
37. Horáček 1922.
38. Drachovský 1934; Funk 1939.
39. Hermann-Otavský 1919.
40. Zubatý 1919, pp. 51–52.

fessor of Indian studies and comparative linguistics, spoke at his inauguration about the decline of his native language.

Rectors of the German University, whose political sympathies ranged from extreme German nationalism and opposition to an independent Czech state all the way to so-called 'German activism', did not express their political views in their inaugural addresses so openly. Alongside August Naegle, the 'iron rector' of 1918–1920 and 1929/30, radically German nationalist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Czechoslovak views were represented especially by Marian San Nicolò (1887–1955), professor of Roman law and rector in 1931/32 and 1932/33. In his inaugural address, however, he spoke only on his area of expertise.[41] On the other side of the range of attitudes of German professors with respect to the new Czechoslovak Republic we find, for instance, Robert Mayr-Harting (1874–1948), professor of Roman and business law. As an 'activist' politician, he even served in 1926–1929 as minister of justice in the Czechoslovak government for the German Christian-Socialist Party. Yet even his inaugural address was politically neutral (he served as rector in 1921/22).[42] An interesting example of evolution of political views from cooperation with Czech colleagues all the way to becoming a Sudeten German politician and Nazi sympathiser can be traced in the career of Gerhard Gesemann (1888–1948), professor of Slavic studies.[43] Yet he, too, started his term as a rector (1933/34) by delivering a lecture dedicated fully to his area of specialisation (ethnography of the Southern Slavs).[44] Karl Hilgenreiner (1867–1948), professor of Church law, had undergone an even more complex transformation of views: from a representative of the nationalist wing of the German Christian-Socialist Party, through rapprochement with the Sudeten German Party, all the way to denouncing the occupation of the Czech Lands by Nazi Germany. In his inaugural address in 1935,

41. http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/anzeige/index.php?type=rektor&id=-2096243796

42. http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/anzeige/index.php?type=rektor&id=2101775045

43. Konrád 2011; Míšková 2007.

44. Gesemann 1934. His inaugural address appeared in a substantially extended version in print (222 printed pages).

Hilgenreiner spoke about the relation between universities and a worldview.[45] Increasing anti-Semitism of German students and professors, meanwhile, manifested itself openly already in 1922, when by the principle of faculties taking turns, the office of rector went to Samuel Steinherz (1857–1942), professor of auxiliary historical sciences of Jewish origin. He refused to act in accordance with an old Austrian tradition and immediately resign his office. In the end, despite the protests of nationalist and anti-Semitic students, and thanks also to support in legislation, the democratic atmosphere of the young republic, and support of the Ministry of Education, he did serve his full term as rector.[46] His inaugural address dealt exclusively with a subject from medieval Church history, an issue perhaps only seemingly unrelated to the current situation.[47]

Among Czech and German natural scientists and medical doctors, we can observe certain general differences in their approach throughout the interwar period. The German ones tended to choose more general subjects from natural and medical sciences, often with excursions into philosophy or ethics (Carl J. Cori, Otto Grosser[48]). Their speeches thus aimed at a broader audience, not only experts in their own fields. Their Czech counterparts, on the other hand, physicians Otakar Kukula, Vladimír Slavík, Rudolf Kimla, and Karel Weigner, as well as the geologist František Slavík, usually focused on particular problems in their field of expertise, i.e., surgery, forensic medicine, pathological anatomy, anatomy, geology and chemistry. Professor Jindřich Matiegka (1862–1941), founder of modern Czech physical anthropology who during the interwar period participated in formulating the population policy of the young Czechoslovak state, somewhat defied this trend. Unlike his colleagues, he was not a representative of a 'pure' natural science and his rectorial address, too, in which he spoke about the 'racial' composition of the Czechoslovak nation, was somewhat more general.[49]

45. Hilgenreiner 1936.

46. Šimůnek et al. 2013, pp. 216–228.

47. http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/anzeige/index.php?type=rektor&id=-28089694

48. Cori 1928; Cori 1931; Grosser 1929.

49. Matiegka 1929.

There was also a noticeable difference between the Czech and German rectors who came from social sciences and humanities, though the subjects they addressed to some extent complemented each other. The Czech rectors (František Pastrnek from the Slavic studies, archaeologist Lubor Niederle, historian Gustav Friedrich) usually chose topics reflecting the national fervour of the young republic, that is, subjects from Czech or at least Slavic languages and literature, archaeology, history, or ethnography. Their German colleagues, on the other hand, chose subjects from Classical or Germanic studies[50] but they did not baulk at controversial issues linked to Czech-German or Hussite-Catholic rivalry (for the third time the abovementioned August Naegle in 1929[51]).

The abovementioned historian Josef Pekař, too, chose for his inaugural address in 1931 a contentious subject from social sciences, but this time it pertained to a debate which was happening mainly in the Czech academic and indirectly also cultural and political environment. He spoke about the periodization of Czech history, thus opening another chapter in the so-called 'struggle for the meaning of Czech history'.[52] Prominent protagonists of this debate, which started already in late 19th century, included Josef Pekař and Tomáš Masaryk, erstwhile academic colleagues, now a rector and a president of the republic. Briefly, the controversy was between the two main directions in thinking about and researching the Czech history, namely between the ideological and theological conception defended by the philosopher Masaryk and the empirical and positivist approach of the historian Pekař.[53]

In the autumn of 1939, just several months after the occupation of the Czech Lands by Nazi Germany in March 1939, Professor Bedřich Hrozný (1879–1952), expert in Hittite culture of worldwide renown, was expected to start his term as a rector of the Charles University. His inauguration, however, did not take place because

50. http://www.historische-kommission-muenchen-editionen.de/rektoratsreden/anzeige/index.php?type=universitaet&id=168

51. Naegle 1930.

52. Pekař 1931.

53. Kučera 2005, pp. 33–80.

FIGURE 3: Rector's inaugural ceremony of Professor Bydžovský in the Great Hall of the Faculty of Law (1946)

on 17 November, 1939, the German authorities had ordered the closure of Czech universities. Despite these developments, Hrozný decided to address the academic audience and broad public with a festive speech. It took place not in the facilities of the already closed university but in the Great Hall of the Municipal Library. His lecture, named *On the Oldest Migrations of Nations and On the Subject of the Proto-Indian Civilisation* soon appeared in print and in both the spoken and the printed version claimed to be an inaugural rectorial address.[54] Hrozný's purely scientific argumentation and conclusions, among other things about the passing success of civilisations which aimed at conquest or the problematic nature of theories of racial purity, made at the time a very different impression and both the audience and the occupying authorities viewed the speech as a demonstration of defiance.

A later, and for a long time last, stage of the conflict between the concept of a university as a top scientific institution on the one hand

54. Hrozný 1939.

and an institution in service of society on the other hand, came with the inaugural addresses of two of the three first (and for a long time also last) freely elected rectors of the Charles University after 1945. Both in their speeches addressed, among other things, the relation between science and society and the position of a scientist in a society. The first post-war rector, Jan Bělehrádek (1896–1980), professor of medical biology and parliamentary deputy for the Social Democratic party, emphasised the social aspect of modern science and the fact that science and society mutually influence each other.[55] His successor, Karel Engliš (1880–1961), professor of economics, two years later (in 1947) on the other hand emphasised not only scientists' contributions but also their personal responsibility and tried to moderate the growing radical tendencies among university students.[56] After the 1948 Communist coup-d'état, neither of the rectors could remain at the Charles University. Engliš resigned his office already in February and adopted a forced retirement, while Bělehrádek left into exile.

Conclusions

Neither the Czech nor the German Prague university elected in the first third of the 20th century as its rector a scientist of world renown (perhaps with the exception of the abovementioned Bedřich Hrozný). Some of their professors did achieve international fame but their careers peaked either at other universities (e.g. Albert Einstein, formerly professor of the German University in Prague) or at another time (for instance Jaroslav Heyrovský, who received Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1959). Though both the Czech and the German university were in the interwar period clearly the most important scientific institutions in the country, this was not reflected in the speeches given by their rectors. In the turbulent transitional decades of late 19th and early 20th century, both universities largely remained in the service of their national communities and this showed both in their official statements and in practice.

55. Bělehrádek 1946.
56. Engliš 1947.

Already before the First World War, both the specifically academic and broader public tended to pay special attention to addresses of rectors from both universities whose background was in historical or legal sciences. Their speeches often aimed at providing arguments relevant to the cultural and political rivalry between the two national communities. This trend became even more pronounced after 1918 in independent Czechoslovakia, when rectors of the Czech university defended the right of the Czech university – and more broadly the right of the Czech ethnic community – to a privileged position in the new state, which, they claimed, had been 'justly and deservedly' won. German rectors, on the other hand, used historical and legal arguments in their defence of rights which were at that time denied both to their university and their ethnic community. On both sides, this politically driven instrumentalisation of humanities and legal sciences led to a degree of misrepresentation.

Ideological and political controversies which used arguments from humanities were not, however, limited to debates and rivalries between the two ethnic communities. In some cases, they also took place within the Czech camp: as exemplified, for instance, by the discussion about the meaning of Czech history, which started in late 19th century and went on until early 1930s. Extremely nationalist or anti-Semitic positions of some representatives of the academia (teachers and students) on both sides appeared especially since late 1920s and early 1930s. They were voiced outside academia, mainly in journalism, in the parliament, and in the streets, but fortunately not in the rectorial addresses.

The worst, however, was yet to come: nazification of the German university after 1938, closing of the Charles University by the occupying German authorities in 1939–1945, dissolution of the German University in 1945, and sovietisation of the Charles University after 1948. New ideological divisions, regarding for instance freedom of research and scientists' responsibility, were present already in the addresses of the two last freely elected rectors after 1945. Nonetheless, many disciplines, especially natural and medical sciences, managed to maintain their scientific standards even at times when the university as a whole was dominated by communist ideology and

politics. And even after 1952, when institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science were created alongside universities as the main elite research institutions, some teams, departments, institutes, or clinics of the Charles University maintained or even newly achieved the status of top research centres, in some cases even in international context.

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CHAPTER 8

Academic centralization in Romania until World War II: Forging an elite university in the capital city of Bucharest and the reactions of the competing University of Iasi

Leonidas Rados

Abstract

This paper presents, on the one hand, the attempts made by the Romanian central authorities starting with the second half of the nineteenth century to transform the University of Bucharest (founded in 1864) into a favoured, elite one for the Romanians living in the country or abroad, in a context of centralizing tendencies, and, on the other hand, the rather anaemic reactions of the competing university. As the higher education institutions were funded from an always insufficient budget, this special attention meant at the same time depriving the first Romanian university, the University of Iasi (founded in 1860), of the necessary funds for an appropriate functioning. The separation made between the two universities and the underfunding of the one in Iasi violated not only the legislation, but also the negotiations made with a view to the achievement of the Union (1859) of the two Romanian medieval states, Moldavia and Walachia, and to the creation of Romania; these negotiations had stipulated on the establishment of the new state's capital at Bucharest but also, in order to balance the situation, the

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strengthening of the cultural and educational institutions of Iasi.

Key words: Academic centralization, Elite/minor universities, University of Bucharest, University of Iasi, Inequitable funding

Introduction

Though it could not stand comparison with the western and central European benchmark universities, the University of the capital city of Bucharest became, in just a few decades after its establishment (1864), an elite university for the Romanians living home or abroad. But that special attention the institution enjoyed in the context of some policies of centralization, disturbed the already fragile academic institutional equilibrium of the country, because the competing university of Iasi (at the same time the first Romanian university, created in 1860), was now underfunded and put on the back burner; this process started in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century and went on all through the interwar period.

The paper has three main objectives. First, to investigate the concrete domestic conditions in which the University of Bucharest became an elite university and, implicitly, the university of choice when it came to public budget. Second, to reveal the mechanisms by which it was possible to overlook the University of Iasi, though it was not only against the legal principle of the equality of treatment, but also against the political agreements that provided the city of Iasi with a greater cultural and educational role, in order to actually offset the fact that the capital was established to Bucharest in 1862. Finally, to show the reactions of the milieu of Iasi to the financial/legal inequities and the extent to which these reaction managed to slow down or to stop the mentioned process.

The decision-makers of that time did not have either the resources or the will to develop the two universities to the same extent, though the extra money for the university of Bucharest came from the higher education budget, so it should have been, theoretically, evenly distributed. This process by which the University from the

capital city grew stronger and stronger and the one of Iasi, implicitly, became increasingly weaker took place gradually, over decades, and was favoured by the lack of an adequate, powerful and opportune reaction from the intellectual elite of the city of Iasi.

The biased treatment the University of Bucharest enjoyed, explained by the necessity to get quickly closer to the elite universities from the European capitals, did not obey either the spirit or the letter of the law, which was treating the two institutions fairly. This differentiation was actually totally against the spirit in which the negotiations and agreements were made between the elites of Moldavia and those of Wallachia when targeting the 1859 Union and the making of Romania. On the contrary, these agreements had included the idea of strengthening the cultural role of Iasi, the old capital of Moldavia, in reward for the economic, social, political and symbolic losses resulted from the establishment of the new state's capital city in Bucharest; but these agreements were quickly ignored and violated by the central decision-makers.

The legislation provided the University of Iasi with competences and authority in the field of education (the organization of the baccalaureate, of the competitions for the occupation of teaching positions, etc.) in the north of the country (Moldavia), while the University of Bucharest had the same responsibilities in the south (Walachia); also, both universities were reserved an equal number of scholarships for the students of Letters and Sciences, which were less attractive faculties than Law or Medicine, and where the future teachers necessary for public education were going to come from. This dual organization at a theoretical level, treating both institutions in an equal manner, would be left behind quite soon in practice, by an excessive centralization (including that of education) and, as already mentioned, by paying special attention to the University of Bucharest.

Compared to the misdemeanours of the central administration, favouring the University of the capital, the public reactions of the academia and of the intellectual milieu of Iasi, even if they were not absent, came out rather late and timidly. One reason for that was that this centralising policy in the field of higher education was infiltrated progressively, by small steps, especially due to the vote in

the Parliament for the establishment of new priority chairs at the University of Bucharest; after each such episode of differential treatment, the academics of Iasi hoped it was the last one and the Centre would balance their policies in the future. But the main reason of their reserve was related to the fear of being blamed for absence of patriotism, for lack of "love for the nation", for endangering the 1859 Unification, for separatist propaganda. In the interwar period there were cases of academics from Iasi who were too opinionated about the excessive centralization in the field of education and culture, and that was a reason for them to come to the attention of central bureaucracy.

The Romanian society's modernization process and the establishment of the universities of Iasi (1860) and Bucharest (1864)

In the mid-nineteenth century the Romanians pass through a process of modernization, a very interesting one, at least for the fact that its promoters are youth coming from the social/political elite, who played against their own interest: they were not supposed to be interested in change, as this could endanger their social positions. In spite of the social interests and sometimes even against their own families, this generation of young people educated especially in France (Paris), but also in Germany, young men that the society called "bonjourists" (because of their French fashion dressing and conduct habits), pushed the Romanian society forward, closer to the Western one, like no other generation ever had.

It is equally true that the internal and international political context gave a new impetus, a sudden current of optimism regarding the future evolution of the Romanian society. With the French support of Napoleon III and due to the double election, in January 1859, of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the elective assemblies from Iasi and Bucharest made the unification of the two Romanian states, Moldavia and Walachia at that time under the Ottoman suzerainty and under the protectorate of the Great Powers.

Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, a former student in Paris, was an acknowledged Francophile and a faithful adept of the application

of the French model in Romania. Among other things, he wanted the Romanian young men willing to study abroad to go exclusively to Paris, where they were supposed to be hosted in a special institute, established and funded by the Romanian state; closely supervised over their studies, these young people were then going, upon their return home, to implement in the Romanian society the French values and models, as close to the original as possible, and thus to contribute in a decisive manner to Romania's transformation and modernization[1].

Furthermore, things had started to change fundamentally before 1859, and the increasingly pronounced promotion of a meritocratic social paradigm encouraged the access to higher education. The authorities in the Union period took over and amplified a current that had existed before as well, i.e. granting stipends to worthy young men in order to study abroad. This policy reached its climax just when the two universities were established and the training of specialists capable to teach the "lights of sciences" was attempted.[2]

One of the results of this struggle for modernization and for the imitation, in terms of form and of essence, of the West, was the emergence of the institution of the university, first in Iasi in 1860, then in Bucharest, in 1864. It is interesting that in the Romanian cultural milieu the concept of University missed almost completely from public debate. The debate started quite suddenly and it got materialized in just a few months, in the autumn of 1860, by the establishment of the University of Iasi. The 1860 process could also be considered an exotic one, deprived of local traditions and of clear public support, sprinkled with tragic-comical episodes; such an episode was that whose main character was Professor Nicolae Ionescu, a fierce critic, in the written media, of the idea to establish

1. For more details about the Romanian students abroad in the period when the Romanian universities were founded, about their roles in modernization and about the project of Prince Cuza, see Leonidas Rados 2010 and 2011.

2. Some of these young men, future university professors at Iasi or at Bucharest, were initiated during their studies in different secret, masonic societies, which can partially explain their determination and coherence in certain social, political and intellectual projects. See Sturdza 1973, although not all of his conclusions are acceptable.

a University and who, shortly after, was in the list of the University's first professors (and the only one without an adequate academic degree).

In the Romanian area, a more popular form was the academy (combining secondary studies with a kind of higher studies), developed on the pattern of the Greek high schools that had been established in Bucharest and Iasi under the Phanariot regime and under the Greek influence, called Princely Academies[3]. Until the appearance of the two universities, in Iasi had functioned Academia Mihăileană [Michaelian Academy], and in Bucharest Academia Sf. Sava [St Sabbas Academy], where both secondary and higher courses were taught, the latter in faculties such as Law and Philosophy.

In a recent study, Florea Ioncioaia analyses theoretically the issue of the university's origins, as a new institution in the Romanian public area and particularly of the University of Iasi, remarking that the effort of the 1860 founders "could seem today a *romantic myth*, given its voluntarist, courageous, hazardous even, character, and at any rate broken away from the imaginary of the time". Furthermore, he notices that the meaning of the term "university" differed from one founder to the other, though the German concept, mainly characterized by autonomy, seems to have eventually won[4].

In fact, the authorities opted for a certain French orientation in organizing the universities, while the teaching staff preferred the German model. What resulted from it was a rather ineffective hybrid product at the beginning; consequently, the professors of Iasi were in open conflict with the government in the very first years after the establishment of the University, thus endangering the credibility and even the existence of the institution. Furthermore, the public debates of the time included numerous such references to the Franco-German influences and to the combined and less functional nature of Romanian higher education.

Leaving behind the exoticism of the 1860 moment, the establishment of the university had a well-known reason in that period,

3. See the brilliant work of Camariano-Cioran 1974.

4. Ioncioaia 2010, p. 14.

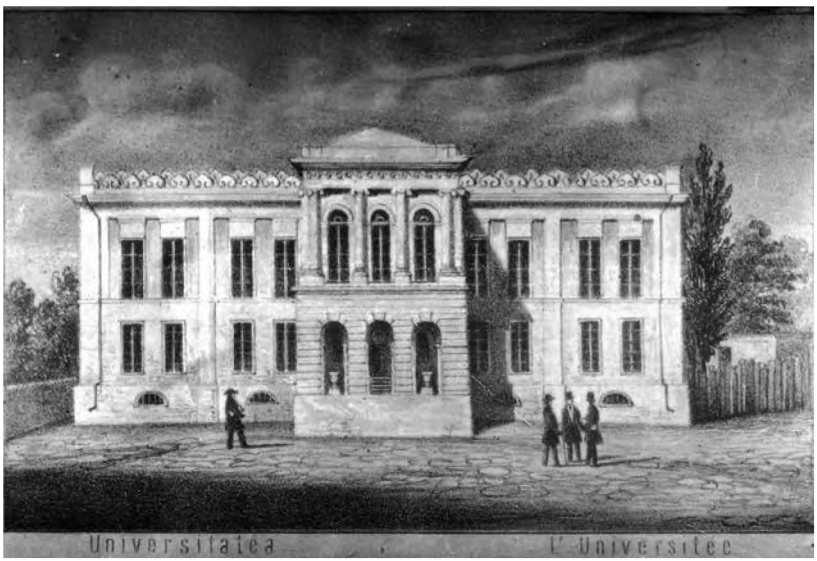


FIGURE 1: The first building of the University of Iasi (1860). Image from the second half of the 19th century.

which was forgotten or ignored by the historians of the university to a great extent. It was obviously not a whim of Prime Minister Mihail Kogălniceanu, a very influential intellectual and politician, and even less one of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza; and it was not an accidental fact in the logic of the modernization process either.

The founding gesture finds its explanation in the 1859 Unification of the two Romanian principalities, a moment when it became clear for the elite that the city of Iasi, old capital of Moldavia, had to renounce its privileged status. In 1862 indeed, the new state of Romania established its capital at Bucharest, a city with a better geo-strategic position, which had been by then the capital of Walachia, while the historic path of the city of Iasi, which was losing its political (and implicitly its economic, social, symbolic/sentimental) role, got abruptly modified. That is why some of the intellectuals and of the politicians thought about a kind of "specialization" of the two cities, an idea that was tacitly or publicly approved by the contemporaries. As Bucharest became the political and economic capital of the new state, Iasi was supposed to turn into a capital of

schools, of culture, of higher and special studies. The establishment of the University of Iasi was part of this philosophy of compensations.

Kogălniceanu, one of the architects of the 1859 Union and the "little co-founder" of the University of Iasi, as he liked to speak about himself, remembered two decades later the efforts of the local elite to identify correct forms of compensation, explaining the genesis of the institution by the very paradigm of damage control and of the apparently difficult future:

> "Instead of the princely palace, let us raise the palace of science, instead of the prince, let us place intelligence, instead of great administrative, financial, military authorities that have to be transferred let us place the high school, the faculties; instead of the government of Iasi let us raise the University of Iasi"[5].

Naturally, this dualism that provided the city of Iasi with an accentuated cultural/academic role proved to be utopian, considering that the adopted political model was a strongly centralized one. Furthermore, by centralization an attempt was made to unify the traditions in the two Romanian medieval states, to erase the old differences and to build a unitary state, inhabited by a modern nation, built up on European values.

In the autumn of 1860 the University of Iasi was indeed created, but in the first years it lived a tormented life, because of an institutional blockage and of the lack of communication with the Ministry of Public Education. And, as the budget was made by the government of Bucharest and approved by the Parliament of Bucharest, the demands for new chairs, meant to update and to improve the curricula, were most of the times blocked "because of lack of funds".

In this complicated climate, the cultural and political milieu of the capital city, which was hesitating anyway, from the very beginning, about the establishment of a university in Iasi, wanted its own university that could illustrate the centralist policy in the field of public education as well. And they had it, as in 1864 the University

5. Kogălniceanu 1877, p. 6.

of Bucharest was founded, ratified then, in the same year, by the new Law of Public Education[6].

The list of the Romanian universities, state universities each and every one, funded from the central budget, was completed after 1919, when Romania obtained territories such as Transylvania and North Bukovina, with the universities of Cluj (initially a Hungarian one) and Chernivtsi (initially a German one).

Forms of inequity and reactions of the academic milieu of Iasi

Not long after the creation of the University of Bucharest, the one of Iasi became a provincial university, and the one in the capital city, *ipso facto*, became a central, elite university for the Romanians living in the country or abroad. In fact, it was naïve to believe that the bureaucrats in the new capital could accept the idea of equal treatment for the two universities or that in the long term they would apply that political project (a utopia, in the context of a centralized state) to create a two-headed structure meant to calm down the sceptics about the Union of the two Romanian Principalities: Bucharest as a political and economic centre, Iasi as a centre of culture, education and science.

On the one hand, the city of Iasi decayed rather quickly in the second half of the nineteenth century; it became a province, and this could be seen in the academic life as well. On the other hand, with the last resources, though economically weakened, Iasi continued to represent, for at least several decades, Romania's most fertile cultural pole; however, it fed on past realities. Here was founded, in the 1860s, a famous literary society called "Junimea", which played a significant role in the crystallization and polishing of the Romanian culture; famous literary names performed here, such as the "national" poet Mihai Eminescu, the story teller Ion Creangă, to-

6. Art. 294 announced that "there are 4 types of faculties: philosophy and letters, law, medicine and physical, mathematical and natural sciences", while art. 295 that "More faculties being established in a place shall form a university". See the 1864 Law of Public Education, in Ministerul Instrucțiunei Publice și al Cultelor 1901, p. 24.

FIGURE 2: The University of Bucharest. Image from the beginning of the 20th century.

gether with scholars from the field of sciences. It is equally true that the future was predictable: Bucharest attracted the intellectual elite like a magnet, and at some point the latter chose the capital over the city of Iasi.

In 1864 the real problems actually started for the first modern university of Romania, the University of Iasi. A term for comparison was emerging, which had not existed before, while the budget meant for higher education had to be now shared so that two institutions could be fed, not only one; hence, the lack of resources. Compared to the University of Iasi, the one of Bucharest was granted, at a fast pace, more chairs in order to complete the number of specializations, a numerous teaching staff was hired, and abundant funds were received for the acquisition of books for the library, for laboratory equipment, for reparations, etc. In order to explain the deviations from the spirit and the letter of the law, the first argument was that the capital city of Romania cannot compete with other European capitals without a university, given that all European capitals, from Paris, Berlin, Vienna to Turin (then Rome) and Athens had such an institution.

Furthermore, the very reality, the deep, objective one, supported the development of the University of Bucharest. Especially after the establishment here of the capital city for the unified state, a dynam-

ic and prosperous economic environment developed here, a much more cosmopolite one than in Iasi. The institution benefited from generous donations from the wealthy citizens and the recruitment of students took place fluently, without breaks, an aspect that became visible in the accelerated increase of the student population. At the other pole, the University of Iasi, placed in an economically weakened and disadvantaged area, without political protection, had to make special efforts in order to get a student population that could allow it to justify its existence.

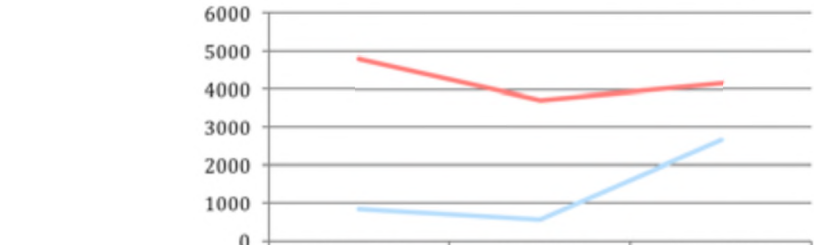
Consequently, by the early 20th century the differences in terms of academic population and graduates had become huge. By 1906, for instance, there had been 6,386 young graduates in the country, of whom 5,394 had graduated from the University of Bucharest (86.46%) and only 992 from the University of Iasi (13.54%), as we can see in Table 1. It is true that this disproportion tends to decrease before and during WWI, but still, the University of Bucharest keeps on attracting a higher number of students (see Diagram 1).

Table 1: Graduates of the two universities until 1906

Faculties	University of Bucharest	University of Iasi
Law	2902	449
Letters and Philosophy	427	175
Science	267	142
Medicine	867	226
Pharmacology	651	-
Theology	278	-
Total	5394	992

Source: Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice [Ministry of Cults and Public Education] 1906, p. 237.

Diagram 1
Student population of the two universities 1900-1918



	Year 1900	Year 1907	Year 1918
University of Bucharest	4794	3736	4156
University of Iasi	834	544	2648

Source: Anuarul statistic al României [Romania's Statistics Annual], 1912 (p. 465-467) and 1922 (p. 290-292)

But even before the appearance of the "sister" university in the capital city, the University of Iasi could see how obstructive the centre was, the first actions dating from its establishment, in the autumn of 1860. At that time, the physician Carol Davila, a French citizen settled in Bucharest, where he founded an interesting School of Medicine whose students attended a few semesters in the country and then were going abroad to finish their studies and to pass the doctorate, convinced Prince Cuza in the last minute that the University of Iasi should not include a Faculty of Medicine, but limit itself to Theology, Philosophy (with the sections of Letters and of Sciences, which would become faculties in 1864) and Law. Davila was afraid that the students might prefer the medical studies of Iasi and that his School in Bucharest, which had already established relations with the academic and medical system of France, might become useless.

Meanwhile, in 1864 the University of Bucharest was founded, which was supposed to include in its structure, according to the law of the same year, four faculties: Law, Sciences, Letters-Philosophy and Medicine. In fact, the Medical Faculty of Bucharest began to function a few years later, in 1869, when the budget was approved. The functioning of the Medical Faculty of Iasi, on the other hand,

was postponed because of the lack of founding until 1879, almost two decades after the establishment of the University.

It is true that at Iasi had also functioned a Faculty of Theology, but this one was dissolved by the law of 1864, which limited the number of faculties to the four above[7]. Furthermore, ignoring the legislation, in the middle of the ninth decade of the nineteenth century, at the University of Bucharest was organized a Faculty of Theology attended by several dozens of students. It is interesting that the Faculty had from the beginning temporary professors, paid from the budget of the ministry, but a Regulation only appeared in 1888, and the official inclusion in the academic body of the University was made by means of a special law only in 1890. Therefore, while the Faculty of Theology of Iasi was dissolved immediately after the publication of the 1864 Law in the *Official Gazette*, that of Bucharest was established actually against the legislation in force at that time.

As the main form of discrimination of the University of Iasi was the vote for chairs at the University of Bucharest, the reactions were at the beginning very weak. Several situations of that kind were necessary in order for the inhabitants of Iasi to accept the idea that things were going to a wrong and uneven direction. An interesting case occurred in 1877, when V.A. Urechia, former professor of the University of Iasi, then starting with 1864 of the University of Bucharest (and future Minister of Education in 1881-1882) put forward in the Deputies Assembly the creation of three new chairs for the University of Bucharest, dedicated to some personalities of the Acadimia (Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, Alexandru Odobescu, Titu Maiorescu), invoking the necessity to get closer to the level of the faculties from the "civilized states". He was interrupted by a voice in the room, probably that of an intellectual from Iasi, who summarised an increasingly frequent reality: "only in Bucharest, not in Iasi". V.A. Urechia's reply was symptomatic for the subsequent evolution of things: "there is no doubt the next year" will be the turn of the University of Iasi. George Mârzescu, Professor of Law in Iasi (just like others, he would transfer to Bucharest by the end of his

7. About the foundation and the dissolving of this Faculty, see Rados 2012.

career) asked then for an equivalent measure for Iasi. Urechia's proposition was adopted with applauses, and that of Mârzescu did not get the votes[8], a situation resembling other situations from the past and which would repeat in the future.

With the inequitable funding, a chain reaction started: the University of Iasi was late in completing its curricula with the necessary chairs and was losing thus the basis of student natural recruitment, as an important part of the young people in the area were choosing the capital as a destination for studies, given that besides the well-funded university, there were also bigger career opportunities. Hence a small student population over the first decades; this meant good arguments for those who believed that the establishment of the University of Iasi was a danger for the centralizing processes and wanted this to be dissolved, or, as a form of concession to the province (Moldavia), to be transformed into a branch of the University of Bucharest.

The first public reaction that went beyond the usual timidity occurred in 1877 and was due to Miltiade Tzony, Professor of Mathematics at the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Iasi and former grant holder in Paris. The context was quite complicated; he was responding attacks by Mihail Kogălniceanu, President of the Senate at the time, against a number of professors from Iasi (and older political enemies) transpiring from an interpellation to the minister of Public Education about the "condition of intellectual and even material degradation of the University of Iasi"[9]. Tzony's reaction

8. See the Official Gazette of Romania 30 January 1877 (meeting of the Assembly of Deputies from 20 January 1877), p. 720. In fact, Mârzescu was consistent. He asked for the creation in Iasi of a second chair of civil law, based on the model of Bucharest. An unidentified voice from the room then shouted "next year", and the budget committee rejected the amendment. See the Official Gazette of Romania 1 February 1877 (meeting of the Assembly of Deputies from 20 January 1877, continuation), pp. 752-754.

9. Undoubtedly, Kogălniceanu's objectives, as he was in the opposition, were first of all political; he targeted the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nicolae Ionescu, who was also a Professor of the University of Iasi since its foundation, and who was more present in Bucharest, in the Parliament or in the government, than in Iasi. Yet, his criticism was objective and coherent on the whole, especially that his role as a founder could be easily forgotten by the contemporaries. After a visit he paid, in

was rather angry, and besides the controversy he was having with his adversary, he adopted an ironic and hostile tone against central bureaucracy as well; furthermore, he betrayed a state of tension and frustration as far as the University of Bucharest was concerned.

Professor Tzony was defending both his colleagues, criticized for neglecting their chair in favour of a political career, and the adjunct professors, suspected of incompetence. He was accusing Kogălniceanu of having done actually nothing after 1860, from the political positions he occupied over time in the capital city, for the institution he had founded, and of having showed no public interest for the fate of the university. He took over Kogălniceanu's remark that the University of Iasi remained the only glory of Moldavia, but went further by thanking the centre for the generosity "showed to everything that once belonged to the city of Iasi". But more important is the fact that Tzony understood the danger hidden in the gesture of his opponent of treating the two universities, out of political reasons, differently, of making a separation between the two in the public mindset:

> "Surrounded by an intelligent population, fond of the spirit lights, but deprived of means and mixed up with too many foreign elements, struggling with everybody's inertia and mainly with the indifference of the state, often with the latter's manifest opposition, the University of Iasi has done everything they could to contribute, within the limits of the weak means it has, to increasing common prosperity, by raising the people's intellectual level. We cannot therefore accept the attempt

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the winter of 1877, at the University of Iasi, which he found "emptied of professors and students", he declared to be sincerely worried by the evolution of the institution. He thought that the root of this "evil" could only be the 1866 Constitution, which provided the teaching staff with total political liberty and which allowed for the "militant politics to enter the University". From his perspective, the university was confronted, on the one hand, with the professors' absenteeism (as many of them were involved in politics and had to be in the Government and in the Parliament, leaving substitute teachers in their places), and on the other hand with the danger to lose students in favour of the University of Chernivtsi, a German university founded in 1875 by the Austro-Hungarian government, at Romania's north border, therefore not very far from Iasi. See Kogălniceanu 1877, p. 7.

> that is being done to separate, in the core of a nation, the two sister-universities, by placing our efforts, love, devotion for the public interest lower than the ones of our fellows from Bucharest."[10]

Furthermore, he observed that all the forums were insistently requiring the University of Iasi to oppose the "policy of Germanization" led by the University of Chernivtsi, but provided no necessary funds. It is significant that whereas the University of Chernivtsi was completely equipped, having, since its foundation, 58 chairs and some new ones to be created, the University of Iasi, despite the repeated solicitations, had almost half the number after 17 years of existence[11].

Even though, here and there, Tzony's discourse was transpiring a pathos that, like in other cases, caused the University of Iasi, in the middle and the long run, more harm than good[12], the Professor was concluding in an ironic note, by actually mocking the claim of the Centre to support science and culture in Iasi, while actually continuing centralization at Bucharest:

> "How ironic, how ridiculous! Where are the reforms they made, where are the improvements they brought about? The budgets for 1877 were voted without us seeing any measure that could eradicate or at least decrease the harm. On the contrary, the University of Bucharest gained some more chairs"[13].

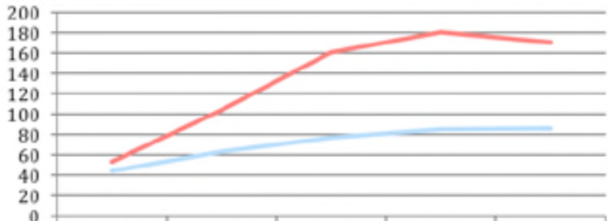
10. Tzony 1877, pp. 33-34.

11. Tzony 1877, p. 68.

12. For instance, he showed that everybody criticizes the University of Iasi, but nobody recorded the "unstable and painful" history of this "unfortunate school", whose mission was to defend north Romanianism, nobody showed "how many tempests it went through, how much bad will, how much opposition, how much inertia it opposed from all directions; how all the regimes, one after the other, without exception, were only preoccupied by attacking it, only competing in mutilating it; how each and every one of them, unable to finish it with violence, measured its air, it life, with economy, with parsimony, even with avarice, to make it die of anaemia". Tzony 1877, p. 73.

13. Tzony 1877, p. 74.

Diagram 2
The teaching staff of the two universities 1883-1913



	Year 1883	Year 1902	Year 1908	Year 1910	Year 1913
University of Bucharest	53	104	160	180	170
University of Iasi	44	63	77	85	86

Source: Ministerul Cultelor şi Instrucţiunii Publice [Ministry of Cults and Public Education] 1883 (pp.106-110), 1902 (pp. 25-34), 1908 (326-340), 1910 (366-382), 1913 (339-356).

Besides the harsh reality of the underfinancing and the small number of approved chairs (for a comparative situation of the teaching staff of the two universities, see Diagram 2), there was an even greater danger threatening the existence of the University of Iasi in the second half of the 19th century, that is, the projects of unification of the two universities, supported sometimes by former professors of the University of Iasi, such as the famous Titu Maiorescu, the main founder of the "Junimea" Society.[14] These projects were obviously advantaging the University of Bucharest, which continued to be funded, while the University of Iasi was to be limited to a mere

14. In his mandates as a Rector of the University of Iasi, Maiorescu continuously militated for the strengthening of the institution, for the approval of new chairs, for a bigger autonomy and an increasing state funding. But he radically changed his opinion after the conflicts with some professors from Iasi and after he moved to Bucharest, in the middle of the eighth decade, as a Minister of Education, as well as a professor and Rector of the University of Bucharest. One of the first tough measures he took as a minister of Public Education was to abolish, under the Budget of 1876, with no public explanations, the Conservatory of Iasi, the first school of the kind in the country (established in 1860). It is true that the next minister re-established the Conservatory in August 1876. About this episode and the reaction of the director, see Aurescu 1906, p. 181-185.

branch of the University of the capital city, keeping only the Faculty of Letters that was anyway not able to give the complex elites that the society and state needed.

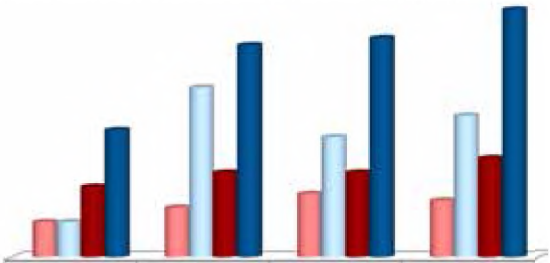
Even if the local reaction was, on the whole, a feeble one, it sometimes managed to stop the misdemeanours of the Centre. Maybe the most coherent local public movement took place in Iasi in 1900, when the Petre P. Carp Cabinet wanted to reduce drastically the expenses of the Faculty of Medicine (after another, failed, attempt in 1883-1884) and of the Faculty of Law - which anyway had minimal budgets - and to dissolve a series of important institutions and schools for Iasi: the Normal School for Girls, the Conservatory, the Fine Arts School, the Pedagogical Seminary, the Anti-rabies Institute.

The academic community in Iasi and the local intelligentsia in general could be but shocked by the intention of the government. The Normal School for Girls was the oldest in the country and the only one located in Moldavia (while in Walachia four of them were funded, of which two in the capital), while the Conservatory and the Fine Arts School, even though they had less students than other similar institutions in Bucharest, were yet indispensable for the cultural life of Iasi. It was pretty clear that without the Pedagogical Seminary, the Faculties of Letters and of Sciences could not train the future secondary teachers, given that their major mission was to train teachers, and only secondly to produce science. Obviously, to close the Anti-rabies Institute was equally inappropriate, given that this was essential for the health of the inhabitants of Moldavia; the institute had been created in 1891 by Professor Emil Pușcariu from the Faculty of Medicine, being the fourth in the world, after Paris, Odessa and Bucharest.

For the first time, in a long history of inequities, the academic and civic milieu of Iasi, led by the academics, managed to make an exemplary mobilization and, confronted with this common block and with arguments systematized in an excellent manner by Rector Alexandru Xenopol[15], the government gave up the initiative. How-

15. The Rector wrote that Iasi lost, with the Union, its political significance, it also took tough economic blows, but it preserved a cultural and scientific brightness and the Centre would be completely unjust to annul these "privileges". Xenopol used a

Diagram 3
The teaching staff of the Fine Arts School and of the Conservatory in Iasi and Bucharest 1883-1913



	Year 1883	Year 1908	Year 1910	Year 1913
Iasi Fine Arts School	5	7	9	8
Bucharest Fine Arts School	5	24	17	20
Iasi Conservatory	10	12	12	14
Bucharest Conservatory	18	30	31	35

Source: Ministerul Cultelor si Instructiunii Publice [Ministry of Cults and Public Education] 1883 (pp.104-105), 1908 (pp. 319-321), 1910 (pp. 359-361), 1913 (pp. 329-330).

ever, this small victory did not equate a balancing of the situation, as the capital maintained its privileges in culture and education. A comparison between the teaching positions at the Fine Arts School and at the Conservatory speaks for itself (see Diagram 3)

This was, roughly sketched, the universe in which the academics of Iasi strove to resist, before the First World War. As the pressure of the Centre increased, their impression of narrow horizons, diminished and restricted opportunities, absence of local solutions, were more acute. It is ironic that the most common form of reaction of the professors from Iasi against their marginalization and against the discrimination that the University of Iasi was submitted to, was to struggle to ... get transferred to Bucharest.[16] This "resistance re-

further argument in order to save the integrity of the University, which constantly appears at that time: in case the institution declines or disappears, more Romanians in the area would prefer to study at the University of Chernivtsi, than to the one of Bucharest, an aspect that would harm of "cause of Romanianism". See Xenopol 1901.

16. The condition of the university professors in Romania, without representing an exception in that time's Europe at all, was different from the condition of their fel-

action" has a more interesting history than the way in which the University of Iasi turned into a provincial one.[17] The practice of transfers hurried up to a considerable extent the transformation of the university of the capital into an elite one and, at the same time, weakened the one in Iasi: the former obtained, with no efforts or investment, fully trained, acknowledged and experienced teaching staff, while the latter lost important names of its academic life.[18]

The Interwar period: new context, old habits

After World War I, the same attitude advantaging the University of Bucharest in the detriment of the one in Iasi, persisted, though the situation grew even more complex. Due to the peace treaties, Romania was acknowledged the right to territories such as Transylvania, North Bukovina and Bessarabia. In the first two there were already the University of Cluj and that of Chernivtsi, which had to be funded as well, abundantly usually, out of the wish to demonstrate the solidity of Romanian education in those areas. After the territories and the population of Romania increased significantly, Bucharest had a much more consistent central budget than before, distributing the funds towards the four universities. This time, the most advantaged one was the University of Cluj, which had been anyway better equipped since the times of its belonging to Austro-Hungary, but came in terms of the number of students after the University of Bucharest and that of Iasi.

lows in the universities of German inspiration, characterized, among other things, by the mobility of the students and of the teaching staff. In Romania, where the universities were funded exclusively by the state, the university professors were assimilated to the senior civil servants, they were appointed by Princely or Royal decree, were permanent and could not be transferred without their agreement. Until World War I, these transfers were unidirectional (to the University of the capital city) and represented a full recognition, at a national level, of the "fortunate" professor.

17. For a presentation of the teaching staff involved in this "unidirectional academic migration", see Toderaşcu, Maleon, Botoşineanu 2014.

18. In most of the cases, the solicitations of transfer resulted from the wish to be in the core of the political/public life, but there were also situations when the Professors chose the University of Bucharest for the more appropriate working conditions, better libraries, better-equipped laboratories, sufficient experimental materials, etc.

FIGURE 3: The new building of the University of Iasi (finished in 1897). Image from the beginning of the 20th century.

In this new context, the consolidation of the elite University of Bucharest stagnated for a while, but the funding differences compared to the University of Iasi remained visible. So that, in spite of the long traditions and history, the inhabitants and the professors of Iasi always lived with the impression that they were becoming a kind of colony, with no right to speak, and that they are rapidly outdistances, in the order of importance and of priorities of the central administration, not only by the capital, but by Cluj too.

The majority of the intelligentsia of Iasi gave up and passively accepted the situation, which they considered a fatality. Giving up the fight, they left behind an isolated minority who continued their efforts to repair the situation, by using often a significant dose of verbal violence. That is how could be explained the fact that only some of the professors of the University (Grigore T. Popa, Giorge Pascu, Alexandru Slătineanu, etc.) were known to consistently militate for the observation of the rights of the University of Iasi and against the peripheral condition.

To a greater extent than during the previous years, the city of Iasi proved to be unable to preserve the intellectual forces it had trained or affirmed. Besides the fact that tens of important local

graduates, once tenured at the University of Iasi, tried the solution of personal salvation by the transfer to Bucharest or even Cluj, the scholars trained in the capital got to deem the University of Iasi a springboard to, or a waiting-room for an academic position in Bucharest. They introduced thus a new scourge, the so-called "university ambulance", i.e. they lived in Bucharest[19], and came to Iasi one or two days a week to give their lectures, a severe impediment to the normal functioning of the institution. One of the defenders of the University of Iasi, Giorge Pascu, ironically proposed, in 1931, a solution meant to take into consideration these professors' love for the capital city:

> "As three quarters of the Law professors of Iasi live in Bucharest, from now on the Faculty councils will be held in Bucharest. We are waiting for the great moment when the courses of Iasi will also be made from Bucharest, by telephone. As the French say, *Université de Iasi, Bucarest*"[20].

More and more present in the public area is the idea that the University of Iasi is treated inequitably when the budget of the Ministry of Education is made. For instance, a *Memoir* to the Ministry of Public Education approved by the Senate of the University of Iasi in January 1922 underlined the fact that the institution was neglected because of its geographical position, but especially because of the "unfortunate increasing centralization, which attracts to Bucharest all the country's powers and resources". The chronic underfunding was particularly pointed to, which was condemning the University

19. Many of them do not manage to adapt themselves at all to the city of Iasi. For instance, Petre P. Negulescu, sent to Iasi to control and limit, as an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Letters, the spreading of the socialist ideas, which were very strong in Iasi out of different reasons, had initially refused the position, considering the environment of Iasi "completely opposite to the way I am .... a real exile place". See Ornea 1978, p. 285. And the literary critic George Călinescu, though he had accepted an academic position at Iasi in 1937, shows irritation related to the difficult situation of the city, which he called an "infamous village", observing that "everybody, sooner or later, flees Iasi". See Rosetti 1977, p. 60.
20. Pascu 1931, p. 189.

to a modest life, one of a minor school compared to the capital, not to mention the great European universities.

In the interwar period a new competitor appeared, which pushed things even further: the University of Cluj, abundantly funded in order to support the idea of the Romanian cultural superiority in the area. Without objective criteria, the budget disproportion reached in 1922 a level hard to accept: 12 million lei (local currancy) for Iasi, 23 for Bucharest and 54 for Cluj! And things kept on deteriorating in the following years, so that Rector Alexandru Slătineanu decided to sound the alarm. In a report published in the "Annuals of the University", he analysed impartially the problems and the differences that affected the institution of Iasi and discontented the local spirits. The reason why the funds for the University of Iasi were twice smaller than those for Bucharest and ten times smaller than for Cluj was for him an impenetrable "budgetary mystery". The conditions in which the University functioned made it unable not only to play its cultural and national role in the region, but maybe even more gravely to diminish its scientific prestige, blocking it at the periphery of the field and annulling its chances to stand out on and increasingly complex market[21].

The vehement attitude of some academics of Iasi was also the result of some projects of the University of Bucharest deemed gargantuan, given the difficulties Iasi was confronted to. For instance, a memoir submitted to the Ministry by the Faculty of Law of Bucharest noted that the institution had the duty to be "a core of light" for the other faculties in the country, and to train the future leaders of Romania, so they were asking for a quadrupling of the number of chairs (58 more, besides the existing 23)[22].

In the fourth decade, the University of Cluj was not a priority for the government anymore, so that the funding of the educational system was again favouring Bucharest. In 1934 the capital was allotted more than half of the national budget meant for the salaries of the higher education staff: the University of Bucharest, together with the Academy of Architecture, with the Higher Commercial

21. Slătineanu 1924-1925.

22. Pascu 1928.

FIGURE 4: Interior of the main building of the University of Iasi (today the Library of the Technical University "Gh. Asachi"). Recent picture.

School and the Polytechnic School received a total budget amounting to 128 million, while the University of Cluj one amounting to 51 million lei and the University of Iasi to only 48 million lei[23].

Things degenerated to such an extent that the demotivation of the professors of Iasi grew contagious. Some of the stances, more realistic and mobilizing, stated that the local environment should be more active just because the Centre had no real intention to support the University of Iasi. One of the most respectful Professors, Grigore T. Popa from the Faculty of Medicine (who will eventually transfer to Bucharest at the end of his career) remarked that the University of Iasi, treated by the government as "the poor relative, coming from impoverished parents, who live on the leftovers" should help itself, to promote itself better, including by jubilees, by means of "beautiful festivals and festive volumes"; this way, the internal cohesion of the teaching staff and of the student population would also increase, a premise for the construction of a different future[24].

23. Ministerul Instrucțiunii, al Cultelor și Artelor 1934, pp. 158, 164.
24. Popa 1929, p. 4-5 and 18-19.

It was equally true that in the history of the University of Iasi, the funding of these jubilee anniversaries was often refused or postponed by the central administration. In 1875, the funding request for a "little jubilee" (15 years since the foundation) was rejected, and in 1910 when they could celebrate half a century of existence, the ceremonies were postponed (out of objective and subjective reasons) to the following year; this affected the image of the University and created an impression of lack of care. A new funding refusal was recorded in 1935, when the school environment of Iasi celebrated a century since the foundation of Academia Mihăileană, an institution that once had included higher studies, so that Professor Giorge Pascu got to write in a local gazette: "in a period of ferocious centralism, what's the fun in celebrating the centenary of a provincial university, older than the university of the capital city?"

Therefore, besides the centralist policy and the interests of the authorities in the capital, the lack of local energy, the inability to continue the started projects, the problematic cohesion of the teaching staff of the University of Iasi and even some personal petty interests were equally responsible for the escalation of differences between the University of Bucharest and that of Iasi. Although chronically underfunded and discriminated by the decision-makers of the time, the University of Iasi survived and continued to bring forward scientific results in fields such as sciences, medicine, but also in the field of humanities and in legal sciences, as well as to play a major role, through its graduates, in the positive evolution of a society that still had a lot to make up for until it could reach the development and refinement level of the "enlightened Europe".

Conclusions

This "story" shows that the privileged funding of a central, elite university, from public funds, is very complicated issue, in the context of a budget always insufficient for the field of education, provoking a whole range of problems, inequities and disequilibrium situations in other areas of the same country. In the case of Romania, it was very important how the country was built and how the nation got crystallized: initially by the union of two different states, Moldavia and

Walachia, with theoretically equal rights. When the promises made during the Unification negotiations, and even the legal provisions were infringed in order to turn the University of the capital city into an elite one, this happened in the detriment of the University of Iasi, the first Romanian university. In fact, one of the reasons it had been created was to transform the city of Iasi into a "capital" of culture and education, in order to mitigate the different types of losses suffered following the establishment of Romania's capital at Bucharest.

The University of Bucharest was favoured by the central authorities, first of all when a significant number of chairs and specializations was approved, then when bigger funds were granted, which in the interwar period got to be twice as big as those assigned to the University of Iasi. Meanwhile, the oldest Romanian university, a privileged target of many budget reduction projects, was constrained to function under emergency procedures, given that, being not allowed to hire enough professors to complete the curricula, it was late, for a while, in giving its graduates the academic degrees. This fact explains the relatively small number of students over the first two decades – a good pretext for those who wanted the university dissolved – as part of the youth in the region, looking for higher studies, chose to go to Bucharest.

Even under these circumstance, marginalized and underfunded, the University of Iasi managed to play an important role in the Romanian academic life, and even to become an important "brain" provider for the University of Bucharest. In fact, this unidirectional academic migration was one of the most serious problems of the University of Iasi, whose teaching staff were trying to transfer to the university of the capital, where they were enjoying better national and international visibility, and implicitly higher chances of professional success and social recognition.

Some of the imbalances were repaired by the communist regime installed after Second World War who, though it did not renounce the special attention paid to the University of Bucharest, tried to reduce the gaps between the different regions and institutions. But other problems started to appear then, such as political purges, academic publications and teaching materials censoring, total control over the students' life, etc., based on a well-known model.

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Academic centralization in Romania until World War II: Forging an elite university in the capital city of Bucharest and the reactions of the competing University of Iasi

Source of the images: personal archive Leonidas Rados

CHAPTER 9

The Failure of the Elite University in Early Modern France

Boris Noguès

Abstract

From the 16th to the 18th century, the French universities favoured widely their function of conservatory of traditional knowledge and assigned a limited place to Humanism. But, even in the traditional disciplines as law, and in spite of their monopoly in the formation of the judges and the lawyers, the bad quality of the training they offered was proverbial and they have failed to meet the needs of French monarchy. Above all, rival institutions got to their detriment the new scientific and social functions which emerged. Since the mid-16th century, independant humanities colleges took over the training to the *belles lettres,* and their boarding schools offered a global education in addition to the humanities. After the 17th century, the exploration function of new fields of science was fulfilled by numerous royal academies, while the formation of clerical, military or technician elites was entrusted to seminaries and to Grandes Ecoles. Thus, the failure of the emergence of an elite university in early modern France, and what distinguished it from the neighbouring countries, came from the number, the power and the strong separation of its rivals.

Key words: French universities ; XVIth-XVIIth-XVIIIth centuries ; humanities colleges ; academies ; Grandes écoles ; elite training ; traditional knowledge ; vocational training

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The study of elite universities in early modern France is problematic. Indeed, the notion of elite university can seem anachronistic, especially if we define it teleologically, according to the Humboldtian model that developed after the period under consideration[1]. Nevertheless, an analysis that draws upon the 1809 Berlin example of what an elite university might be could allow us to reconsider academic realities from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The term "elite university" reflects certain key characteristics that can be summarized as follows : the leading role the institution plays in the advancement of the sciences, through the employment of distinguished scholars ; closely tied to this first characteristic, the excellence of the training the institution offers ; finally the quality of the students, whose background or achievements ensure their place in an academic and social elite[2]. Moreover, building on the previous criteria, the term presupposes a hierarchy of institutions, making it possible to distinguish between elite universities and other establishments. Formulated as such, this definition of an elite university offers us an analytical rubric for reexamining the history of early modern French universities. Within this general framework, the final criterion especially allows us to focus this study on the University of Paris, which unquestionably predominated over other French institutions[3]. If there was an elite university in France, it was this one. Finally, this approach necessitates also attending to the expectations of contemporaries, as it is impossible to speak of failure if there had not been attempts to construct an elite university.

The traditional historiography has painted a dark picture of early modern French universities. An idea of intellectual and institutional ossification, between the brilliant medieval period and the scientific revival of the nineteenth century, dominates the narrative[4].

1. About this retrospective quest, see Le Cam, 2013, p. 312-322.

2. For short and stimulating syntheses on the Humboltian university, Gingras, 2003, p. 3-7 ; Schwinges, 2001 ; Paletschek, 2002.

3. As shown in the book directed by Verger, 1986.

4. Verger, 2012, p. 48 : "We gave for a long time not much attention to the universities of early modern period (XVIth-XVIIIth century) which do not seem to play any more the dynamic and creative cultural role which had been theirs in the Middle Ages" (and p. 65-67).

FIGURE 1: The college of the Sorbonne, 1550. Lithography of Fourquemin (XIXth c.). B.N.F., département des estampes.

This image has only partially been revised by the last thirty years of research on the knowledge produced, advocated or taught in these institutions and on the students and professors working in them[5]. But, more than a corrective, these works have brought greater nuance and a new focal point to the literature. The severe conclusions of earlier generations of historians have not been fundamentally questioned. While the revisionist stance is certainly the most provocative, it is rather difficult to maintain here.

As can be expected from a critical overview, we will begin by addressing the universities' adaptation (or lack of adaptation) to new knowledge and the new social functions ascribed to these institutions since the sixteenth century and the Humanism. However, a reflection exclusively focused on the reaction of universities to the intellectual changes would not allow to understand all the operat-

5. On the knowledge, Brockliss, 1987. On the actors, Julia and Revel, 1989 ; Ferté, 2002-2013 ; Roy, 2006 ; Farge, 2006 ; Noguès, 2006 ; Berlan, 2013.

ing phenomena. A good understanding of this history also requires us to take into account the expanding number of places, outside of universities, for the production and transmission of knowledge during the period. These new institutions would ultimately become a genuine system, constituted through competition and cooperation with universities[6]. The new institutions likewise revealed contemporary universities' deficiencies, while contributing in a parallel to the worsening of these deficiencies, because they deprive the university of a part of the new functions which it would have been able to assure. Consequently, here I will attempt to resituate the university in the broader educational and intellectual field in order to clarify its role in intellectual leadership and in the education of elites who increasingly had access to rival institutions.

1. Knowledge and Institutional Structures: A Reappraisal of Academic Ossification

1.1 Humanism and the University: An Illusory Integration?

We know that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, universities were confronted by a dynamic intellectual revival. They were not *a priori* outside of this development. If we examine the subject in terms of individuals, we see that in the fifteenth century figures well integrated in the universities introduced the study of humanism at the University of Paris[7]. Guillaume Fichet who lectured on Petrarch and gave a course on rhetoric from the 1450s to the 1470s was at the same time an important figure of the university (*socius* of the Sorbonne, *procureur* of the Nation of France, doctor of theology, rector) [8]. At the next generation, Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples was professor of philosophy as well as philology and translator of the Bible[9]. As

6. An example of local complementarity between the various forms of institutions in Belhoste, 2011.

7. Vulliez, 1986, p. 129-135 and bibliography p. 136-137 ; Verger, 2008, p. 8-9.

8. Philippe, 1892 ; Simone, 1938.

9. Pernot, 1995 ; Balley, 2002.

shown in a recent book[10], the list of professors interested in the humanities and letters is long and stretches well into the eighteenth century, including those from the faculty of arts who entered into the Collège royal or the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres[11]. The university, in Paris and elsewhere, therefore never lacked men intellectually disposed to engaging with humanism.

Further, from the vantage point of pedagogical structures, humanities education was born in the heart of the Parisian university, under the direction of Jean Standonck at the Collège de Montaigu in the latter part of the fifteenth century. We know that his approach was innovative in comparison to medieval practices, organizing classes based on student rank, creating courses within the college, not only for the fellows living there but others as well. Over the course of the century, this *modus parisiensis* spread through the faculty of arts where the curriculum progressively evolved, placing a greater emphasis on grammar and rhetoric, which comprised six years of study by 1598. This development in humanities education came at the expense of traditional philosophical subjects, that were subsequently limited to two years at the end of the course of study[12].

Through their intellectual engagement and the establishment of humanities instruction that created new generations of elites, the universities (at least the Parisian university) seemed to ensure the passage to modernity at the turn of the fifteenth century. This contradicts the simplistic "declinist" analysis of the modern university, offered by nineteenth-century historians[13]. Henri de Mesme (1532-1596), future high magistrate and king's councellor, provides us with evidence that in the mid-sixteenth century, long before the rise of the "age of eloquence ", elites adhered to the educational model offered by these university colleges. In his memoirs, de Mesme, who entered the Collège de Bourgogne at the age of eleven in 1542, highlighted the many benefits of his tenure there, which blended Gre-

10. Ferrand and Istasse, 2014.

11. On members of faculties in academies Noguès, 2006, p. 137.

12. Process described by Compère, 1985 and 1991. See also Grafton and Jardine, 1986 and Bushnell, 1996, p. 10-22.

13. For example Waddington, 1855. The best study from nineteenth century : Jourdain, 1862-1866.

co-Roman culture, self-discipline, and the formation of elite networks[14].

Despite these successes, however, it is important to note that the integration of new knowledge was limited in the university. Particularly striking is how, over the course of their careers, major figures distanced themselves from the institution. Fichet left Paris after 1472 for an Italian career. Lefèvre and then Ramus came into conflict with the university[15]. The opposition between the university and the humanists, readily suspected of reformist sympathies, is evident in a number of individual biographies. In fact, the upper faculties and the traditional parts of the arts faculty (the theologically-oriented philosophers) long remained doubtful, even hostile, to this type of instruction. Numerous conflicts between the faculty of arts and its rivals during the seventeenth century reveal that professors of grammar and rhetoric struggled to gain recognition[16]. Despite the number of years of study dedicated to grammar, poetry and rhetoric, these subjects had no place on the tests given for the *maîtrise ès arts*. The exams that crowned the arts curriculum only dealt with the last two years of philosophy, namely with the traditional disciplines of logics, physics and metaphysics[17]. Moreover, aside from the introduction of humanism, revisions to the content of the curriculum were, on the whole, extremely slow and superficial, and the frame of the four faculties stayed unchanged.

1.2 When the Non-University Collège Captured Elite Education

If we expand our analysis beyond the matrix of the Parisian university, we see that this new humanistic instruction had rapidly grown outside the University of Paris's monopoly. The clearest example of this was the establishment of the Collège des lecteurs royaux in 1530,

14. Memoirs quoted by Malte-Brun,1809, t. 6, p. 269. See also Chartier, Compère and Julia, 1976, "Les pratiques éducatives des robins parisiens", p. 171-173.
15. Ramus et l'université, in Cahiers Saulnier, 2004 [see Ramus, 2004].
16. On the corporative sense of the conflict between faculties, Noguès in Amalou and Kouamé, forthcoming ; Jourdain, 1862-1866 ; Noguès, 2006, p. 64-67 and p. 95-106.
17. Noguès, 2009, p. 95-134.

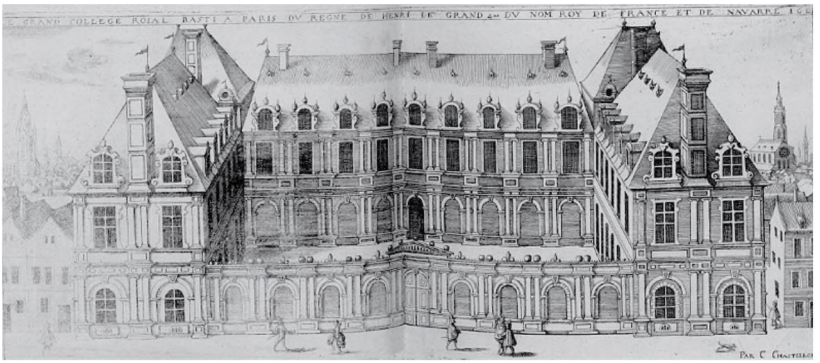

FIGURE 2: A competitor of the university of Paris : le Collège royal, engraving from Claude Chastillon, *Le grand college royal*, 1612.

independent of the university[18]. Its mission was indeed to offer subjects excluded from the traditional curriculum (Hebrew, Greek, mathematics for the first endowed chairs). The creation of a structure beyond the university points to the King's lack of confidence in the institution's ability to adapt – and his preference for an institution directly depending on him and that could contribute to his glory. Here the relative autonomy of the university was certainly a handicap. Before a chair in medicine in 1542, the establishment of a chair in Latin oratory, assigned to Latomus in 1534, signaled more direct competition with the instruction already offered by the faculty of arts[19]. The 1551 nomination of Ramus as royal reader in philosophy and oratory, when the university had condemned his book attacking Aristotle in 1543 and forbid him to teach philosophy, made the Collège royal a refuge for breakaway thinkers. Here, we also see the Royal College's ability to attract the best elements of the university. Furthermore, in addition to the promised salary, the prestige of a chair backed by royal patronage was certainly more appealing than the relative anonymity of university chairs. More widely, even if it is necessary to qualify the judgment, as seen above with Fichet and the others, from the 1530s, the Parisian intellectual world appeared more

18. See Lefranc, 1893.

19. Lefranc, 1893, p. 6.

and more to part on both sides, the new humanist galaxy and the " ignorante Sorbonne", according to Clément Marot's word[20].

The success of the *modus parisiensis* also served to increase the number of competitors, in both Paris and the provinces. The model initially spread to other university towns in the provinces, like the collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux, staffed by Parisian instructors including Jean de Tartas (1533), from the Parisian college of Lisieux, and André de Gouvea (1534-1547), former principal of Sainte-Barbe[21]. Most importantly, humanities instruction rapidly escaped the university's orbit. Between the middle of the Sixteenth century and the first third of the seventeenth century, often due to the initiative of urban notables (who wanted to provide to their children an education in the immediate nearness), existing city schools were transformed into humanities colleges and other establishments were created *ex nihilo*[22]. The movement became all the more competitive with the construction of a network of Jesuit colleges, from 1556 in France[23]. François de Dainville estimated that 40000 pupils were enrolled in these Jesuit colleges in 1627 (about two-thirds of the French *collégiens*)[24]. From its opening in 1564, the Jesuit college of Clermont in Paris (later renamed Louis-le-Grand) enjoyed immense

20. "[...] wishes ill to me the ignorant Sorbonne. Very ignorant it shows herself in being the enemy of the noble trilingual academy your Majesty has created [the Collège royal]. It is clearly manifest that within her precincts, against your Majesty's will, is prohibited all teaching of Hebrew or Greek or Latin, she declaring it heretical. O poor creatures, all denuded of learning, you make true the familiar proverb, Knowledge has no such haters as the ignorant." ("Me veut du mal l'ignorante Sorbonne/ Bien ignorante elle est d'estre ennemie/ De la trilingue & noble Académie/ Qu'as érigée. Il est tout manifeste/Que là dedans, contre ton veuil céleste/Est défendu, qu'on ne vienne alléguant/Hébreux, ni Grec ni Latin élégant/Disant que c'est langage d'hérétiques./O pauvres gens, de savoir tous étiques !/ Bien faites vrai ce proverbe courant/Science n'a haineux que l'ignorant"), Clément Marot, "Epître au roi de son exil de Ferrare", 1535, in Auguis, 1824, p. 96.

21. Compère and Julia, 1984, p. 142-143.

22. On this phenomenon, Compère and Julia, t. 1 et 2, 1984-1988.

23. Fouqueray 1910-1925 ; Delattre, 1940-1957 ; Dainville, 1978, (especially p. 53-73) ; Chartier, Compère and Julia, 1976, p. 167 and 186-190 ; Compère and Julia, 1984-2002 ; Julia, 1986, p. 148-152.

24. Dainville, 1957.

success, attracting an academic clientele from the court and upper aristocracy[25]. In 1711, the Jesuit friar Croizet triumphantly described the institution: "Each day one can see the wealthy heirs of the kingdom's most illustrious families, the sons of dukes and noble peers, even princes from abroad, coming here to learn[26] ." Never integrated into the university, Louis-le-Grand is the indisputable college of French elites.

The triumph of the Jesuit model over that of the university stems from several factors : religious (the guarantee of Catholic orthodoxy), political (the support of the King), and financial (they systematically had more funds than secular establishments, which allowed them to offer free instruction[27]). We can add to this list the quality of their grammar and rhetoric courses as well as the pedagogical know-how of a congregation that could depend on a great deal of stability and a large pool of skills and talents[28]. Moreover, the Jesuits developed boarding schools far from major cities that offered a wealthy clientele an education that extended beyond the humanities. The prototype was the collège de La Flèche which opened in 1604 ; its equivalent among the Oratorians was the collège de Juilly (1641) [29]. These establishments offered a global education in addition to the humanities, including courses on drawing, fencing, mathematics, geography, and foreign languages - subjects absent from the university, but sought after by men whose future was in the military or at court. In all cases cited, the study of the archived class rosters demonstrates that this type of establishment was at the center of elite education, placing instruction in the hands of the congregations and thereby bypassing the university. In the end, the intellectual and social success of the humanist model of education in the sixteenth century permitted, above all, the development of competition. The university lost its monopoly on learning and elite intellectual training.

25. Bruter, 2002, p. 359-407.

26. Letter from the Père Croizet, 1711, quoted by Compère, 1985, p. 116-117.

27. Noguès, 2012, p. 45-60.

28. Noguès, 2013.

29. Rochemonteix, 1889 and Broglin, 1978. On the elite boarding schools, Frijhoff and Julia 1981.

1.3 The University, Guardian of Traditional Knowledge in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

An additional aspect marked the intellectual history of French universities : their reputation for ideological conservatism. In essence, the university saw itself as a conservatory for fixed knowledge, which it had to protect from alteration[30]. This was equally true for the faculty of theology, guardian of Catholic orthodoxy, where censure occupied an essential place in the doctors' activities[31]. The same remark could be made about the other upper faculties, such as medicine. For a century (1566-1666), this discipline was embroiled in the antimony debate. While it is beyond the scope of the present paper to offer a systematic analysis of the end of this conflict that, in 1651, opposed Jean Chartier, doctor-instructor at the faculty of medicine (as well as physician to the king and professor at the Royal College) and Guy Patin, dean of the faculty, the episode is rich in meaning and reveals the faculty's situation in the mid-seventeenth century[32]. The debate points to an attachment to Antiquity ; the faculty's claims to professing the truth and regulating the circulation of knowledge through the censure of Chartier ; conservative individuals' control of the institution (Patin was dean) ; the strength of corporatist norms (Chartier was excluded from the group in 1651) ; the transmission of new ideas, despite these factors, outside of the institution ; and, finally, the submission of the institution to a Parliamentary political decision in 1666, as Chartier did not lack for well-placed friends. The ironic gaze Molière fixed on this medical milieu in the *Malade imaginaire* illustrated, at least for the author and his knowing audience, the critical distance that then separated the public from the university sphere. Diafoirus' tirade about his son can be heard as a reference to Patin's conservative positions in the early 1670s [33] :

30. Revel, 1987, p. 75.

31. Higman, 1979 ; Martin, 1984 ; Martin and Minois, 1995. See also Neveu, 1993.

32. Chartier, 1651 ; Labrousse and Soman, 1986.

33. Defended thesis on 18th december 1670, An sanguis per omnes corporis venas et arterias iugiter circumfertur, (quoted online by Capron).

> " I can say, without vanity, that from that time till now there has been no candidate who has made more noise than he in all the disputations of our school. There he has rendered himself formidable, and no debate passes but he goes and argues loudly and to the last extreme on the opposite side. He is firm in dispute, strong as a Turk in his principles, never changes his opinion, and pursues an argument to the last recesses of logic. But, above all things, what pleases me in him, and what I am glad to see him follow my example in, is that he is blindly attached to the opinions of the ancients, and that he would never understand nor listen to the reasons and the experiences of the pretended discoveries of our century concerning the circulation of the blood and other opinions of the same stamp[34]. "

The judgment was just as severe in the 1750s, when the *Encyclopédie* denounced "the disputes of those cantankerous savants" and the methods and intellectual objectives of the contemporary university[35].

Many other examples like these could be analyzed. A detailed examination of practices and intellectual postures would undoubtedly complicate the depiction of the period as stagnate[36]. The antimony affair demonstrates that, in the end, new ideas penetrated the university. The existence of debates and divisions within the faculties is reason enough to reconsider the apparent petrification of these institutions[37]. However, an argumentative register common to all camps demonstrates that the debates that shook up the universities were those of specialists who shared a common *episteme,* as shown by Isabelle Pantin et Gérald Péoux about the antimony affair[38]. Historians of science have only marginally revised the notion of a lag

34. Molière, 1673, act II, scene 6.

35. Yvon in Diderot, 1751, article « Aristotélisme ».

36. See Brockliss, 1986, p. 251, « Contenu de l'enseignement et diffusion des idées nouvelles ». But this autor focused on learning, not on production of knowledge.

37. An other example of internal debate at the seventeenth century, in theology, Gres-Gayer, 2007.

38. Pantin and Péoux, 2013, introduction : "The doctors of the Faculty of Medicine of Paris showed their common culture through the formal homogeneity of their publications, even though they made their disagreements a spectacle".

between university learning and knowledge produced elsewhere that responded to societal demands. The condemnation of the modern university's conservatism by its contemporaries shows well that the changes scholars today and in the past have identified were imperceptible and insufficient for the men of the eighteenth century.

These conservative positions stemmed largely from the ideological homogeneity of the academic corps. The professoriate was in the strongest sense of the term a corporation, whose members shared not only a profession, but also a means of entering into it, exercising it, and a set of common values. This was still an *universitas magistrorum et scholarium* , not yet the *universitas scientiarum.* The required university degrees served as an efficient ideological filter that sifted out non-conformist thinkers. In theology, the positions of the theses were beforehand censored, before being printed in the form of poster and posted in the city, so that each could inquire and denounce possible abnormalities[39]. Even in arts, medicine or law, all the statuses specified that the "doctrine" and the morality of the candidates must be verified[40]. For the most part, professors also belonged to the Church[41] and were consequently subject to increasingly strict ideological control between the Reformation and the Jansenist controversy. A final characteristic that marked this milieu in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a low level of professional mobility; these men generally practiced in the town where they had studied. If in the sixteenth century cities competed to attract the brightest professors (and in their wake numerous students), during the latter period this *mercato* disappeared, as did student mobility[42].

Cause or consequence of this conservatism, beginning in the seventeenth century universities faced in their role as institutions of knowledge enormous competition from new royal foundations. We can cite the French Academy (established in 1635) and the Jardin du roi (1635 also, future Natural History Museum), the Royal Acade-

39. Piales, 1757, p. 441 and 447 ; Durand de Maillane 1761, t. 1, p. 461.

40. For Paris, Jourdain 1862-1866, pièces justificatives, statuts de la faculté des arts, p. 6, art. LXII ; statuts de la faculté de droit canon, p. 12, art. XXIII.

41. Noguès, 2006, p. 96-100 on the Faculty of arts and Piales, 1757, p. 443 on the theology.

42. Noguès, 2013, p. 75.

mies of Painting and Sculpture (1648), of Inscriptions and Belles lettres (1663), of Sciences (1666) [43]. These institutions were distinguished by their royal protection and their specialization in new domains (history, mathematical and physical sciences). Their charters gave them a dual expert mission: to regulate knowledge within their field, and to foster research, through the activities of their members or, in the eighteenth century, through public competitions[44]. They were followed at the end of seventeenth century and at eighteen century by a series of provincial academies foundations. Even if some academics entered the academies, these were institutionally completely separated from universities. In contrast to French universities, few of whose faculty members are remembered by posterity, these academies brought together the most illustrious savants and men of letters, from d'Alembert to Voltaire and Lavoisier, and energized scientific life through their networks of provincial and foreign correspondents. In this way, the regulation and advancement of the new sciences moved toward institutional structures foreign to the universities.

2. The Judge, the Priest, and the Officer: Three Figures of Failure

A similar phenomenon is noticeable in the university's role in the training of officers. We will look at the cases of judges, clergymen, and military officers whose vocational training illustrates the development of the new educational institutions.

2.1 The Deficient Education of Jurists

At the beginning of the early modern era, law faculties in France benefited from a favorable situation. As elsewhere in the West, the

43. On academies in France, Michaux, 2007 (2008), p. 73-86 ; Roche 1978 and 1996, p. 643-658.

44. Tits-Dieuaide, 1998, p. 87. About the opposition between academy and university, see D'Alembert, 1751, article "Académie", and the workshop organized by Blocker and Ribard, 2014.

number of positions requiring administrative competency increased[45]. The abundance of opportunities was furthered by the dictates of the French monarchy, which progressively made holding a *licence* a requirement for joining the legal professions, between the Ordinance of Blois in 1498 and the seventeenth century[46]. Notably for our discussion about the failure of the elite university, during this period a singular importance came to be placed on the diploma as a guarantee of advanced skills. The concept of ability or skill was recurrently taken up in royal mandates intended to improve the quality of instruction and the rigor of exams[47]. Thus, the monarchy had the political will to align the issuing of university diplomas with the formation of quality candidates, particularly beginning with the reform of 1679 : "That those who will want to take degrees will have, after two years of studies, to undergo a particular examination, and if they are found sufficient and capable, they will support an act publicly, during two hours at least, to be graduate, and to obtain the letters of license, they will undergo a second examination at the end on the aforementioned three years of studies, after which they will support a public act[48] ". This precision shows that there was a true will of the monarchy to set up inside universities a real selection of the candidates based on "capacities".

The university's dysfunctionality and the numerous frauds committed by students, however, led to the failure of this policy. This failure was condemned multiple times by contemporaries such as Jean-Jacques Piales, who wrote in 1757 : "There are universities which grant the degrees de *bachelier* or *licencié* of law sometimes to people who ignore the basics of the Latin language. [...Some leave Paris] without having studied in any university, return after fifteen days decorated with the titles of bachelier or licencié of law[49] ." Historians have analyzed this in detail, emphasizing false certificates of assiduity, diplomas obtained at complacent universities, like Reims,

45. Stone, 1964 and 1974.

46. Isambert and Jourdan, 1829, t. XIV, 1559-1589, Paris, 1829, t. XI, 1483-1514, p. 347, t. XIX, 1672-1686, p. 229.

47. On the attempts at reforms, Julia and Revel, 1989.

48. Damiens de Gomicourt, 1778, t. 4, p. 76.

49. Piales, 1757, préface, p. VIII-IX.

Orléans or Orange (since a Bachelor's degree obtained anywhere in France is valid troughhout the kingdom), and the fact that exams were not at all difficult, as universities engaged in a competition of leniency[50]. In addition, to confirming the universities' dysfunctionality by contemporary standards, historians have also examined the meaning of university degrees in *Ancien Régime* society. The *licence* was, then, simply a regulatory obligation, unconnected to the future magistrate's practice, since Roman law was largely taught, whereas in northern France customary law was practiced[51]. Future magistrates trained themselves through practice, outside of the faculty, usually by first working as lawyers. This discrepancy reduced the *licence* in law to a formality that granted access to a social and professional group. Thus, aside from its ritual function, the exam essentially served as a social and professional (but not intellectual) filter[52]. In the case of venal offices, only birth determined career paths. Not surprisingly, the social origin of the jurists is superior to that of the pupils of the other faculties, while this degree is exactly the least selective intellectually[53].

There was, therefore, a link between the university and the legal world, but this link did not correspond in any way to that implied by the definition of elite universities mentioned above; the university served more as a means of assuring the social reproduction of elites than of forming competent jurists.

2.2 The University and the Tridentine Clergy

In theology, the licence and doctorate opened doors to successful ecclesiastical careers beginning with the Concordat of 1516[54]. Admission was based on the candidate's doctrinal conformity and social origins (in the middle of the eightennth century, a license de théol-

50. Julia and Revel, 1989, p. 116-151.

51. On late development of French law, Edit d'avril 1679 de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, article 14, in Isambert and Jourdan, 1829, t. XIX, p. 199.

52. Arrow,1973 ; Julia and Revel, 1989, p. 168 ; Rasche, 2007, p. 150-273.

53. Kagan, 1975,. See also Chartier, Compère and Julia, 1976, p. 277.

54. Gérardin, 1971, p. 44.

ogie costed approximately 500 pounds in Paris[55], two or three years of income for a labourer). Yet theology was traditionally more socially diverse than the other professions, particularly due to scholarships theoretically reserved for poor students. Unlike the law schools, theology degrees did not have the reputation of being just given away. In Paris, exams taken for the licence resulted in merit rankings, useful for career advancement[56]. In the eighteenth century, the pursuit of scholarly excellence led to a national competition to recruit young poor clerics for the small Robertin community (inside the Saint-Sulpice seminary, founded in Paris in 1642). According to abbé Baston, who passes the competition in 1758, they would have been fifteen admitted persons on sixty already hand-picked candidates, what testifies of the selectivity of the test[57]. These students roomed and boarded as fellows and benefited from strict intellectual training by young *maîtres de conférences* who taught them debate in an intense atmosphere of intellectual emulation, rounded out with courses at the Sorbonne. The selection of the scholars and quality of instruction unarguably made this an elite institution that in some ways prefigured the French École normale (supérieure) of the nineteenth century. It is important to note, however, that this unique institution was situated on the margins of the Parisian university. This exceptional example therefore sets into relief the limits of the theological training offered in the faculties.

These limits are even more convincingly illustrated by the development of an extensive network of over one hundred diocesan seminaries, founded between 1642 and 1700[58]. The Counter-Reformation created an avenue for the profound redefinition of the secular clergy, who were to be modeled on the figure of the "good priest" – well educated and equipped with particular moral qualities. To instruct this type of cleric, the seminars strove to offer useful theological training, shape the future friars' spirituality, and develop a durable *habitus*. Of course, the seminaries did not necessarily offer

55. Piales, 1757, p. 443 and p. 445.

56. Piales, 1757, p. 441-442 and Baston, 1897-1899, t.1, p. 100-106.

57. Baston, 1897-1899, p. 37-38.

58. Degert, 1912 and Julia, 1988, On the first seminaries, Vénard, 1983, p. 1-17.

enormous intellectual prestige and the contents of their teaching were soon considered as archaic[59], but the success of the formula was indisputable, given the efficacious acculturation of the seminarians. This model illustrated the need for a new organization that could provide the Tridentine clergy with a global education, since faculties and colleges welcomed students with heterogeneous motivations, who lacked a vocational calling, and who, by and large, managed to avoid communal life, living independently in town. In this way, the seminary model points to the faculty of theology's limitations. It could only transmit purely intellectual knowledge that was, moreover, often judged to be outdated.

2.3 The Invention of the French Grande École

A final example will help us understand how the most cutting-edge training remained beyond the reach of the universities. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the refinement of the military sciences of artillery, engineering, and navigation. These fields required significant skills, especially in mathematics and drafting. The necessary disciplines, however, were all but absent from the faculty of art's official curriculum (and even more so from that of the upper faculties). At the end of the seventeenth century, only the Jesuit colleges had a good network of chairs in mathematics[60]. Even in Paris, it was not until 1688 that the Collège des Quatre nations specifically organized to create a permanent chair in mathematics[61]. The history of the study of physics in the faculty of arts illustrates an attachment to Aristotelian thought and a belated receptivity to Cartesianism and Newtonianism[62]. Elective course were often offered within or in conjunction with the colleges, like at college of La Marche at the end of the seventeenth century[63]; as mentioned above,

59. Certeau, 1975 (used : folio 2002), "Les lois propres au groupe religieux : réduction au silence et administration cultuelle", p. 224 et sq.

60. Dainville, 1963.

61. Charter and regulations of the college des Quatre Nations, Archives Nationales, H^3 2562, dossier 1.

62. Brockliss, 1986, p. 216-218.

63. Rules of the college of La Marche, end of the seventeenth century, quoted by

these were among the advantages of the large aristocratic boarding schools in the provinces. However, electives associated with the humanities colleges were not systematically organized. They depended on the local availability of this or that instructor, and did not result in formal evaluations.

The need to institutionalize the training of the army's future technical officers through the creation of specialized establishments was felt early, with Richelieu instituting two academies in 1636 and 1641[64]. There, young nobles received French-language instruction in cartography, geometry, arithmetic, mechanics, optics, astronomy, economy, etc. These initiatives failed, however, by 1650, largely for financial reasons.

The first permanent schools designed exclusively to train naval officers, limited to the nobility, were thus created by Colbert in 1669[65]. Five artillery schools were founded in 1720. In the mid-eighteenth century the École royale du Génie de Mézières (1748) and the École royale militaire de Paris (1751) came into being, modeled on the cadet academies of Saint-Petersburg and Berlin, and, in the field of civil engineering, the École des Ponts et chaussées was founded in 1747[66]. The most successful of these institutions was the École du Génie de Mézières[67]. From the beginning it displayed novel characteristics that distinguished it from the university model and that would later mark the French *grandes écoles*. Entry into the school required passing a mathematics competitive examination given by members of the Academy of Science, a way to show the weight of the scientific competence in the procedure. The test's relative difficulty led to the creation of institutions that specialized in preparing students for the exam. In contrast to the university curriculum, the training in these establishments incorporated theory and practice. Though tempered by the preferential recruitment of nobles, two

Lévy, 1921.

64. Chartier, Compère and Julia, 1976, p. 181-185 ; Gaborit, forthcoming.

65. Julia,1989 [2].

66. Chartier, Compère and Julia, 1976, p. 217-222 ; Belhoste, 1989.

67. Chartier, 1973, p. 356. About the Pont et chaussées, Picon, 1994.

new principles emerged : the choice of mathematics as a key criterion of admission and the creation of competitive exams to select candidates for a limited number of places[68].

Conclusion

Leaving off with the military and engineering schools of the eighteenth century invites us to finish our discussion with the École polytechnique, founded in 1795. This establishment perfectly symbolizes the elite French institutions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, separated from the university and practicing an early hyper-selectivity of students[69]. Thus in the division between universities and *grande écoles* that structures French higher education today, we can see the distant result of the singular failure (in comparison to the situation in other countries) of the faculties from the Renaissance to the Revolution.

Without covering every detail, the vast survey that we have undertaken permits us nonetheless to put this French singularity into perspective. We can schematically draw out the monarchy's and other actors' expectations of the universities, and these sixteenth-century institutions' inability to move beyond an intellectual project that originated in the medieval period, which had by then run its course. Only their role in regulating and reproducing elites permitted *a minima* the maintenance of a social and political consensus concerning the universities' existence[70].

At least until the end of the seventeenth century, the picture painted here undoubtedly differed little in neighboring countries. English or German universities were not always exemplary at the seventeenth century[71]. Nevertheless, and though these are at the beginning isolated examples, we would be hard pressed to find a French equivalent to Isaac Newton or universities like Halle, founded in 1694, or Göttingen, established in 1737. The undeniable suc-

68. On the development of competitive examinations, Julia, 1994.

69. On the importance of Polytechnique in France, Belhoste, 2003.

70. Noguès, 2013.

71. Many examples given by Clark, 2007 and in Rüegg and de Ridder-Symoens, 1996.

cess of Göttingen in the second half of the eighteenth century depended less on the creativity and originality of its professors, than on its unique institutional organization. There, the university, strictly speaking, was closely associated with an equestrian academy, a library, an academy, and a journal[72]. These diverse institutions were in the service of the university's dynamism, whereas in France they were identified as competitive establishments. It is thus during the first half of the eighteenth century that we can identify a real divergence between French practices and new approaches that were put into place elsewhere. If other countries like England, Italy, or the German states possessed colleges and academies and began to promote specialized schools in the eighteenth century, the competitive fabric of their universities was not as dense, as diversified, or as clearly segregated as that of the universities in France. Finally, we can add to this that the Collège royal, the major Jesuit colleges of the royal foundation (La Flèche, Louis-le-Grand), multiple royal academies, and military schools benefited from the priority support of an especially powerful and efficient state, to the detriment of the long-abandoned universities.

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72. Saada, 2009, especially p. 312-316.

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CHAPTER 10

Mass Universities and the Idea of an Elite Education in the Netherlands, 1945-2015

Peter Jan Knegtmans

Abstract

After the Second World War, the awareness was very strong that the Netherlands needed to industrialize in order to prosper. Therefore, the government started investing in higher education and in the sciences on a massive scale. New (technical) universities were founded, and the numbers of faculties, chairs and staff rose. Since the 1970s, higher education for many has become the word. The number of university students has risen from 11.250 in 1940 to 103.000 in 1970 and 250.000 now. But universities do not specialize. They all offer almost the same, however hard their boards sometimes try to raise their institution above the others or at least give the public the impression that they are better. Since Dutch universities are not allowed to select students, and because there are many restrictions to raise money from other sources than the government, it is almost impossible for universities to create a distinct profile for themselves. The only way out was the creation of new institutions. This was done by establishing liberal arts colleges with a strict admittance policy.

Key words: Netherlands; industrialization; higher education for many; mass universities; course duration; the idea of a university education.

In the nineteenth century, Dutch universities were elite institutions. They were meant for the learned class, the group in society that

SCI. DAN. H. 8 · 15 · THE ELITE UNIVERSITY – ROLES AND MODELS
THE ROYAL DANISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND LETTERS · 2017

could read Latin and Greek, and they prepared students for a life in this class. This was obvious, and was maintained by different types of secondary schools. The traditional Latin School or *gymnasium* gave access to the university, in which Latin was colloquial until the 1850s. A second, more modern type of school, with modern languages, math, chemistry and physics, was meant for the middle classes. It gave access to commercial colleges and to the Polytechnic School.

However, the purpose of the university changed. In a new law of 1876 this purpose was no longer Bildung, classical education, but scientific training. For this the new secondary schools for the middle class were much better equipped. And although for students Latin and Greek were still required, the social accessibility of the universities slowly broadened, due to the success of these modern secondary schools. However, this broadening was only gradual, and the effect for many decades was that the universities were still mainly elite institutions. Indeed, two new 'private' or special universities, the Free University in Amsterdam (1880) and the Catholic University in Nijmegen (1923) were established to create a Calvinist and a catholic elite. And the university students, in particular the traditional Corps, took it for granted that universities were elite institutions. They recruited their members from the learned class, and with their *mores* repelled homines novi.[1]

This carefully upheld system started cracking in the 1920s and 1930s. A report in 1934 warned against the possibility of 'academic overproduction'. For the first time students felt concerned about their future. Was it still obvious that they would fulfill executive functions? At the same time there was a trend towards a more democratic higher education. This view was held by professors who had been in the United States, where universities were not exclusively meant for scientific training as in the Netherlands.[2]

1. Knegtmans (1998), 26-44.

2. On the change in educational goals, see: Baggen (1998). On their accessability, see: Jensma & De Vries (1997); Marchand (2015).

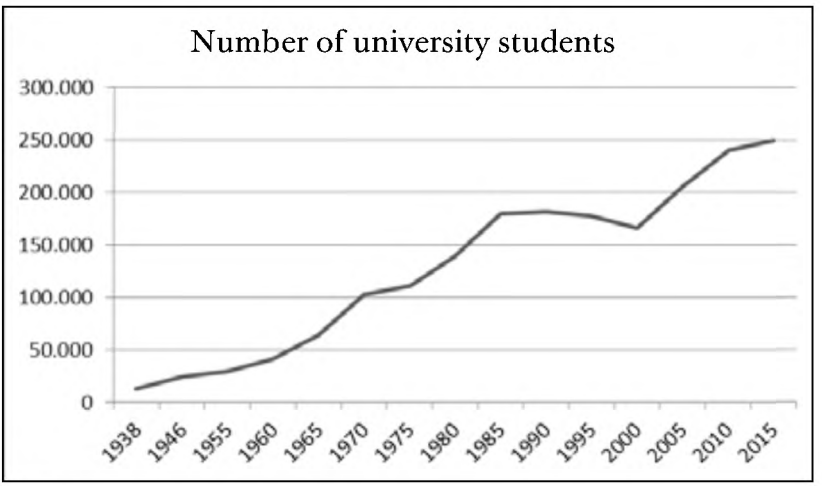

Table 1: these figures were published by the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.

Table 2:

General universities:	
Leiden (1575)	Rotterdam (1973)
Groningen (1614)	Maastricht (1976)
Utrecht (1636)	Open Universiteit (1984)
Amsterdam (UvA, 1877)	Tilburg (1986)
Amsterdam[3] (VU, 1880)	Twente (1986)
Nijmegen (1922)	
Categorial universities:	
Delft (Technical, 1905)	Eindhoven (Technical, 1956)
Rotterdam (Economics, 1913-1973)	Twente (Technical, 1963-1986)
Wageningen (Agricultural, 1917)	
Tilburg (Economics, 1927-1986)	

3. Amsterdam UvA (University of Amsterdam) started in 1877 as a municipal university, and is now a state sponsored university. VU University (Free University) is a former Calvinist, special university. Nowadays the special universities are fully state sponsored as well.

New faculties and new universities

The development from elite universities to mass universities in the postwar years went through several stages (Table 1). In 1938, the last normal prewar year, the universities in the Netherlands had 12.500 students on a population of nine million people. In the first 'normal' postwar year, 1946, their number had doubled to 24.500. Nowadays the Netherlands have 250.000 university students on a population of 17 million.

This means that there are now roughly almost ten times as many students than in the prewar period, in the days of the genuine elite universities. Then, there were ten universities, now there are fourteen. Apart from this there are three very small theological universities meant for students who hope to take holy orders, and a small University of Humanistic Studies.

Apart from this, there are the so-called colleges for higher professional education. Nowadays they call themselves universities for applied sciences. These include the art and fashion academies, actors schools, teachers education, schools for chemical and other analysts, and many studies in communication, logistics and management. These schools hardly existed before the war, but now they have 400.000 students. This brings the amount of students in the universities and the colleges for higher professional education up to almost 40 per cent of 18 to 25 year olds.[4] But this article deals with the universities only.

The then large number of students in the years immediately after the war was only partly due to a pent-up demand from students who had not been able to attend the university during the war. In the Second World War, the Netherlands had been occupied by Nazi-Germany, and from 1943 on, students had had to sign a declaration of allegiance to the Germans in order to continue their study. An overwhelming part of the students had refused to do this, and they

4. In the year 2010-2011 the total of 240.000 university students made up 15 per cent of the then 18 to 25 year olds: Chiang Meza (2012), 9. This brings the percentage of university and higher professional college students together on 40 per cent of the age group.

had been banned from the universities. Now, they were eager to catch up with their studies, whereas others entered the university for the first time. In the next few years they were followed by students who had not been able to finish their secondary schools during the occupation.

For the main part, however, the growth in the number of students was the result of an extension of the universities. Since the war, several universities had been extended with the social sciences: economics, psychology, sociology and political science. These studies seem to have been populated by new men and women, by students whose parents did not have a university education. This assumption has not yet been confirmed by historical research, but it might explain the increase in the number of students.

Apart from this, the two privately funded universities, the Calvinist Free University and the Catholic University, also opened faculties of medicine and of science in the 1950s. These universities did not yet have the legally required five faculties: divinity, law, medicine, science, and humanities. They had started with the relatively cheap faculties of divinity, law and humanities. However, they were obliged to open faculties of medicine and science in the near future, or otherwise they would lose their recognition by the government as a general university.[5] To solve this problem, in 1948 an agreement was reached according to which the state was to fund these universities in such a way that they could open these prescribed faculties. For these universities, this was an important addition, because the faculties of medicine were very large then in the still rather small Dutch universities.

Table 1 shows that in the 1950s the number of students grew steadily. This was the result of several government actions such as a decrease of the tuition fees and the introduction of a generous system of scholarships in 1953. But the government did more than this. When the Dutchman Frits Zernike was honoured with the Nobel Prize for physics in 1953, some had come under the false impression

5. Because of the legal requirement of five faculties the categorial universities in table 2 were not allowed to call themselves universities until the law was changed in 1986. Until 1986, they were called Hogescholen (cf. the German Hochschule).

FIGURE 1: Most universities in the Netherlands have a mix of old and new buildings. This main building of the University of Groningen dates from 1909 (Wutsje, Wikimedia Commons).

that the Netherlands was still among the best in science. In fact, there was a strong awareness that the Netherlands had fallen behind during the war.[6] Thus, in 1956 a second technical university was opened, in Eindhoven (see table 2). But this wasn't enough. A state commission was installed to advise the government how to catch up in the sciences. It recommended to invest in the faculties of science in order to promote research and technological innovation.[7] Another state commission recommended the government to create a third technical university (which indeed was opened in 1963), and even a fourth and a fifth – that were never established. Furthermore it advised to combine fundamental and applied sciences in one or several of the general and technical universities, to establish one extra faculty of dentistry, and to extend several universities with new faculties of law and of social sciences.[8]

6. Van Berkel (2011), 309.

7. Ibidem, 309-311.

8. In this respect, the Netherlands distinguished themselves from other countries,

The idea of these new universities and faculties was that the country would have to industrialize to bring it on a higher level of prosperity. And in order to increase the industrial production and productivity, it would have to improve its competitive position. For this an increasing number of higher educated people was necessary, especially in science and technology. At the same time, a balance was needed between science and technology on the one hand, and the humanities, in which Western civilization had its roots, on the other hand. Apart from this, the growth of the service industries called for more graduates in the social sciences. But these extensions weren't to have consequences for the character of the universities. These would have to preserve their small scale. A department, electronics for instance, was not to have more than ten to twelve professors. This limited the number of students, because each graduating student was supposed to do his final project or thesis under the supervision of one of the professors. The implication was that the ideal technical university did not have more than 4000 or 5000 students. General universities could have more students, because they had more faculties and departments, but the idea of an elite education had not yet lost its value or strength in the 1950s.[9]

Years of transition

Although in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s there had been a firm belief in the extent to which society could be socially engineered, the sudden increase in the numbers of students in the 1960s came completely unexpected. The country had seen a postwar baby boom that had lasted from 1945 into the 1950s. This was common knowledge, and it was also known that more 12- and 13-year olds went to schools that prepared for higher education than before the war. Because of this, the government had reckoned with a growth of the number of university students to the amount of 55.000 to 65.000 in the 1970s. In fact, from 1963 on the numbers of students grew much faster (table 1).

where many new universities were established. See: Whyte (2015); Vanden Borre (2015), 15 and passim.

9. De spreiding (1959).

This had dramatic consequences in many ways. There was a lack of staff, of lecturing rooms, and of teaching laboratories, though not yet of money. The idea of an elite education for university students was not immediately given up, but the professors, the university boards, the students, and the politicians had to adapt themselves to this new situation. Within ten years, many new and young university teachers were hired. In the university towns new university quarters and large university hospitals were built. And the general universities were bestowed with all or most of the conceivable faculties and departments of that time, and with chairs for professors in almost all fields and specialties. In the University of Amsterdam for instance, the board created at least one new chair every month during the 1960s.

In the meantime, the students changed radically as a result of the world wide cultural revolution. Until then, students had lived on the assumption that they would fulfill executive functions. This was how they acted, how they presented themselves, and how they distinguished themselves from other young people. This did not completely come to an end in the 1960s and 1970s, but many did not want to present themselves in the way of the former aspiring students anymore. They rejected competition and ambition, they wanted to be young, use soft drugs, listen to music and contest and change the world with other young people. Although this did not lead to extreme violence as in Mexico, the United States or West-Germany, the most notable groups among the students demonstrated against all authorities, including the professors and the governors in the universities. They demonstrated for democracy within the university, against higher tuition fees (which were necessary to uphold the fast growing universities) and for better accessibility of the universities for students from all social ranks. The administrators of the universities (for whom this was an extra duty next to their main occupation) proved to be unequal to their task and to the tensions in the fast growing universities.

All this resulted in 1970 in a new law which gave the universities boards with professional administrators, and an elected university council consisting of professors, staff, students and representatives from society. This council controlled the board. In these universi-

ties the idea of an elite education has eroded slowly since the 1970s and 1980s. This had several causes.

In the first place many students in the humanities and the social sciences or in medicine did not see themselves as an elite anymore. It became obvious that not all students could fulfill executive functions in the future. However, law and economics remained very popular among students, because they were considered useful legs to executive functions.

In the second place the length of the studies came under pressure because of the large numbers of students. Since the end of the nineteenth century it had been the purpose of the universities in the Netherlands to educate students into scholars. On graduation, students were supposed to be able to conduct scientific investigation. This had for many decades already caused complaints from trade and industry. Here the idea was that society did not need highly specialized researchers; it needed people with a high level of general education. However, the 1970 law had only changed the administration of the universities.[10] It had not affected the autonomy of the faculties to organize their education according to their own opinion. These faculties did not hold on so much to the idea of an elite education, but they did hold on to scientific training of the students. The problem was that with the increase of students more and more of them weren't interested in this scientific training anymore. They were mainly interested in an academic title. The second problem was that students in the Netherlands took their time to graduate. Six, seven, eight years of study before graduation were normal. The third problem was that so many students dropped out before graduation. Of the students who studied in the university, only 60 per cent graduated. This combination of large numbers, slow students and few graduates made the expenditures for education unaffordable in the economic crisis of the 1980s.

In 1982 a new law forced the universities to reduce the course duration for medicine to six years, the sciences to five and the other faculties to a 4-year program. In an explanatory statement the ministry of Education wrote that the universities had to adapt themselves

10. Foppen (1989).

in order to educate larger numbers of students in a shorter time, and with more success, that is less drop-outs. According to the ministry, this still could be called scientific training because of the scholarly character of the education taught by good scholars and scientists, and by the fact that the students became acquainted with scientific research and investigation, however modest this acquaintance might be. The idea of this statement was furthermore that the purposes of higher education could best be realized in analogy with the Anglo-American model with two stages; a 4-year general stage, and a more specialized second stage. The course reduction that the law of 1982 introduced, was meant to create this first, general 4-year stage.[11]

With this interpretation, the ministry abandoned the idea of a scientific training of students in the traditional way, which was that every student had to do serious scholarly research for his or her final thesis. However, the universities did not share this view. They kept to scientific training. In most faculties the courses were indeed reduced to four years. Of these four years, the first year was used for a general introduction to the discipline, whereupon followed specialization in a 3-year course. So nothing came of an extended general course. The expectation was that the time students took to graduate, would come down from more than seven years to five years. The government tried to stimulate this reduction with setting a maximum number of years to student's grants, but this didn't help. Students still take slightly more than six years for a 4-year course.

Mass universities

In the meantime, in the 1980s the rapid increase in the number of students had petered out, due to demographic trends.[12] What had not disappeared, was the pursuit of the idea that everyone should have the *possibility* to go to a university. Indeed, this had turned into the ideology that everyone *should* go to the university.[13] This is an

11. Hoger Onderwijs voor velen (1978). The second stage, a 2-year Mphil course, was never effectuated. Instead, a 4-year PhD course was realized.

12. Jaarboek 2011(2011), 12-13.

13. Fasseur (2000), 7-15, aldaar 11.

exaggeration, of course, but this ideology had settled in the ministry of Education, and had in the 1980s resulted in a new kind of student's grant: a grant for every kid of a certain age that went to school or university. The expenses of this system were extremely high, and had to be paid for at the expense of other amenities of the university, such as sufficient numbers of teachers. Moreover, after some time this grants system drew in more and more students. This brought the president of Leiden University in 1988 to suggest the possibility that Leiden change into a 'quality university', including a drastic increase of tuition fees.[14]

At that time, this Leiden president was a voice crying in the wilderness. As mentioned before, in the 1960s and 1970s all universities had been given all, or at least most of the faculties and departments. They did not specialize anymore, all of them offered more or less the same. And since the quality of their graduates and their research was generally good, there were no reasons to complain, nor to distinguish themselves from other universities. With the cutbacks in expenditure on the universities, all this changed. In the 1990s a reversal occurred in the way universities wanted to present themselves. On the one hand this had to do with their concern about the amount of students that came to their universities – in short their market share –, on the other hand with the quality of the research in universities.

Until then, research had never been under surveillance. But when in the 1980s cutbacks were necessary, the ministry and the politicians started looking into the effectivity of the large amounts of money that went to research. What was done with it and what were the outcomes of all this research? After several bureaucratic exercises this concern ultimately led to a withdrawal of a large part of the money meant for research from the universities. This sum was reduced, and the remaining part was transferred to the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), where research groups and individuals would have to compete for research grants. Gradually, the universities now had to distinct themselves from the others. They needed groups, departments and professors who were

14. Ibidem.

FIGURE 2: Main Hall of Delft University of Technology (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed).

better than their counterparts in other universities. Suddenly, they needed policies to encourage certain fields of research, and they wanted centers of excellence. Rankings became more and more important.

When the competition for research funds started in the 1980s, the competition for students did not yet exist. When in the late 1970s and the early 1980s the new Maastricht University started publicity campaigns aimed at new students, this was considered not done. Only a decade later, all universities advertised for their open days, for their new studies, and for their more of less peculiar educational system. This competition became fierce after the Bologna Declaration of 1999. This declaration aims at the adoption of comparable university degrees that enable students to move freely in the countries of the European Higher Education Area and be able to continue their studies elsewhere. Not long afterwards an agreement was reached according to which each country adopt a 3-year bach-

elor cycle, followed by a 1- or 2-year master course. This system was introduced in the Netherlands in 2003.

The introduction of bachelor and master courses in the universities brought drastic changes. Until then, an introductory 1-year course was followed by a 3-year specializing course. This had to be turned around into a 3-year introductory course, followed by only one year specialization. This could have been the occasion for departments and faculties to adopt broad bachelor courses, comparable to the American liberal arts colleges. In the beginning there have been some attempts in that direction, but soon the bachelor courses developed into broad disciplinary courses, after which students usually move on to the master stage. But the purpose of this education is not altogether clear. It may be clear for future doctors, dentists, and several other professionals. They always had a vocational and not a scientific training. In the sciences, the social sciences and the humanities a scientific training had been the purpose, but now it is called academic training. But there is not even the beginning of a conformity over what this academic training is or should be.

However this was not the only change for the universities. In 1997 a law was adopted that abolished the university council and the faculty councils, and made the universities hierarchic again.[15] Since the introduction of this law, the boards want to govern the university, whereas they used to administer it.

The most important change however is a turn in government policy. Since World War II the improvement of the educational level of the population was seen as a responsibility of the government. The government took care of investments in education, in research, and in grants for students. Now the government is withdrawing. The responsibility for the level of education has been shifted to the citizens themselves. Students used to get grants in the form of interest-free loans. Now they have to borrow money to pay for their study. And universities can no longer rely on the government for all their research. Universities have to look for financial support from trade and industry. The idea of this is that in this way academic research will consider social demand.

15. 'Wet modernisering universitaire bestuursorganisatie' (1997).

This shift in government policy is enhanced by a new way of subsidizing the universities. Thus far, they were paid mainly on the basis of the number of students they had, and only partly on the number of graduations. Now they are paid mainly on the basis of the number of graduations.[16] Here the idea is that the government is only responsible for the functioning of the educational system, and no longer for the individual institutions. By having the money follow the students, the universities are stimulated to attract students and to keep them by improving their education. In actual practice, studies are made as attractive as possible, which is not always identical with as good as possible.

Mass education and the future elites

This is where the universities in the Netherlands are now. In the second half of the 1990s the rapid growth of numbers of students was resumed. This was partly the result of a demographic trend – the children of the children of the postwar baby boom went to the university. For another part it is the result of the emancipation of women. Since 2006 there are more female than male university students.[17]

Market share in the market for education has become a major concern for universities. All now have large publicity departments for the branding of the universities. But what do they have to brand with? The universities all offer almost the same. Therefore, rankings get all the more important. In drawing students, surveys among students are important. And since many students choose for certain cities, the universities emphasize the attractiveness of the city. But it is not enough to attract students. Since they get paid for the number of graduations, there is a perverse stimulus to graduate as many students as possible. The faculties and universities adopt all kinds of schemes to pull students through their tests and exams. And since universities have to accept all students with the appropriate

16. On the former policy, see: De spreiding (1959). On the actual policy, see: Kwikkers (2006), 12-31.

17. Jaarboek 2011 (2011), 13; Chiang Meza (2012), passim.

school certificates, they have to adapt the level of their education to the level of the students. This makes it almost impossible for universities to create a distinct profile for themselves regarding their education.

Utrecht University was in 1998 the first to find a way to distinguish itself with a new kind of institution: it established a liberal arts college. Since this institution is distinct from the university, it is allowed to select students for admittance, and indeed, this Utrecht University College has a strict allowance policy, and high tuition fees. In this way, the college was an institution for elite education, not for a social elite, but of an intellectual elite. Soon, other universities followed suit. Now there are University Colleges in Maastricht (2002), Middelburg (Roosevelt Academy, 2004), Amsterdam (2009) and The Hague (Leiden University College, 2010). In this small scale, elite education has found its way back to the universities. Apart from this, faculties and departments offer honor's courses for brilliant and ambitious students on an even smaller scale. But in general, university education for a large part has become an extension of the secondary schools.

At the same time, in research universities aspire excellence. This has serious consequences for the staff. Only staff members who succeed in getting research funds and grants, get tenure. And only a small percentage of staff succeed in winning these funds. In universities such as these, a special form of elite education is available for the rather small group of students who aspire an academic career. These research master and PhD students are given the supervision and the attention they need during an extended scientific training. In this way, the universities secure a sustained high level of research. This forces universities in two minds: mass education on the one hand, excellent, sometimes very specialized research on the other. The gap between these two seems to be getting wider by the year.

However, the objective of the university is still to teach on a scientific level; to do research; to give attention to the development of the personality of the students; and to promote their social responsibility. But what is to be expected of these last two aspects in a mass education? Do the universities nowadays challenge the students enough? The newest trend is that universities take this to heart and

become more restrictive in admitting students to master courses. This does not exactly turn the universities into elite institutions, but it might get them on the track of educating new elites. This seems to be the challenge of the universities: educating elites in an ever-faster changing world.

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CHAPTER II

What is required to create elite universities?

Flemming Besenbacher and Peter Thostrup

Abstract

The world is faced with multiple grand challenges requiring novel approaches and solutions. In particular, scientific breakthroughs, rather than incremental improvements, are needed. In this paper, we outline the frameworks that should be constructed to increase the probability of achieving such breakthroughs and bringing them into practical use. The effort must span the entire educational and research system, and should focus on promoting excellence and elite environments, both in education, research, and knowledge transfer. Using Denmark as a case, we argue that only universities with a strong international standing should be allowed to conduct research.

Keywords: Elite, excellence, entrepreneurial university, education, research, knowledge transfer, private-public partnership, scientific social responsibility.

New is Normal

> The only thing that is constant is change
> Heraclitus (c. 535-475 BCE)

We live in a time of accelerating change. Not only does the rise and fall of dominant technologies occur more quickly than before, but the world is also faced with the uncertainties created by grand challenges, e.g., resource scarcity, demographic change or climate

change, forcing swift adaptation in all sectors and calling for a paradigm shift in science, industry and society.

As a continent, Europe is under pressure. Europe and Denmark have not managed to regain growth after the financial and geopolitical crises in the last decade. Europe is currently challenged by an increasing number of refugees, and over the last decades we have seen the displacement of manufacturing away from Europe to low-cost countries. The resulting loss in jobs, shifting demographics and weaker competitiveness conspire to threaten the long-term viability of European welfare states and give rise to social unrest and political instabilities.

We must not forget, that the income required to fund our fantastic welfare system comes from the private business sector. One of the most important societal framework conditions in helping businesses create value and grow is the access to knowledge and skilled, creative graduates:

> *"A society's competitive advantage will come not from how well its schools teach the multiplication and periodic tables, but from how well they stimulate imagination and creativity."* (Albert Einstein)

Unconventional ideas, innovation, curiosity, and creativity are indeed required in the 21st century, and not least to meet the grand challenges and the UN 17 Sustainable Development Goals of our time. Much can be achieved by combining and implementing existing known technologies, but all projections tell us that scientific and technological breakthroughs, the ability to think outside the box and come up with new innovative solutions, are urgently needed to enable a prosperous and sustainable society in the long term. New innovative breakthrough solutions must often be sought in a cross-disciplinary and holistic approach covering both scientific, technical, and social aspects.

Novel solutions to social challenges are not only a necessity but are also often potential new business opportunities. Europe, and Denmark in particular, are at an advantage in that we possess the social characteristics allowing for cross-disciplinary and cross-sectorial collaboration, but an underlying precondition is always access

to ideas, competences, and skills, originating in research and education. Both must be of the highest international standard, and in a time of austerity, this calls for a focusing of funds at the highest performing institutions – the elite universities.

Universities are unique in the way that education, research, and knowledge exchange with society co-exist on the same premises. The aspect of knowledge transfer has not traditionally been the primary focus at the universities, but has seen a surge in recent years. Strong synergies arise from the co-habitation of the three activities, resulting in what has been termed "the entrepreneurial university". While intertwined in practice, we choose to treat the three activities separately below for reasons of clarity.

Excellence and Elite

We must, however, first try to define what is meant by "excellence". To describe excellence of any kind, the ancient Greeks often used the concept of Arete, which meant an outstanding fitness for purpose.[1] The term is often associated with effectiveness and the use of all faculties to achieve real results. Excellence is thus the capacity of being outstanding or extremely good at fulfilling a specific set of tasks.

Consequently, an elite university excels at all its activities, achieving its multifaceted purpose defined by society. Also relevant when speaking of the performance and excellence of universities is the connotation of quality. Quality as opposed to quantity. The notion goes that focus on sheer quantity carries with it a degeneration of quality; particularly quality of the very highest international rank – excellence. As we shall see below, this trade-off is not inevitable, if we are willing to abandon sameness and allow for a system that challenges a select group at a level above the broader base.

Individual excellence, no doubt, requires talent (intelligence), passion, dedication, and finally – not to be missed – hard work. On the other hand, the individual also requires an environment conducive to the unfolding of potential. In the university context, one should pay heed to the following warning:

1. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arete_(moral_virtue)

"Creativity/excellence in science, in the arts and in society, cannot be organised. It arises spontaneously from individual talent. Well-run laboratories can foster it, but hierarchical organisations, inflexible, bureaucratic rules, and mountains of futile paperwork can kill it... very quickly. Discoveries cannot be planned; they pop up, like Puck, in unexpected corners."

Max Ferdinand Perutz, the founder of MRC-LMB, 1962 Nobel prize for the structure of hemoglobin, supervisor for Francis Crick (1914-2002).

Excellence in Education

First, we take a look at education, as it is the most important university activity, and the strongest impact universities today have on society is the knowledge embedded in the graduates from the universities.

Over the last decades, we have seen a transition for many universities from serving a few percent of the population into mass universities; e.g., in Denmark, the politically set goal is for 25% of a student year to get a university degree. Without a corresponding surge in teaching and research staff, inevitably, this has brought on harmonization of educations into more streamlined products. Universities concomitantly alter focus to completion times and other non-academic distractions. With the increasing proportion of youngsters going to university, we are today facing the fact that most graduates cannot continue their career in the academic world at the universities but must instead pursue jobs in industry and public institutions, arguably the most efficient form of knowledge transfer to society.

Our observation is that in a given student year, the percentage of academic talents, who for instance have the capacity to successfully complete a PhD degree, is constant over time. The consequence of a higher number of students is that talents constitute a successively smaller fraction over time, and the possibility of challenging them at their own level is weakened.

We must wake up to the fact that we depend on outstanding talents; the group of high achievers who are able to move knowl-

edge frontiers and potentially make the scientific breakthroughs that we so urgently need. As in sports, we must, to a much higher degree, nurture the best talents, although not at the expense of the broader student community. We must challenge those willing and able, so that they may become the next generation of top scientists.

The rate of societal change is increasing, and education must change accordingly. Not by becoming fluid, but by becoming more resilient to change. For instance, this means that too early specialisation should be avoided as specialisation is bound to become obsolete. Instead, core competences, including literacy, numeracy, scientific literacy, and ICT literacy should be emphasized, and the students' level of abstraction should be challenged to strengthen their problem-solving abilities and mental acuity. Such competencies, as well as collaboration skills and creativity, are the most valuable skills for the 21st century entering the era of the 4th industrial revolution, and universities should educate students to meet these needs. Continuing education upon obtaining a degree is a natural extension, and universities also play an important role in this respect.

Excellence in Research

University management has the important task of creating the framework conditions necessary to achieve real scientific breakthroughs. This includes infrastructure (buildings, libraries, professional management, a comprehensive suite of complementary scientific instrumentation) and good technical infrastructure to build its own unique equipment.

An elite university consists of a critical mass of excellent individuals. For that reason, any department head should spend a significant fraction of his/her time identifying, supporting, and retaining the most talented young scholars, and only these. A strategic approach is warranted to facilitate targeted recruitment within specific research areas and avoid fragmentation. Initially, young scientists should be offered help, writing grant applications and should receive mentoring to get started on an independent research path.

In any case, it is very important to stress the independence aspect; we see far too many cases where young scientists remain or become dependent on an older, well established professor and his or her equipment and grants. Therefore, the strategy from the university academic leaders should always be to help young new scholars establish an independent research activity and then... get out of the way. The young (and older) scientist should be given the freedom to define and plan their own research. Time and space for reflection and immersion into a chosen research topic is of the essence. As e.g. Max Perutz articulated very clearly, discoveries and breakthroughs cannot be planned, but pop up in unexpected places, given the right environment, and, usually, after a lot of hard and dedicated work.

Historically speaking, scientific breakthroughs such as e.g. Bohr's atomic model, the invention of the transistor, the integrated circuit (computers), the laser, antibiotics, X-ray imaging, or genome sequencing have not appeared as a result of a top-down, politically driven process. Rather, these breakthroughs of the last century are the results of the investment in basic, fundamental science and fortuitous coincidences, made by the right person at the right time. It is, however, very hard to allow room for serendipity in a Key Performance Indicator-driven university system and it can also be difficult to explain the concept to non-academics. Therefore, it is so important that universities are led by accomplished scholars who have experienced serendipity first hand and thus feel the need to fight for it; see also the section on Academic Leadership below.

The international research community works by the principle of "give and get"; only when you have something to offer, access to the latest scientific developments and results will be given. Peers respond to you, offering unique opportunities, such as access to unique instrumentation or participation in a large centre of excellence. Once you have something to offer, a next step is to develop strategic international partnerships to enhance reputation and consolidate leading positions. This will also help catalyse the attraction of international top scientists.

Long-term stability with respect to funding and infrastructure has a time-honored positive effect on the quality (but not necessar-

ily quantity) of research output. Most university researchers do not have the luxury of long-term funding; this is a result of two tendencies, both, in fact, inspired by the aforementioned focus on excellence: First, a progressively larger fraction of funding is being awarded in open competition and second, the average grant amount has increased. These tendencies conspire to concentrate funding on fewer hands, which tends to make it more difficult for rising stars to gain independence, thus severing the line of succession.

As a result, unfortunately, we see many talented (too often female) PhDs opt out of the academic career path. Add to this, relatively low salaries, time lost on writing unsuccessful grant applications, and the prospect of temporary positions for a decade, and the choice is often straightforward. Politicians and university managements must work to counteract this unfortunate tendency by designing clear career paths, for instance by implementing a US-inspired tenure-track system, which, however, has its own pros and cons.

Excellence in Knowledge Transfer

An elite university must also, in line with the definition above, be a vehicle of knowledge transfer. While a very efficient form of knowledge transfer happens naturally with the employment of young candidates with strong core competences, a university must also collaborate very directly with industry on more strategic and applied aspects. To this end, it is crucial to build upon the competences of researchers trained in basic science, as are only found at universities. In fact, experience shows that the best "applied" scientist is often also the best "basic" scientist and vice versa. This simple truth was formulated early on by Louis Pasteur (1822-1895):

> *There does not exist a category of science to which one can give the name applied science. There are science and the applications of science, bound together as the fruit of the tree which bears it.*

Collaboration with industry has not traditionally carried with it academic merit, so changing from a career path in industry to academ-

ia has been (and often still is) impeded by the fact that researchers are measured with different yardsticks inside and outside academia.

Industry collaboration has therefore not come naturally to academia, and consequently, universities have struggled to establish fruitful collaboration and knowledge exchange with industry. Growing distrust has brought with it the concept of "strategic research", as politicians are not convinced that researchers choose to conduct research in areas relevant to meeting the needs of industry and society. Such criticism is perhaps not entirely unwarranted, as scientists can do much more to position their research for the betterment of society at large (see SSR section below). In addition, and more recently, the realisation that future growth and jobs today critically depend on technological progress has spurred politicians to reallocate even more funding to industry-inspired/driven funding mechanisms.

As alluded to above, such industry-driven research must at all times be "balanced" by curiosity-driven research or we are in imminent danger of sawing off the branch we are sitting on. The real challenge is thus to create sustainable links between groundbreaking research and its exploitation in technologies, which can help meet industry needs and in effect also meet societal challenges.

One particularly raw nerve is the university organisations (so-called Tech Trans Offices, TTOs) handling industry contracts, patent applications and the formation of spin-out companies based on discoveries made by university personnel. With no intent to demean the role of legal aspects in such activities, we notice a desperate need to employ experienced innovators with specific knowledge and experience from real life in this particular area, since these are the only ones who can make qualified assessments of the potential market value of a given discovery. The current incentives set up for TTOs encourage them to file and uphold too many patent applications; a far better approach would be to critically assess the value of a given discovery and only move on with the most promising ones.

In our view, a university TTO is not well placed inside a university. It should be kept an agile separate entity working on fully commercial, for-profit terms and should be part of a University Development Fund (UDF) fully owned by the University. The UDF helps

commercialise research results, write business plans, create startup companies, provide labs with free rent, and offer funds to bridge the gap from lab to incubators to professors and students (alumni students may act as mentors). UDF should own stocks in several companies. Not only does such a construction solve the problem of being able to attract skilled staff on market terms, but it also creates the right incentives that actually encourage knowledge transfer to society in all its forms and shapes.

Scientific social responsibility

It should always be the duty and ambition of scientists to make sure that discoveries with potential societal impact and utility are brought to the proof-of-concept stage and exposed to professional assessment with a view of exploitation and further development in a professional business environment. This is an aspect of what we have denominated *Scientific Social Responsibility* (SSR) as an analogue to industry *Corporate Social Responsibility* (CSR).[2]

In practical terms, this means that the scientist, to a larger extent, should accept a societal responsibility by selecting projects where his or her talent can flourish while at the same time creating value for society; this goes for both the natural sciences, social sciences and the humanities:

> *"It is the responsibility of scientists to position their research for the betterment of society and to help meet the Grand Challenges of our time"*

We propose that accepting and voicing SSR will help researchers regain societal and thereby political trust and hopefully counteract the allocation of funds for fruitless top-down strategic projects and attempts at political control, often resulting in non-applicable applied science.

2. P. Krogsgaard-Larsen, P. Thostrup, F. Besenbacher, Angew. Chem. Int. Ed. 2011, 50, 10738 – 10740.

Public-Private Partnership

In all likelihood, we are going to see an even stronger shift in academia-industry collaboration towards taking industry needs as the starting point for the definition of the subject matter of a given project. While this, by some, may be seen as a degradation of academic freedom, it is still to be preferred over someone external (as in "strategic") to the collaboration, doing the defining. In any case, most scientists and students in fact find it very motivating to see concrete improvements or new products appearing as a result of their endeavors.

An elite university, performing well on the aspect of knowledge transfer, thus knows how to support the formation of lasting, trustful relationships between its academics and companies. As is the case for research careers or department reputation, there is usually no quick way to kick start industry collaboration. University management has a role to play in facilitating meetings between researchers but the real work and point of contact is done between level researchers communicating freely. Experience shows that this is only possible when a company employs scientists, i.e. when the company in question is either quite large and/or based on advanced technologies. If small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs, in fact most European companies) are to become more strongly involved, other modes of collaboration, clustering, and facilitators may be needed.

In general, however, the unfortunate truth is that Europe still falls behind countries like the US and Israel in reaping the benefits from our high level of research, i.e. we fail to turn new discoveries into business. Closer interaction between private and public actors, so-called public-private partnership, is needed, both to ensure faster exploitation of new discoveries but, importantly, also because grand challenges, which impact several societal aspects at once, can only be met through cross-sectorial and cross-disciplinary collaboration.

One such successful approach is the Innovation Fund Denmark (IFD), which funds industry-driven projects contributing to growth and job creation. IFD has taken a very focused approach to only fund projects, which actually benefit industry but with different in-

struments targeting large companies, SMEs, and budding innovators. We are encouraged by the fact that the European Commission has recently proposed a fund quite similar to IFD.

Academic Leadership

Excellent academic leadership is required and crucial for universities to fulfill their purposes in education, research, and innovation. Today we see a stronger focus on leadership at universities, which were previously often governed by peer councils designed in an age where change came slowly. The flipside of professional leadership and the adjoining implementation of *new public management* is the very unfortunate tendency of über-bureaucratisation. Following the Perutz quote above, bureaucracy is to be minimised at all cost, so this is an unfortunate development, to say the least.

Universities should not be led by managers without strong research and education experience – we need to put "Socrates in the Board Room"[3] and instate individuals who are accomplished scholars and respected by their peers. This makes scholars more credible because they are the only ones with a deep understanding of the core business of a university. The leadership must work to set quality thresholds for the university and must hire outstanding deans and heads of departments following Weil's law:

> *First-rate people hire other first-rate people, second-rate people hire third-rate people and third-rate people hire fifth-rate people.*
> André Weil, French mathematician (1906-1998)

Project management is, however, the central type of academic leadership in a university organisation. This is where the real work is done. Project management must be prioritised and the project manager must set the right team, driven by high academic standards towards new insight. These research managers deserve academic

3. Amanda H. Goodall, Socrates in the Boardroom: Why Research Universities Should Be Led by Top Scholars, Princeton University Press, 2010.

freedom and sufficient resources. These are not privileges given, but earned, by those who demonstrate excellent and dynamic research results.

Case: The Future of Danish Elite Universities

The Danish educational system has been the battleground for numerous ideological battles over decades but has nonetheless stayed relatively stable. In international comparisons, it remains a very expensive system that does not deliver top-ranking results at all levels. At present, Danish primary-school students only attain a place in the top 25 in both reading and mathematics. These disappointing rankings are explained as a result of a schooling system which does not focus on rote learning but rather emphasizes critical and independent thinking.

All eight Danish universities deliver education at both Bachelor's, Master's and PhD levels. Few Danish students, unlike in the US for example, finish their studies at the Bachelor's level, as students have a *right* to be admitted to graduate studies after having completed a Bachelor's degree, thus contributing to a degree of general over-education. As a result, there is practically no labor market for Bachelors.

The entire Danish schooling system is free. At university level, there are no tuition fees and students are actually paid approximately 10,000 $ per year, both at the Bachelor's and Master's level. The argument behind this generous system was originally the need to break with "negative social inheritance", i.e. the fact that children of uneducated parents are unlikely to complete a higher education. Not surprisingly, the effect has shown to be rather limited. Furthermore, this may also be why some students are seen to take a lax approach to their studies; some report spending only 25 hours per week studying during Bachelor's and Master's studies, including classes at the university. Obviously, this is far too little, although many students do a great and very dedicated job. Because of this, there is good reason to advocate elite programs for the best talents who are also prepared to prioritise their studies and work hard.

One concrete proposal that could kill two birds (i.e. over-educa-

tion and misspent funds) with one stone, is to limit economical support to the Bachelor level and offer interest-free loans at the Master's level. The money saved on economic support should not be removed from the university system, though, but rather reinvested in research and innovation. At the same time, the right to continue at Master's level after a Bachelor should be revoked.

As a PhD student at Danish Universities, you receive what amounts to a decent salary, about 45,000 $ per year, which makes the Danish PhD program extremely lucrative and expensive compared to international standards. With a surge in the number of PhD students over the last 10-15 years, the talent pool of excellent scholars has been emptied. Without the ability and effort to attract the necessary number of outstanding foreign talents, a high percentage of a given student year continues onto PhD studies, again contributing to the general over-education in the Danish system.

In addition to over-education in the higher education system, vocational educations have seen a strong decline in student mass over the last decade, most likely because this type of education has become less prestigious in the Danish society. In an attempt to meet a perceived need, and sometimes as a result of an institution's own ambitions, vocational educations have been the subject of academisation, i.e. a stronger focus on theoretical aspects. While it is necessary to teach digital competences, vocational education still has practical elements that are in strong demand. The Danish society heavily depends on excellence in the vocational sector as well.

In general, Denmark is performing very well in international comparisons on research performance relative to the number of inhabitants. Denmark usually appears in the top 3-5 and has done so for decades, probably reflecting a relatively stable university system and funding situation over the same period of time.

Denmark has eight universities but only three elite universities in the top 100 in international rankings; for a country with about 5 million inhabitants, eight research universities is a (too) high number caused by regional considerations. As discussed above, the right talent mass is of the essence for producing excellent research and in the current landscape, we indeed see too many subcritical research and educational environments.

The natural consequences of the considerations in the preceding sections are *mergers* and *work sharing*. While the former may be difficult to implement on a short timescale, incentives should at least be set up, encouraging vice-chancellors at Danish Universities to improve the coordination of the distribution of different research fields, and hence studies, among universities. This would also have the effect of "forcing" students to travel to the university where their study of choice is offered. This is the case in most other countries, and Danish students would be able to do the same.

In a time of dwindling research funds, a next natural step would be to limit the elite international research activities to the three universities in the 100-international ranking. Regional universities could still retain Bachelor's level programs and maybe Master's level as well, which, as we have seen, will become more important in the future. Sometimes, students would have to relocate to attend a Master's program. This model, practiced in many other countries, seems to meet both regional and national needs.

In terms of knowledge transfer to society, Denmark does not match its high ranking in research performance. Performance below par is seen both in the number of university spin-outs and lucrative patents. The recently established Innovation Fund Denmark (see above) appears to be making an important contribution towards improving the degree of knowledge transfer from universities to society, but the Danish TTO system is not well-functioning and needs to be completely reconstructed. We need to improve our ability to commercialise research and create start-ups. One way forward would be to have the TTO become part of an excellent separate for-profit company e.g. a "University Development Fund (UDF)", owned by the Universities or the government, but operated from a professional business angle. The UDF should provide funds to bridge the gap from lab to incubators to professors and students and successful alumni students may act as mentors. The UDF should be able to own stocks in the companies, and initial investments in start-up companies can be protected from dilution by an Investment Opportunities Fund, run by the UDF. The UDF might reinvest in young talented scholars doing excellent basic research during, for example, their PhD and postdoc

studies, since they will be the future customers of the University Development Fund.

Now is the wrong time for cuts in the educational sector. Money spent on education, research, and innovation is an investment in a future more unpredictable and more subject to change than ever. The only thing constant in the era of the 4th industrial revolution is change. Creativity/excellence in science, in the arts and in society, cannot be organised. It arises spontaneously from individual talent. Well-run universities can foster it. This is how one creates elite universities fulfilling their purpose in both education, research and SSR.

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