Natural Law for the Nobility? The Law of Nature and Nations at the Erlangen *Ritterakademie* (1701–1741)

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1 The Matveyev Incident

By the middle of 1708, Europe's newspapers were full of reports of a diplomatic incident between Great Britain and Czarist Russia. Because of its unpredictable consequences, this so-called *Matveyev* (also *Matveev* or *Metveyev*) incident not only caused a great sensation all over Europe, but also put great diplomatic pressure on the relationship between the British Queen Anne and Czar Peter the Great of Russia. In the end, however, it helped to clarify the issue of *diplomatic immunity*: how it was to be understood and what practical impact it had on the interaction with envoys sent by foreign princes or states. It thus contributed 'to shape an important component of modern international relations'.¹ Hence the event also reveals that the right of diplomatic immunity – understood as inviolability of the ambassador's person, his home and vehicles, his luggage and letters, and including the exemption of the ambassador and his staff 'from both civil and criminal litigation'² – was, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, far from being interpreted in completely the same manner at European courts, even though the principles of extraterritoriality and diplomatic immunity had been discussed at least since the fifteenth century and put in writing by Hugo Grotius during the 1620s.³

On the evening of 21 July 1708, while on his way to a *soirée* with other foreign diplomats at Somerset House, Andrey Artamonovich Matveyev (1666–1728),⁴ special envoy of Peter the Great to Queen Anne, 'was stopped by three men who

1 James Cracraft, *The Revolution of Peter the Great* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003), 73.

2 De Lamar Jensen, 'Diplomacy,' in *Europe 1450 to 1789. Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, vol. 2, ed. Jonathan Dewald (New York: Thomson-Gale, 2004), 147–152, here 149.

3 Jensen, 'Diplomacy,' 149; Anuschka Tischer, 'Diplomatie,' in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit Online*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger, accessed 15 April 2017. http://dx.doi.org/emedien.ub.uni-muenchen.de/10.1163/2352-0248_edn_a0774000, first published online: 2014.

4 Vladimir E. Grabar, *The history of international law in Russia 1647–1917: a bio-bibliographical study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 47.

dragged his footmen down and beat them, and then pulled him out of the coach, seizing his sword and forcibly taking possession of the vehicle'.⁵ Shortly after, Matveyev, who had been injured by the attackers, found himself locked up in prison. Four hours later, and after several foreign diplomats had intervened on his behalf, Matveyev was set free.⁶ But what had caused this embarrassing event? At first, Andrey Matveyev's mission to Great Britain seemed to have been normal diplomatic business. In May 1707, prior to which time he had been delegated to The Hague, he was sent to London. And only ten days after his arrival at Greenwich he had an audience with the Queen. As with a former (unsuccessful) mission to Paris, where he had stayed from September 1705 to October 1706,⁷ Matveyev's legation had been designed to try to break the hegemony of Charles XII of Sweden in the Baltic. Its main task was to persuade Anne to mediate in peace negotiations between Sweden and Russia; since 1700, Russia and Sweden had been fighting over outlets to and control over the Baltic Sea region.⁸ Additionally, Matveyev was supposed to express Peter's readiness to join the Grand Alliance (also known as League of Augsburg), which had been founded in 1686 as a counterbalance to France's expansionist policies.⁹ Furthermore, Britain was to be restrained from acknowledging the new Polish king, Stanislaus I Leszcynski, as the appointment of Stanislaus was completely against Peter's interests. First, this was because Stanislaus had become king by the grace of Charles XII and the Polish opposition and was thus regarded as a Swedish puppet monarch. Secondly, Russia had lost an important ally when the former Polish king and elector of Saxony, Augustus II, had lost the Polish throne to Stanislaus with the Peace of Altranstädt in 1706.¹⁰ Finally, Matveyev was to offer a British–Russian trade agreement concerning British trade via Baltic ports, especially the new Russian city of St Petersburg, instead of Archangel. This was supposed to aim at challenging 'the intermittent Swedish blockade of Russia's new outlets in the Baltic'.¹¹

5 Andrew Rothstein, *Peter the Great and Marlborough: Politics and Diplomacy in Converging Wars* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 90.

6 For more details on the Matveyev incident see: Aleksander Wierzbicki, *Peter the Great of Russia: an English Historiography of the XVIII and XIX Centuries* (London: Athena Press, 2004), 62–66; Rothstein, *Peter the Great*, 79–94; Cracraft, *Peter the Great*, 73; Janet M. Hartley, *Charles Whitworth: Diplomat in the Age of Peter the Great* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 69–79.

7 Rothstein, *Peter the Great*, 68.

8 Ibid., 34–37.

9 Ibid., 80.

10 Heinz Duchardt, *Europa am Vorabend der Moderne 1650–1800* (Stuttgart: Eugen Ulmer, 2003), 293–294; Rothstein, *Peter the Great*, 61–63.

11 Rothstein, *Peter the Great*, 50.

Unfortunately, Matveyev's mission was a complete failure. It was not only because of the British government playing for time and putting the Russian envoy off several times and thus prolonging his stay and testing not only his but also Peter's patience. But Queen Anne let him know that because of her long-standing friendship with Charles XII of Sweden, she would not interfere between the two main opponents of the Great Northern War. However, what she did not mention was that concerning Britain's engagement in the War of the Spanish Succession, it suited Britain that Charles maintained an army in the Holy Roman Empire.¹² Hence she had no interest in displeasing the Swedish monarch. Consequently, the commercial agreement failed also. On top of that Britain recognized the new Polish king a few months later. As a result, Matveyev's mission ended and he was called back to Moscow. But as already mentioned, matters became even worse, indeed disastrous, for the Russian envoy. The reason for Matveyev's arrest was a debt of £50, which he had not been able to settle immediately. Apparently, the creditor had feared the envoy might leave England without paying him, and he had gained an official arrest warrant for Matveyev. But as Matveyev had not had his farewell audience with the Queen yet, the stated reasons for the arrest seem likely to have been fabricated. Matveyev himself, for example, suspected the Swedish envoy at St James's of having plotted against him. The day after the insult, the Russian envoy complained to Queen Anne about the way he had been treated and demanded severe punishment of the offenders as compensation for infringing on his inviolable dignity. Eight days later he left the British Isles. Anne, being afraid that the incident would redound upon the British in Czarist Russia, was in turn very much concerned to straighten the affair out quickly. Therefore the attackers were arrested and the Queen commissioned one of her most experienced diplomats to resolve the dispute amicably. She chose Charles Whitworth (1675–1725), who had already served at Vienna and the Imperial Diet at Ratisbon. Moreover, he was known to the Czar and his ministers through an earlier embassy to Russia. Nevertheless, the mission was a very delicate task. Peter the Great had demanded the death penalty for Matveyev's attackers, a requirement the Queen was not able to meet. First, 'she could not do such a thing by her own authority, less than seventy years after the great Revolution'. Secondly, was there no 'provision in law for the punishment of the offenders by death'.¹³ Therefore Whitworth was to present a ceremonial apology to the Czar and to inform him of the

¹² Wierzbicki, *Peter the Great*, 63.

¹³ Rothstein, *Peter the Great*, 92.

Diplomatic Privileges Act which had, in consequence of the Matveyev incident, been passed by the British Parliament in 1708. As it 'contributed importantly [...] to the final elaboration in Europe of the law on diplomatic immunity',¹⁴ the Act was probably the most important outcome of the affair. The Act 'for preserving the Privileges of Ambassadors, and other Public Ministers of Foreign Princes and States' not only acquitted Matveyev of all charges but also defined how the term *diplomatic immunity* henceforth was to be understood in Britain. Namely, 'all Writs and Processes that shall [...] be sued forth or prosecuted, whereby the person of any Ambassador, [etc.] authorised and received as such by Her Majesty [...] may be arrested or imprisoned, or his or their goods or chattels may be distrained, seized, or attached, shall be deemed and adjudged to be utterly null and void, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever'.¹⁵ In short, accredited and officially received envoys now enjoyed absolute immunity in Britain. Following this, the affair was settled to mutual satisfaction.

Because of its importance for the interpretation of the law of nations, and thus for international relations in general, princely courts – and especially the princes' magistrates dealing with foreign affairs – were very much interested in detailed descriptions of the incident. For example, a 'vornehme[r] Königl. Ministre'¹⁶ asked for a close analysis of the affair. Probably shortly after the incident had been resolved in 1709, a minister of King Frederick I of Prussia, who is not mentioned by name, commissioned Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich (1677–1745) 'to investigate the whole affair more precisely, because this matter was rather curious and caused a great deal of attention at various European courts; at the same time it would testify to the manner in which the law of nations was treated by the Muscovites'.¹⁷ Kemmerich, who had studied theology, history and law at the universities of Rostock, Leipzig and Halle, was, at that time, teaching natural law, law of nations and constitutional law at the

14 Cracraft, *Revolution*, 73.

15 7 Anne Cap. 12, § III.

16 Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich, *Grund=Sätze des Völcker=Rechts von der Unverletzlichkeit der Gesandten. Samt einer Relation von dem Affront, welcher dem Moscowitischen Abgesandten in Engelland Anno 1708 erwiesen und der darauf erfolgten Satisfaction, Wie auch einer kurtzen Untersuchung dieser Affaire nach solchen Grund=Sätzen* (Christian-Erlangen: Johann Andreas Lorber, 1710).

17 Kemmerich, *Grundsätze*, 1: '[...]weil nun diese Sache ziemlich merckwürdig ist / und an verschiedenen Europaeischen Höfen grosses Aufsehen verursacht hat / auch zugleich ein Zeugniß giebt / wie auch bey den Moscowitern anjetzo das Völcker=Recht excoliert werde [...] die gantze Affaire etwas genauer zu untersuchen'.

newly founded *Ritterakademie*¹⁸ at Erlangen. In 1716 he became director of the *Ritterakademie* at Brandenburg, in 1719 first professor of natural law and law of nations at the University of Wittenberg and finally in 1730 *Fürstlich Sächsischer Gemeinschaftlicher Hofrath* and professor at the law faculty of the university at Jena.¹⁹ As asked by the Prussian minister, Kemmerich in 1710 published a 52-page treatise in which he analysed 'die Affaire wegen des dem Moscowitischen Gesandten Mantuesof [sic] in London vor einiger Zeit angethanen Affronts'.²⁰ The introductory part deals with 40 questions concerning the contemporary theory of diplomatic law, focusing on different aspects of diplomatic immunity. In a second step, Kemmerich applies these basic principles to the Matveyev incident. First, he recaps in a descriptive, non-judgemental way the course of events. He complements this with German translations of three relevant documents: the oration of the British ambassador Charles Whitworth²¹ which he gave when being received by Peter the Great in public audience; Anne's letter of apology to the Czar, which Whitworth was to deliver; and Peter's formal answer. Kemmerich is thus giving background information as well as some of the essential primary sources before he starts his analysis of the case.

Although the *Grund=Sätze des Völcker=Rechts* was not in the first instance meant for teaching purposes at the *Ritterakademie*, but for keeping the ministers and magistrates at the German courts informed about these new developments in international law, the context of the treatise is nonetheless the teaching of natural law and the law of nations at Erlangen. First, Kemmerich wrote them explicitly in his function as professor of the law of nature and

18 Instead of using alternative, not completely adequate English translations like 'knights' academy' the German term *Ritterakademie* will be used throughout the text to denote this special type of educational institution.

19 Teichmann, 'Kemmerich, Dietrich Hermann,' in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 15 (1882), 599, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd10017731X.html#adbcontent> [29.05.2017]; Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle (Saale), Datenbank zu den Einzelhandschriften in den historischen Archivabteilungen: 'Kemmerich, Dietrich Hermann' (Stand 29.03.2016), <http://192.124.243.55/cgi-bin/gkdb.pl> [31.03.2017]; Johann Jacob Moser, *Lexicon derer jetzelebenden Rechts=Gelehrten in und um Teutschland, welche die Rechte öffentlich lehren oder sich sonst durch Schriften bekannt gemacht haben, so viel ihrer damalen zu erkundigen gewesen seynd* (Züllichau: Gottlob Benjamin Frommann, 21739), 116–122.

20 Kemmerich, *Grundsätze*, 1.

21 Hartley, *Charles Whitworth*, 1–13; Rothstein, *Peter the Great*, 3–11; D.D. Aldridge, 'Whitworth, Charles, Baron Whitworth (bap. 1675, d. 1725),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., Jan 2008, accessed 15 April 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.odnb.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/view/article/29336>.

nations as well as public law at the Erlangen *Ritterakademie*.²² Secondly, the work provides an insight into Kemmerich's methods of teaching. The 40 questions concerning the theory of diplomatic law show his preference for teaching dialogues; the application of the discussed aspects of diplomatic theory and law to the particular case of Andrey Matveyev, as well as the translation of the documents, reveal how much he, most likely influenced by Christian Thomasius,²³ emphasized a practical approach to teaching. Finally, the outcome of the Matveyev incident, and thus the conclusions he drew from it, affected the relevant chapters of his textbook *Neu=eröffnete Academie der Wissenschaften* (*Newly Opened Academy of Sciences*) for the teaching at *Ritterakademien*, which he published in 1714, and thus also the contents of the lessons in natural law and law of nations at the Erlangen *Ritterakademie*.

2 Natural Law and Law of Nations at the Erlangen *Ritterakademie*

The *Ritterakademie* was founded in 1701, at the small, still young, Franconian town of Erlangen (at that time Christian-Erlangen). The purpose of this special type of school was to educate and prepare the sons of the nobility for their future duties and functions at princely courts. Christian-Erlangen had been founded at the end of the seventeenth century by Christian Ernst, Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, to receive Huguenot refugees from France. Because of its strong French influence in terms of language and lifestyle as well as its growing importance as a secondary residence of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, which offered the opportunity for young nobles to take part in courtly events, the town appeared to be highly appropriate for such an educational institution. Besides the *exercitia* (subjects like riding, dancing and fencing) and several foreign languages (Latin, French and Italian), the so-called *studia* (religious education, arithmetic, geometry, techniques of fortification, history, chronology, geography, ethics, politics, logic, physics and *jus naturae, civile et publicum*) were to be part of the curriculum.

The *Ritterakademie* was designed for a maximum of 50 pupils (who were housed and catered for there, as well as educated). It was provisioned with annual funds from Margrave Christian Ernst's coffers. Around half of the students – preferably from families of the Franconian nobility – were to be given

22 Kemmerich, *Grundsätze*, Titlepage: *Juris Nat. Politic. & Juris Publ. Prof. auf der Ritter=Academie zu Christian=Erlang*.

23 Hans-Christof Kraus, *Englische Verfassung und politisches Denken im Ancien Régime 1689 bis 1789* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2006), 374.

free admission, financed by a donation from Baron Christoph Adam Gross von Trockau (1649–1724), who had, since 1692, been *Oberpräsident* of the French colony at Erlangen and virtual initiator of the *Ritterakademie*. Additionally, three or four of the most capable pupils should be enabled to go on a Grand Tour, limited to a maximum duration of four years; the tour should incorporate trips to France, Italy, England and the Netherlands, and the courts of Hanover, Wolfenbüttel, Berlin and Dresden, as well as visits to other universities and internships at the *Reichskammergericht* (Imperial Chamber Court) or the *Reichshofrat* (Aulic Council). Being without a male heir, Gross von Trockau had decided to invest his assets in the education of the children of the *Reichsadel* (nobility of the Holy Roman Empire), as he regarded the lack of an appropriate education as the main cause of the decline of many once distinguished and powerful noble families.²⁴

At first, the educational project at Erlangen, originally called *Academia Practica*, then renamed *Academia Equestris*, was rather popular. But only a few years later major difficulties occurred, mainly due to underfunding. Although the *Ritterakademie* formally existed until 1741, not a single student lodged there or attended its public lessons over the course of many years. However, a number of young noblemen on Grand Tour resided at Erlangen and attended private lessons given by the academy's teachers.²⁵ In view of this, it is difficult to determine when, how and by whom natural law and the law of nations was actually taught at Erlangen. Nevertheless, it is at least possible to spotlight a few aspects of this teaching. Because of a lecture announcement²⁶ of the newly appointed professor of Philosophia Moralis & Civilis as well as Eloquentiae, Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich, who later became professor of natural law, law

24 *Grossische Stiftung. Die unter der Protection dess Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herren, Herrn Christian Ernsten, Marggrafen zu Brandenburg ... zu errichtende Academia Practica in Neu Erlang* (Erlangen: [1702]); 'Ansprache an junge Standes-Personen,' in Christoph Adam Gross von Trockau, *Recreationes Academicæ Grosianæ, Oder: Anleitungen Junge Stands=Personen Auf eine leichte und biss dato noch unbekannte Art zu einer Standes=mässigen Erudition nach dermaliger Welt=Art und dann zu Erlernung der vier Occidentalischen Sprachen zugleich und ohne Confusion in der Erlanger Ritterakademie anzuführen. ... Meistens in denen vier Occidentalischen Sprachen als Französisch, Italienisch, Spanisch und Lateinisch beschrieben samt einer Teutschen Vorrede von Einrichtung und Endzweck dieses Wercks* (Christian-Erlang: Daniel Michael Schmatz, 1713), n.p; Ernst Mengin, *Die Ritter-Academie zu Christian-Erlang. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pädagogik* (Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1919).

25 Mengin, *Ritter-Academie*, 34–57.

26 Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich, *Praeliminar-Discours von der Weissheit und Beredsamkeit, deren sich ein Junger von Adel oder auch höhere Standes-Person zu befehligen ...* (Erlangen: Johann Friedrich Regelein, 1706).

of nations and public law, we know that lessons in natural law were taught at least from 1705. Kemmerich's teaching was based on Johann Franz Buddeus's *Elementa Philosophiae Practicae*, on which he lectured for several hours a week, in German. Additionally, during another lesson at the end of the week, the subject matter was repeated and the knowledge of it deepened by a Latin exam or an *exercitium disputatorium*. Furthermore, Kemmerich referred to the topic in his courses on rhetoric, using for instance Cicero's *De officiis* to illustrate the principles of *jus naturae & gentium*. Moreover, it can be noted that in 1741 natural law was still part of the Erlangen curriculum. It was taught as a part of lessons in philosophy and based on Johann Christoph Gottsched's *Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit*.²⁷

Although the surviving archival material is not sufficient to analyse in detail how education at the *Ritterakademie* took place, an impression of how natural law and the law of nations fit best into the overall educational pattern of the *Ritterakademie* can be gained by three programmatic writings, by von Trockau, Johann Christoph Vetter and Kemmerich. The essays show the subject's relation to other disciplines, its significance as part of the education of young nobles, as well as the specific contents thought important by the contemporaries in charge. Certainly, one has to keep in mind that these are normative texts which do not necessarily tell anything about the reality of the teaching at the Erlangen *Ritterakademie*.

2.1 *Baron Christoph Adam Gross von Trockau*

Christoph Adam Gross von Trockau, spiritual father of the Erlangen *Ritterakademie*, outlined his ideas concerning the programme, methods and contents of an appropriate noble education in his *Recreationes Academicae Grosianae*, published in 1713. His intention was to provide the students with a 'standesmässige doch reale Erudition nach jetziger Welt-Art'.²⁸ In short, this meant a threefold approach: the teaching of several foreign languages ('der heut im Flor stehenden Sprachen'), of a courteous and general real-life scholarliness – 'eine[r] galante[n], anbey reale[n] und solide[n] Gelehrsamkeit' as he calls it – as well as of well-formed behaviour.²⁹ It seems clear that Gross von Trockau devised his teaching system in contrast to the usual higher education

27 *Nachricht von der gegenwärtigen Verfassung der Ritter-Academie und des Seminarii zu Christian Erlang* ([Christian Erlangen]: 1741), 6–8.

28 'Ansprache an junge Standes-Personen,' in Gross von Trockau, *Recreationes Academicae Grosianae*, n.p.

29 'Fernere Anmerkungen. Und zwar in specie über das Studiren und Education junger Standes-Personen,' in Gross von Trockau, *Recreationes Academicae Grosianae*, n.p.

at grammar schools and universities, where – in his opinion – young people spent too much time on unnecessary and useless matters.³⁰ The teaching seems to have been some kind of crash course, with a slimmed version of each subject covered in less time, and only subjects and lessons geared to actual requirements and absolutely necessary for the pupils' future activities and occupation. And the pupils should be tutored in a clear, vivid and practical way. This included – in contrast to lessons at university – the possibility to ask questions. Instead of applying the method of memorizing, teachers were supposed to train their students in rational thinking. The underlying idea was that a young noble, when finished with his education, would not end up merely a learned parrot ('gelehrte[r] Papagay'),³¹ only able to learn things by heart but with no ability to reason.

However, the *Recreationes Academicæ Grosianæ* contains much more than Gross von Trockau's ideas for realizing his educational project. The work was intended to serve as the main textbook for the *Ritterakademie*: approximately 1500 pages long, it collects a variety of texts, written by different authors, which were supposed to form the basis of the teaching at the *Ritterakademie*. The baron not only edited the texts but also translated some of them. The textbook reflects his intention for all lessons to have at least a dual benefit: in addition to conveying specialized knowledge and skills in a specific subject, they were also supposed to serve as exercises in different languages, and vice versa. The chapters destined for imparting language skills comprised texts in various languages, including French, Italian, Spanish and Latin. Other chapters were, however, also written either in one of these so-called occidental languages ('occidentalischen Sprachen'), or in German. As the acquisition of language skills was not seen as an end in itself but as *vehiculum rerum*, the choice of language usually depended on the information to be conveyed. The same teaching method was favoured by Kemmerich.³² The chapter titled 'Vorgeschmack vom Jure Civili und Jure Feudali' (foretaste of civil and feudal law),³³ for example, was written in Latin, still the common language of lawyers and law. An attached glossary – *Lexicon Juridicum Verbale & Reale* – explained the Latin legal terminology in German; this was likely to make the subject matter more accessible. While

30 'Vorrede,' in Gross von Trockau, *Recreationes Academicæ Grosianæ*, n.p.: 'zu viel Zeit mit unnöthigen und zu jetziger Welt=Art undienlichen Sachen zu [bringen].'

31 Ibid.

32 Gunter E. Grimm, *Literatur und Gelehrtentum in Deutschland. Untersuchungen zum Wandel ihres Verhältnisses vom Humanismus bis zur Frühaufklärung (Studien zur deutschen Literatur 75)* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1983), 452.

33 Gross von Trockau, *Recreationes Academicæ Grosianæ*, Part 4, 1–408.

Gross von Trockau stuck to Latin for these legal subdisciplines, he chose French when it came to public law³⁴ as well as natural law and law of nations.³⁵

The baron's educational programme aimed at introducing the young nobles to studies much earlier than usual. This applied especially to the teaching of the languages he saw as indispensable for a nobleman of the day ('eine Standes-Person nach jetziger Weltart').³⁶ Ideally a boy should have acquired the basics of Latin as early as by the age of eight and additionally he should be able to understand a little Italian and Spanish. He was also expected to have already a good command of the French language. According to Gross von Trockau, both the French and their language were exemplary: he saw a strong connection between learning French and acquiring contemporary – that is *gallant* – norms of communication and interaction. Additionally, he regarded the French language culture as being worthy of imitation because the French would tend to a plain and clear linguistic style. Moreover, all good books would be available in French translation.³⁷ One reason for the rapid increase in French translations during the so-called *siècle classique* was most likely to demonstrate France's cultural superiority by cultivating and enhancing the French language. Yet the aim of making complex matters easily accessible could also be the driving force for translations. This is at least what Jean Barbeyrac points out in the preface to his translation of Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium* in 1706.³⁸ Barbeyrac particularly aimed at reaching young people who were preparing for ecclesiastical or political posts and 'who, due to their poor Latin, are unable to read with pleasure and profit from a work in the style of Pufendorf's'.³⁹ In the first instance, he was thinking of those whose mother tongue was French, but he might also have had in mind the pupils of the *Ritterakademie* in Berlin, which had been founded shortly before, in 1705, and which he praises in his dedication letter to Frederick I of Prussia as an institution 'where the young

34 Ibid., Part 3, 343–411.

35 Ibid., Part 3, 416–448.

36 Ibid., 'Vorrede,' n.p.

37 Ibid., 'Vorrede,' n.p.

38 Samuel Pufendorf, *Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens*, transl. Jean Barbeyrac, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Kuyper, 1706). See also: Sieglinde C. Othmer, *Berlin und die Verbreitung des Naturrechts in Europa. Kultur- und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu Jean Barbeyracs Pufendorf-Übersetzungen und eine Analyse seiner Leserschaft* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970) and Fiammetta Palladini, *Die Berliner Hugenotten und der Fall Barbeyrac. Orthodoxe und 'Sozinianer' im Refuge (1685–1720)* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

39 Pufendorf, *Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens*, LXXXIV–LXXXV: 'qui, avec le peu de Latin qu'ils savent, ne peuvent pas lire avec plaisir & avec fruit un Ouvrage du stile de celui de Pufendorf'.

noblemen [...] come to acquire early on the exercises necessary for the nobility, and all they need to know of useful skills, mainly those serving to regulate their conduct and enabling them to fulfill the offices they may be appointed to one day'.⁴⁰ With his translation of and commentary on Pufendorf's work and his *Traité du jeu* (1709),⁴¹ Barbeyrac became the most famous figure of the Berlin Huguenot community dealing with natural law and contributing to its dissemination. However, he was not the only one: since the early 1690s several members of the French Colony, for example Charles Ancillon, Antoine Teissier and Etienne Chauvin, participated in the debate on natural law. The doctrine of natural law according to Grotius and Pufendorf provided them with the tools they needed to defend their political and religious existence as well as to declare the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and its outcomes null and void.⁴²

Baron Gross von Trockau's *Praequestus Juris Naturae & Gentium* might be related to the writings of the Berlin Huguenots, who virtually initiated the study of natural law in the French language, although that study was pre-dated by a translation of Grotius's work by the French diplomat Antoine de Courtin, first published in 1687.⁴³ In any case, Gross von Trockau adds to his general remarks on the law of nature and nations a few annotations – 'tirée d'un Auteur François Réfugié'⁴⁴ – on the ongoing wars of Louis XIV. On the basis of that current example, pupils were supposed to learn about natural law or rather single aspects of the law of nations in a practically oriented way. The author Gross von Trockau refers to is not known by name. But, as exiled French Protestants in particular were taking part in the contemporary discourse, which strongly condemned Louis XIV's warfare, many Huguenots are worth being considered. Indeed, many of them referred, besides the relevant medieval theories on *bellum justum*, to modern natural law as a practical norm.⁴⁵

40 'ÉPITRE A SA MAJESTÉ LE ROI DE PRUSSE,' in Pufendorf, *Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens*, n.p.: 'où les Jeunes Gentilshommes [...] viennent apprendre de bonne heure, & les exercices nécessaire à la Noblesse, & tout ce qu'ils doivent savoir des connoissances utiles, sur tout de celles qui servent à regler leur conduite, & à les rendre capables des Emplois auxquels ils peuvent être élevez un jour'.

41 Jean Barbeyrac, *Traité Du Jeu, Où l'on examine les principales Questions De Droit Naturel Et De Morale qui ont du rapport à cette Matière*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Humbert, 1709).

42 Othmer, *Verbreitung des Naturrechts*, 42–53.

43 Hugues Grotius, *Le droit de la guerre et de la paix*, transl. [Antoine] de Courtin (Paris: Arnould Seneuze, 1687).

44 Gross von Trockau, *Recreationes Academicæ Grosianæ*, Part 3, 446–448, here 446.

45 Émilie Dosquet, 'Die Verwüstung der Pfalz als (Medien-)Ereignis: von der rheinländischen Kriegshandlung zum europäischen Skandal,' in *Krieg und Kriegserfahrung im Westen des Reiches 1568–1714*, ed. Rutz Andreas (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 333–369, here 361–366, with further reading.

2.2 *Johann Christoph Vetter*

The *Unpartheyische Gedanken von der Alt- und Neuen Gelehrsamkeit* (*Impartial thoughts about ancient and new erudition*)⁴⁶ appeared under the pseudonym Orontes in 1712. The author of the treatise was the Protestant clergyman Johann Christoph Vetter (1676–1736), who had presumably been teaching at the Erlangen *Ritterakademie* since 1708. By the time of his death he had been professor at the institution for 28 years.⁴⁷ It thus seems reasonable to suggest that the book, which had been drafted as *Anweisung zu den Nöthigst- und Nützlichsten Wissenschaften vor Junge Edelleute* (*Instruction to the Sciences Most Necessary and Most Useful for Young Noblemen*), was derived from practice and experience in the field. However, Vetter's 264-page work should not be mistaken as a schoolbook for young nobles, nor as a manual for teachers and professors at the *Ritterakademie* on how to conduct the lessons. Rather, as suggested by the letter of dedication to the Franconian nobles Ernst Friedrich and Johann Wilhelm Gottfried von Seckendorff, it constituted a guide for members of the nobility on how, for their own and their rank's sake, their children should be educated:

By serious studies they make an effort to provide the high nobility with new luster, and thus by their own ability and merits to exalt what they inherited. Already in their youth they recognize which arts, languages and sciences are most useful if one wishes to serve great masters and republics. This is what encourages me to dedicate to your highness this little treatise, aimed at the best for the nobility, who already more or less know and practice what it contains, but are also laudably determined to practice in the future.⁴⁸

Moreover, the text also seems to function as some kind of advertising brochure or 'image booklet' for the Erlangen *Ritterakademie*.

46 Orontes (= Johann Christoph Vetter), *Unpartheyische Gedancken von der Alt- und Neuen Gelehrsamkeit. Nebst einer Unvorgreifflichen Anweisung zu den Nöthigsten- und Nützlichsten Wissenschaften vor Junge Edelleute ans Licht gegeben* (Frankfurt, Leipzig: Johann Andreas Lorber, 1712).

47 UniA Erlangen, D1/1 Nr. 15, Supplik Felicitas Barbara Vettters an Markgraf Friedrich von Brandenburg-Bayreuth, 09.03.1736.

48 Orontes, *Unpartheyische Gedanken*, 4a-5a: 'Sie bemühen sich durch warhaffte studien Dero hohen Adel einen neuen Glantz zu geben / und das / was Sie ererbt / durch eigene Geschicklichkeit und Verdienste noch mehr zu erheben. Sie erkennen schon in Dero Jugend/ was nützliche Künste / Sprachen und Wissenschaften / emsten helffen können / wann man grossen Herren und Republiqven dienen will. Und dieses eben ist es / was mich kühn macht / dieses kleine der Noblesse vornehmlich zum Besten abzielende Tractaetgen Dero hohen Nahmen zu dediciren / als die theils schon selbst das / was darinnen enthalten / ziemlich eingesehen und practiciret / theils aber noch zu practiciren rühmlich entschlosse'.

Consequently, Orontes includes little in the way of concrete contents for teaching and no recommended reading on which the lessons should be based. In fact, he sketches more of a general overview on which subjects and issues should receive priority in educating the sons of the nobility. He suggests that the main purpose of their education should be to prepare and to equip them exclusively with the knowledge and skills they would need for their presumed future duties at court and in the field.⁴⁹ In practice, this results in targeted studies and a reduced range of subjects, strongly utilitarian in their orientation. By this way of teaching and sensible studying ('vernünftiges studiren'⁵⁰ as he puts it), Orontes wants to avoid young noblemen's minds being stuffed and cluttered with unnecessary and useless details and knowledge: 'as if he were decorated at the front and back, like brother Jacob is with shells, with unnecessary and useless school disciplines'.⁵¹ The idea was that a 'Cavalier', in order to exercise his office and attend his duties in a Christian, just and wise manner, has no need for school, but rather for 'state erudition' ('Schul= sondern Staats=Erudition').⁵² Good knowledge of religion and ethics, of natural law and the law of nations, history and statecraft as well as basic knowledge of different natural sciences like mathematics and physics are seen as prerequisite for this. Additionally, the command of several languages, but especially of French, is regarded as advantageous.⁵³ A strong religious focus or rather the text's embedding in a religious context, presumably resulting from Orontes' training as a clergyman, is noticeable. In particular, negligence of the faith,⁵⁴ or, even worse, atheism,⁵⁵ are a thorn in his side.

Natural law and the law of nations are in a prominent position within the drafted curriculum. According to Orontes, following ethics, this is the second most important subject a person of rank should occupy himself with.⁵⁶ Within the framework of the teaching, natural law and the law of nations, the latter again being interpreted as a component of natural law,⁵⁷ are part of the so-called *philosophia practica*, which Orontes subdivides into three sections, namely: moral theory, or ethics; natural law and the law of

49 Ibid., 92.

50 Ibid., 88.

51 Ibid., 86: 'als wann er mit allen unnöthigen und unnützen Schul=Diszipilinen hinten und fornen / wie der Jakobs=Bruder mit Muscheln / behänget wäre'.

52 Ibid., 92.

53 Ibid., 92–93.

54 See for example, *ibid.*, 148–149.

55 See for example, *ibid.*, 145.

56 Ibid., 142.

57 Ibid., 143.

nations; and politics – ‘Aus angeführten Stücken bestehet nun die Philosophia Practica, ohne welche der Adel=Stand ein wahrhaftiger Ubel=Stand zu nennen: Es begreiffet dieselbe aber vornehmlich drey Theile in sich / die Moral- oder Sitten=Lehre / [...]; Das Natur= und Völcker=Recht / [...]; Und dann die Politic, [...]’.⁵⁸

The great significance of natural law, which in Orontes’s view originates directly from the nature of God, is to provide man with universal, unalterable guiding principles for his activities.⁵⁹ In contrast, law made by men could be changed or even abolished.⁶⁰ Still, the purpose of all laws should be human salvation.⁶¹ As a result, Orontes regards scholarly debates on the primary objects of natural law as being fruitless and superfluous.⁶² To him it seems clear that natural law consists of three main rules: ‘honour God; preserve yourself; do everything necessary to sustain sociality’ (‘Ehre Gott; Erhalte dich selbst; Thue alles / was zu Unterhaltung einer Socialität nöthig ist’).⁶³

Finally, as peoples and nations are interconnected by the principle of ‘sociality’ and thus mutually obliged, Orontes also touches on the law of nations in his remarks on natural law. Here he is concentrating on diplomatic law and especially on the ambassador’s inviolability. Although he does not explicitly mention the Matveyev incident, he nevertheless seems to account for it. Thus he points to the sacred character of the person of the ambassador – from which originates the inviolability of the ambassador’s person, his staff, home and goods. Moreover, he explicitly mentions the question of how to deal with debts accumulated by foreign envoys,⁶⁴ which, as explained above, had been the stumbling block and cause of the diplomatic crisis between Russia and Great Britain in 1708/1709.

2.3 *Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich*

Shortly after he had been appointed professor of Philosophia Moralis & Civilis and Eloquentiae, Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich left Erlangen again to obtain a licentiate in law. He matriculated at the University of Halle in March 1705.⁶⁵

58 Ibid., 125.

59 Ibid., 142.

60 Ibid., 143–144.

61 Ibid., 144.

62 Ibid., 146.

63 Ibid., 147.

64 Ibid., 151–154.

65 Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle (Saale), Datenbank zu den Einzelhandschriften in den historischen Archivabteilungen: ‘Kemmerich, Dietrich Hermann’ (Stand 29.03.2016), <http://192.124.243.55/cgi-bin/gkdb.pl> [31.03.2017].

Two years later he asked for reappointment to the *Ritterakademie* at Erlangen. As his former position had already been taken, he was assigned to the professorship in *Jus naturae et gentium* and *Jus publicum*, the first and the last person ever appointed to this chair at the Erlangen *Ritterakademie*. In his letter of reapplication at Erlangen he mentions for the first time his monumental compendium for the education of noblemen, the *Neu=eröffnete Academie der Wissenschaften*.⁶⁶ It is most likely that those parts of the work published in 1711 and 1714 had already been written, or at least drafted in 1707 and became the basis of his upcoming further teaching at the *Ritterakademie*. Initially Kemmerich had intended to publish the compendium in 13 parts.⁶⁷ But in the end only three parts appeared in print, those dealing with the education of noblemen in general,⁶⁸ with logic⁶⁹ and with morals or ethics ('morale oder sitten=lehre') as well as natural law and the law of nations.⁷⁰

The first part of the *Neu=eröffnete Academie der Wissenschaften* can be regarded as a general introduction to the whole compendium. Kemmerich gives an introductory overview of all the subjects he plans to deal with, virtually the whole compendium in a nutshell, in which he emphasizes the significance and value of each subject or topic for the education and thus the professional advancement of young nobles; he also includes some basic bibliographic references as well as some advice for the tutors concerning elementary teaching in each subject. Additionally, he discusses how young noblemen as well as young ladies should be educated and how they should conduct their studies. In his opinion their education should include travel to foreign countries. Moreover, in his preface to the first part of the *Academie der Wissenschaften* Kemmerich gives a quick insight into his favourite method of teaching. As in the lecture announcement mentioned above, it is evident that he prefers teaching through dialogue, 'since the best method for informing young people consists in reasoning with them through continuous questioning and answering, thereby loosening their tongue and examining whether the intellect has a proper

66 Mengin, *Ritter-Academie*, 27.

67 Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich, *Neu=eröffnete ACADEMIE Der Wissenschaften, Zu welchen vornehmlich Standes=Personen nützlich können angeführet, und zu einer vernünftigen und wohlstandigen CONDUITE geschickt gemacht werden* (Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1711), c4b–c5b.

68 Kemmerich, *Neu=eröffnete Academie*, vol. 1.

69 Kemmerich, *Neu=eröffnete Academie*, vol. 2.

70 Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich, *Neu=eröffnete ACADEMIE Der Wissenschaften, Zu welchen vornehmlich Standes=Personen nützlich können angeführte werden. Dritte Eröffnung Welche die MORALE und das Natur=und Völcker=Recht in sich begreiffet* (Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1714).

concept of the thing'.⁷¹ What is more, Kemmerich favours teaching in German instead of Latin. Albeit he is not objecting to Latin as a common academic language as well as European lingua franca, 'like some kind of universal language, which enables one to get along almost in the entirety of Europe, though not in the whole world',⁷² he still thinks it more convenient to use the young nobles' mother tongue when explaining complex issues to them. Otherwise they might not only struggle with understanding the language but also with fathoming the teaching contents. Hence, to enhance their command of Latin and thus to kill two birds with one stone, he recommends explaining things in German first. But as soon as the students have understood the subject matter and can cope with it, they are to translate it into Latin. Finally, exams are to be held in Latin, too. We may conclude from this that Kemmerich wrote the compendium in German mainly for didactic reasons.⁷³ Lastly, Kemmerich was no doubt motivated to undertake that huge project out of a feeling of necessity. If the sons of the nobility still wanted to obtain positions of responsibility at court and avoid the risk of being beaten to those positions by well-educated commoners, they needed to be properly educated. Consequently, it proved insufficient for them to master the so-called *exercitia*, namely riding, fencing, dancing and singing; in addition, they also needed to study useful sciences. According to Kemmerich, academic studies were, however, held in low esteem by the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire, particularly because of the 'wrong instruction and pedantic method of teaching, [...] by which people are tortured with grammar and Latin, or with logic and metaphysics, or by pointless longwindedness'.⁷⁴ Actually, Kemmerich makes the same point as Orontes before him: usually, young noblemen are strained with too many details they have no need for and which prolong their studies unnecessarily – 'scholastischen formalitäten und unnützen grillen' (scholastic formalities and unnecessary whimsies).⁷⁵ To avoid this and to make education at a *Ritterakademie* more attractive to

71 Kemmerich, *Neu=eröffnete Academie*, vol. 1, c1b: '[...] weil die beste methode junge leute zu informiren ist, durch continuirliches fragen und antworten mit ihnen raisonniren, und dadurch so wohl die zunge lösen, als den verstand prüfen, ob er einen rechten begriff von der sache hat'.

72 Kemmerich, *Neu=eröffnete Academie*, vol. 1, b8a: '[...] gleichsam eine universal-sprache [...], damit man, wo nicht durch die gantze welt, doch zum wenigsten fast durch gantz Europa kommen kan'.

73 Kemmerich, *Neu=eröffnete Academie*, vol. 1, b8b–c1b.

74 Ibid., b4a: '[...] verkehrte anführung und pedantische lehr=art, [...] indem man leute [...] entweder mit der Grammatic u. dem lieben latein oder der Logic und Metaphysic gar zu sehr martert oder durch unnöthige weitläufigkeit'.

75 Ibid., b4b.

them than a university education, Kemmerich drafted his impressive work, providing in his words a 'rigorous, orderly, distinct, concise but nevertheless adequate and complete concept of the most eminent sciences' ('gründliche[r], ordentliche[r], deutliche[r], kurtze[r], aber dennoch zulängliche[r] und vollständige[r] begriff von den vornehmsten wissenschaften'),⁷⁶ which should be sufficient to prepare young members of the nobility for their future life.

Like Orontes, Kemmerich deals with the law of nature and nations as part of *philosophia practica*. He places strong emphasis on the teaching of this subject, because in his opinion people with no command of it lack 'a great part of human reason' ('ein gross theil der menschlichen vernunft')⁷⁷ and are thus unable to properly distinguish right from wrong, just from unjust. Secondly, natural law is regarded as forming the basis for all other fields of law, especially the *jus civilis*. Additionally, natural law plays an important role in the interpretation of law; plus, when it comes to international relations, there is no other way to deal with legal matters among sovereigns. Thus it is vital for all who are preparing for a career at court, or who will have to deal with lawyers and lawsuits, to gain a deeper knowledge of the subject.

Although Kemmerich does not think it necessary to refer to authors in the sciences themselves ('in den wissenschaften selbst [Autores] zu allegiren'), he nevertheless recommends, in the general introduction to each subject of study ('General-einleitung bey einem ieden studio'),⁷⁸ what students might best read, depending on their level of knowledge. For beginners he suggests Johann Franz Buddeus's *Historia juris naturalis* (1704) and Gottlieb Gerhard Titius's *Observationes in Pufendorffii libros II de officiis hominis et civis* (1703), or the French translation of Pufendorf's book by Jean Barbeyrac. More advanced students should deal with Christian Thomasius's *Institutiones jurisprudentiae divinae* (1688) and, in addition, as well as for comparative purposes, with his lately published *Fundamenta juris naturae et gentium* (1705). Next, students could turn to Samuel von Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium* (1672) and finally to Hugo Grotius's *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625). Concerning Grotius, Kemmerich also recommends the textbook adaptations by Caspar Ziegler, Johann Georg Kulpis and Philipp Reinhard Vitriarius. To make things as easy as possible for young people ('der jugend die sache so leicht [...], als immer möglich'),⁷⁹ and in view of his preference for German or French as teaching languages, Kemmerich recommends the use of editions or translations of

76 Ibid., b5a.

77 Ibid., 218.

78 Ibid., b6b.

79 Ibid., b8b.

the classical texts which include introductions and notes, for example Barbeyrac's French translation of Pufendorf or the German translation of Grotius by Philipp Balthasar Sinold (von Schütz) with an introduction by Thomasius. Additionally, as an exercise, and to get a notion of the practical relevance of the subject, he encourages teachers and students to test their knowledge by studying historical cases.⁸⁰

With the third volume of his *Neu=eröffnete Academie der Wissenschaften*, published only in 1714, though it had been written for quite a while, Kemmerich finally presented his own compendium on the subject.⁸¹ In this so-called *Dritte Eröffnung Welche die Morale und das Natur= und Völker=Recht in sich begreiffet* (*Third Introduction Which Comprises Morals as well as the Law of Nature and Nations*), the influence of Christian Thomasius is evident. After a general introduction, in which he explains the subject of natural law as well as the origin and history of it, Kemmerich elucidates how the law of nature can best be treated.⁸² He considers it appropriate to divide *jus naturae et gentium* into three domains, namely private law (*Von dem allgemeinen Recht der Privatpersonen*),⁸³ public law (*Von dem allgemeinen Staatsrecht*)⁸⁴ and the law of nations (*Von dem allgemeinen Völkerrecht*).⁸⁵ All three parts are systematically structured, again in the form of a teaching dialogue, starting with general, universal aspects of the topic and moving down to more specific issues. With regard to the law of nations, one of Kemmerich's main aims seems to be to show – as he already had in his little treatise on the Matveyev incident – that there is no need to follow Grotius in inventing a separate law of nations, distinct from the law of nature ('mit Grotio ein besonderes Völcker-Recht zu erdencken').⁸⁶ He argues that this would be superfluous because international relations are regulated either by provisions of natural law in general or by contract law. Everything else in terms of international relations is administered by the principles of courtesy and friendship or by the customs of decorum, and thus does not involve binding rules anyway. On this issue Kemmerich thus seems to follow a very heterogeneous

80 Ibid., 212–223.

81 Initially, Kemmerich had envisaged natural law and the law of nations to form the fourth part of the *Neu=eröffnete Academie*. For this see 'Verzeichnis der wissenschaften / so in dieser Academie sollen tractiret werden,' Kemmerich, *Neu=eröffnete Academie*, vol. 1, c4b–c5b.

82 Kemmerich, *Neu=eröffnete Academie*, vol. 3, 1577–1613.

83 Ibid., 1613–1766.

84 Ibid., 1766–1854.

85 Ibid., 1855–1906.

86 Kemmerich, *Grund=Sätze*, 18.

school of thinkers on natural law, which ‘denied in principle the existence of a “positive” law of nations’.⁸⁷

3 Conclusion

Baron Christoph Adam Gross von Trockau, Johann Christoph Vetter and Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich were not the only ones trying to reform the education of young nobles by introducing new subjects, contents and methods. In fact, they were able to draw on various tracts dealing with reformist educational ideas and concepts which had been published across Europe during the last decades of the seventeenth century. Among the authors they relied on were Bernard Lamy,⁸⁸ John Locke and Christian Thomasius. Also, the establishment of a school focusing on the needs of the nobility was not an isolated occurrence. From the late sixteenth until the end of the eighteenth century several new *Ritterakademien* were founded all over the Empire as well as in other parts of Europe. These institutions offered an education and teaching programme exclusively aligned to the requirements of the nobility, especially to its need for aristocratic socialization, and functioned as supplements and alternatives to the universities. Influenced by ideas of Renaissance humanism and provoked by the growing competition at court with commoners holding legal degrees, ideals of education and of educating the nobility had changed since the sixteenth century. On the one hand, this new form of aristocratic education had to serve the purpose of professional competence and modernization; on the other hand, it had still to be distinctive and prepare noble offspring for their special social role. Until the sixteenth century it had been quite uncommon for the nobility to attend university. In most cases, the few noblemen who did attend were preparing for an ecclesiastical career. But as requirements in education were also changing for aristocrats, the institutions of higher education became increasingly important for them, too.⁸⁹ The emergence of newly

87 Wilhelm Greve, *The Epochs of International Law* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 351.

88 His treatise *Entretiens sur les sciences dans lesquels on apprend comment l'on doit étudier les sciences et s'en servir pour se former l'esprit juste et le cœur droit*, mentioned by Gross von Trockau, was first published in 1683. During the eighteenth century it became a very popular book of methodology and was held in high esteem, for example by Montesquieu and Rousseau.

89 Norbert Conrads, *Ritterakademien der frühen Neuzeit. Bildung als Standesprivileg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982); Simone Giese, ‘Adelsstudium,’ in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit Online*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger, accessed 29 May 2017, http://dx.doi.org/emedien.ub.uni-muenchen.de/10.1163/2352-0248_edn_a0036000,

founded *Ritterakademien* was paralleled by some universities also trying to adjust to the new requirements. In fact, at the beginning of the seventeenth century there are some examples of universities expanding their teaching programmes to meet the needs of noble students. For instance, the University of Strasbourg offered a range of exercises such as riding, dancing, fencing, modern languages and fortification.⁹⁰ After a period of stagnation and decline during the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath, the idea of academies exclusively for the nobility turned up again and they peaked in the decades between 1680 and 1730.⁹¹ It seems that, in this context, the law of nature and nations became an integral part of aristocratic education, indeed an ever-present part of the curriculum.⁹² For example, in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), John Locke's tract on the education of gentlemen, which was much noticed by the European Republic of Letters and quickly translated into several languages, the English philosopher recommends that, after having imparted the principles and precepts of virtue on the young noble on the basis of Cicero's *De officiis*, the pupil could go on with further reading regarding the 'general Part of Civil-Law'. Further, 'it may be seasonable to set him upon Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis, or which I think, is the better of the two, Puffendorf de Jure naturali & Gentium; wherein he will be instructed in the natural Rights of Men, and the Original and Foundations of Society, and the Duties resulting from thence'.⁹³

first published online: 2014; Katrin Keller, 'Standesbildung,' in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit Online*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger, accessed online on 29 May 2017, http://dx.doi.org/eme-dien.ub.uni-muenchen.de/10.1163/2352-0248_edn_a4118000, first published online: 2014.

90 Anton Schindling, 'Die Strassburger Hochschule zur Zeit des Späthumanismus um 1600,' in *Universität Würzburg und die Wissenschaft in der Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Herde and Anton Schindling (Würzburg: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1998), 95–107, here 105–106; Anton Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt. Gymnasium und Akademie in Strassburg 1538–1621* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 383; Arthur Schulz, *Die örtliche und soziale Herkunft der Strassburger Studenten 1621–1793* (Frankfurt: [Selbstverlag], 1926); Gustav C. Knod (ed.), *Die alten Matrikel der Universität Strassburg 1621–1793*, vol. 1: *Die allgemeine Matrikel und die Matrikel der Philosophischen und Theologischen Facultät* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1897), XXIV–XXVI.

91 An overview is provided in 'Bibliographie der Ritterakademien' in Conrads, *Ritterakademien*, 345–400.

92 There is a short reference to this in Michael Stolleis, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland*, vol. 1: *Reichspublizistik und Policywissenschaft 1600–1800* (München: Beck, 1988), 145. See also Friedrich Debitsch, *Die staatsbürgerliche Erziehung an den deutschen Ritterakademien* (PhD diss. University of Halle an der Saale, 1927), 19–51. An extensive survey dealing with this issue is not yet available.

93 John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: Churchill, 1693), § 175, 221. Until his death in 1704 John Locke revised the treatise several times. In the last, fourth edition, published in 1699, he also recommends 'Puffendorf de Officio hominis & civis'; he

Also in 1693, the *Licentiatius Juris* and court tutor Anton Wilhelm Schowart⁹⁴ published a treatise in which he emphasized the importance of *jus naturae* and *jus gentium* in general and especially of the works of Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf for the education of young nobles.⁹⁵ August Hermann Francke's 1698 idea of an educational institution especially for the nobility, where the pupils should, among other things, be taught 'in Philosophia moralis, Politica, Jurae Naturae, und in denen ersten fundamentis Juris publici & Juris Civilis',⁹⁶ was indeed never realized. Still, at the *Paedagogium regium*, which was part of the *Franckeschen Stiftungen* (Francke Foundations) at Halle, pupils – mainly sons from wealthy families of the bourgeoisie as well as young nobles⁹⁷ – had lessons in 'Philosophia moralis samt den Fundamentis juris naturae und politicae' as soon as they reached the fourth grade, which was regarded as a preparatory course for university; the lessons were mainly based on the writings of Johann Franz Buddeus, though only in strongly condensed form.⁹⁸ Finally, in 1704 Christian Schröter, deputy headmaster of the *Ritterakademie* at Liegnitz (Legnica), stated in his *Kurtze Anweisung zur Information Der Adlichen Jugend* (Legnica), that a young noble should let himself explain at the academy 'Jus Naturae und Gentium, Publicum und Privatum'.⁹⁹

sees it, however, as basic reading in ethics. See John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: Churchill, 1693), § 186, 330.

- 94 In 1691 Schowart, Licentiatius juris of the University of Frankfurt an der Oder, applied to the *Ritterakademie* at Lüneburg. According to himself, he had served as tutor for several noble families. See Klaus Bleeck, *Adelserziehung auf deutschen Ritterakademien. Die Lüneburger Adelsschulen 1655–1850* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, Las Vegas: Peter Lang, 1977), 133.
- 95 [Anton Wilhelm Schowart], *Der Adeliche Hofemeister/ Oder Wahrhaftige und deutliche Vorstellung was ein Adelicher Hofemeister vor Eigenschaften an sich haben: Wie derselbe sich in allen vorfallenden Begebenheiten klüglich verhalten/ seine Untergebene so wohl auff Universitäten als andern Orten treulich anführen und endlich mit ihnen nützliche peregrinationes anstellen solle* (Frankfurt: Hartmann, 1693), § 6, 230–234.
- 96 *Projecte, Wie die Anführung Herren-Standes/ Adelicher und anderer fürnehmen Jugend veranstaltet/ Und guten Theils wircklich eingerichtet und angefangen* (Halle: Christian Henkel, 1698).
- 97 Concerning the intensive relationship between Halle pietism and the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire see Andreas Pečar, Holger Zaunstöck and Thomas Müller-Bahlke (eds.), *Wie pietistisch kann Adel sein? Hallescher Pietismus und Reichsadel im 18. Jahrhundert* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2016).
- 98 'Verbesserte Methode des Padagogii Regii zu Glaucha vor Halle 1721,' in August Hermann Francke's *Pädagogische Schriften. Nebst der Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Stiftungen*, ed. Gustav Kramer (Langensalza: Hermann Beyer & Söhne, 21885), 287–368, here 338.
- 99 Christian Schröter, *Kurtze Anweisung zur Information Der Adlichen Jugend* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1704), 5.

During the second wave of *Ritterakademien*, which the Holy Roman Empire underwent around 1700, the *Ritterakademie* at Wolfenbüttel, founded in 1687, provided an example for others to follow.¹⁰⁰ At Wolfenbüttel, natural law was among the most important subjects.¹⁰¹ All later projects – either arrangements for or reforms and foundations of *Ritterakademien* – included dissemination of basic knowledge in natural law and the law of nations; this applies for example to the institutions founded shortly after, at Erlangen, Brandenburg,¹⁰² Berlin¹⁰³ and Liegnitz (Legnica)¹⁰⁴ as well as those founded in Vienna during the late 1740s.¹⁰⁵

A closer look at the new foundations as well as the reforms undertaken at *Ritterakademien* makes it clear that many were influenced by existing institutions and vice versa; this mutual intellectual impact usually resulted from personal contacts. Baron Gross von Trockau for example admits that his ideas concerning the concrete planning and arrangements for the *Ritterakademie* at Erlangen followed the *Ritterakademie* of the Dukes of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, the Erlangen project was strongly influenced by Halle and particularly its newly founded university. Gross von Trockau as well as his personal environment had good and long-standing relations with the scholarly world connected to Halle. Over time, these relations were even

100 Conrads, *Ritterakademien*, 273–322.

101 Friedrich Koldewey (ed.), *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1828*, vol. 2: *Schulordnungen des Herzogtums Braunschweig (mit Ausschluss der Hauptstadt des Landes)* (Berlin: Hofmann, 1890), 235, 262–263.

102 Johannes-Matthias Graf von der Schulenburg, 'Die Gründung der Ritterakademie zu Brandenburg im Jahre 1704,' in *Berichte und Forschungen aus dem Domstift Brandenburg* 4 (2011), 5–99, here 62 and 85.

103 The first professor in natural law was Johann Heinrich Hertenstein, who also published a little tract on natural law and the law of nations: *Kurtzer Vorbericht Das Natürliche Und Völker-Recht betreffend, Mit welchem Denen Durchlauchtigen, Hoch- und Wohl-Gebohrnen Herren Academicis Seine bey der Von Ihro Königl. Majestät in Preussen etc. Allergrnädigst angerichteten Fürsten- und Ritter-Academie, Über gedachte beyde Rechte Dieses Erste halbe Jahr über zu haltende Lectiones anzeigt* (Cölln an der Spree: Ulrich Liebpert, [1705]).

104 *Ihro Röm. Kayserl. Auch zu Hungarn und Böhmeib Königl. Majest. ... Josephi I. Neu aufgerichtete Academie Oder Ritter-Schul Zu Liegnitz in Schlesien. Wie solche von Höchst gedachter Kayserl. und Königl. Maj. mit Privilegiis und Ordnungen in diesem 1708ten Jahr Allergrnädigst approbirt und confirmirt worden* ([n.p.], 1708).

105 Ivo Cerman, 'Habsburgischer Adel und Theresanum. Wissenvermittlung, Sozialisierung und Berufswege,' in *Adelige Ausbildung. Die Herausforderung der Aufklärung und ihre Folgen*, ed. Ivo Cerman and Luboš Velek (München: Martin Meidenbauer, 2006), 143–168; Olga Khavanova, 'Official Policies and Parental Strategies of Educating Hungarian Noblemen in the Age of Maria Theresa,' in *Adelige Ausbildung*, ed. Cerman and Velek, 95–115.

106 Mengin, *Ritter-Academie*, 105.

intensified as scholars who had graduated at Halle University were preferred as professors for the Erlangen *Ritterakademie*. Dietrich Hermann Kemmerich, for example, had been studying law at Halle before he became professor of natural law and the law of nations at Erlangen. The influence of Halle was most likely due to Christian Thomasius's writings, especially his works on the idea of gallantry, which emerged between 1687 and 1694.¹⁰⁷

The influence of Thomasius is most evident in Gross von Trockau's project of a courteous, real and solid erudition ('galante und reale und solide Gelehrsamkeit').¹⁰⁸ Additionally, it is mirrored by the *Ritterakademie's* self-conception as an *Academia Practica*, characterized by the abolition of the teaching methods of scholasticism and the introduction of new teaching techniques as well as a teaching programme focusing, unlike at universities, on the practical relevance of the subject matters.

One key issue in such an up-to-date education for young nobles was the knowledge of natural law and the law of nations, as this was crucial for political counselling at court. The conception of the Erlangen *Ritterakademie* shows clearly the nobility's need to acquire these qualifications. Otherwise, they risked being replaced at court by learned commoners and thus losing their traditional role of counselling elite. As a consequence, they would lose one vital possibility of participating in ruling.

For members of the gentry, the possibilities of education offered by *Ritterakademien* were of great importance. Many of them had been thrown into financial crisis during the Thirty Years' War.¹⁰⁹ Subsequently, they could no longer afford an education befitting their social status, including preceptors, tutors and attendance at universities as well as travel to foreign countries. This situation can be seen as a framework, not only for Gross von Trockau's foundation at Erlangen, but also for the other schools for the nobility which were founded around 1700. These aimed to educate young members of the local nobility as quickly as possible, at advantageous prices, which meant the syllabus was focused and condensed. Especially time spent at foreign courts and universities should be shortened. The idea was not only to save money but also to stop – in accordance with mercantilist thinking – the drain of money to

107 See Jörn Steigerwald, *Galanterie. Die Fabrikation einer natürlichen Ethik der höfischen Gesellschaft (1650–1710)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2011), 17–46, 220–246.

108 'Ansprache an junge Standes-Personen,' in Gross von Trockau, *Recreationes Academicae Grosianae*, n.p.

109 Including some Franconian examples: see Andreas Flurschütz da Cruz, *Zwischen Füchsen und Wölfen. Konfession, Klientel und Konflikte in der fränkischen Reichsritterschaft nach dem Westfälischen Frieden* (Konstanz: UVK, 2014).

foreign territories or at least to limit it.¹¹⁰ Additionally, the education of young nobles at *Ritterakademien* was regarded as serving the territory's welfare, as it aimed at the education of those who were supposed later to serve the country, as civil servants, at court or in the military. While at a *Ritterakademie*, they received the set of necessary tools and knowledge for these future tasks and responsibilities. Also in ideological terms, they were set on the desired track. By offering natural law and the law of nations for the nobility the *Ritterakademien* made it possible for the nobility to maintain their traditional role as princely courtiers and political advisors. That this was necessary is reflected in the fact that the institutions were soon open also for commoners, indeed, some of them had admitted bourgeois students from the beginning.

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