

## HEIDELBERG.

WHEN, at the opening of our era, Roman legions marched from the golden South into the gray North, few places could have attracted them more than Heidelberg, where forest-clad summits, and quiet valleys piercing the somber depths of the Odenwald, fringe the broad plain of the Rhine. Many massive foundations still tell of the towers the Romans raised to protect their settlements on the plain below; and vestiges testify that villas, with all the luxuries of the great Roman capital, dotted this part of the Rhine valley. Shrines sacred to Roman gods were there, and imperial camps watched over the whole, and guarded the Roman inhabitants against the inroads of the wild German tribes, lowering in the valleys and the mountain recesses. Well-traveled highways connected this quiet region with the cities beyond, for a bit of the old road, found on the left bank of the Neckar, near Heidelberg's new bridge, and six stately mile-stones on the opposite side, point to the great Roman road that once swept by to Lopodanum in the north, and to Augusta Nemetum, modern Speier, in the south.

But the waning Roman power had well-nigh set upon this part of northern Europe when in the fifth century Teuton hordes poured down from east and north and took possession of the Neckar and Rhine valleys, and effaced the prominent marks of Roman civilization and Teutonized the whole. Just how and when the Roman settlements about the mouth of the Neckar fell into the hands of these wild tribes, history has not told us. But as the centuries wear on, order may be seen to prevail again, and monasteries with their monks and proud abbots now form the great power in the region. Thus, on the highroad now called the Bergstrasse, built by the Romans along the foot of the western slopes of the Odenwald, we might, as long ago as 764 A. D., have seen the pious Williswinde of the royal house of Pepin founding a monastery at Lauresheim, now Lorsch, and her sons, the lords of the land, bearing to it on their shoulders the precious body of the martyr Nazarius, sent by the Pope from over the Alps and through the dark Vosges, to become the saint of this remote shrine. From the slopes of the mountain where, today, one may view happy homes and lofty spires, we would have seen at our feet only the fields of Bergheim and Neuenheim, now absorbed in busy Heidelberg. Far inward, under the height, where now stands the Mol-

kenkur, and where first frowned the Roman tower, these villagers built their church in its present modern form, the Gothic pearl St. Peter's. And how wild must have been the spot we gather from the old name still clinging to this region, "The Holy Virgin in the Desolate Waste." Hermits early frequenting this waste grouped in time into a well-ordered, extensive Augustine monastery, one day to shelter Luther, but finally to give place to the present roomy square in front of the university. Fishermen, millers, and other humble folk, indispensable to the welfare of a monastic brotherhood, seem soon to have multiplied about the cloister, plying their busy trades along the silent river-banks, now dense with the houses of Heidelberg.

But this "desolate waste" assumed a wider historic importance when, as the old Lorsch chronicle reports, in 1147, one of the most powerful princes of that day, Conrad of Hohenstaufen, brother of the mighty Barbarossa, here took up his abode "in a castle on the Heidelberg, where before there had been nothing worthy of mention." Here Conrad founded the powerful dynasty which through its different branches should rule the Palatinate even down to our own century, and, making Heidelberg the royal residence, raise it to become a brilliant center of princely life, of arts and letters. Where the Roman had had his stronghold, there Conrad perched his eaglenest, and about this lofty castle soon clustered houses of court followers and servants, forming the proud Bergstadt of Heidelberg, which as late as 1805 preserved its original privileges. Around these dwellings of his retainers and his castle Conrad threw a strong wall, later extending it to include the humbler settlement of fishermen and millers along the river's bank below. Thus the city of Heidelberg was formed.

For nearly two hundred years the descendants of Conrad lived in this old fortress, perched on the heights above the slope where Heidelberg Castle now stands. Exactly when the later knights moved down from their loftier home we do not know, but in the treaty of Pavia, made in 1329, two castles in Heidelberg are mentioned; and it is probable that the building of the additional one on the Jettenbüchel was due both to family increase and dissension, and to the shifting spirit of the times. The growth and assertion of the cities had now developed universally greater ele-



gance in living, while the requirements of states with widening borders had become more elaborate. Hence it was, no doubt, that the occupants of castles began to feel too confined in their pent-up rookeries on the hilltops and built more commodious and sumptuous quarters. Of the lower castle in Heidelberg we hear almost nothing for nearly one hundred years after its foundation in the early years of the fourteenth century. That it must have been well but crudely fortified, however, we can have no doubt, since the strange fact is recorded that in its moat fierce lions were kept.

But although no stately buildings, even in ruin, exist to speak to us from those early years of Heidelberg's rising glory, there happily remains one monument still enjoying full vigor, and celebrating this present summer of 1886 the 500th anniversary of its foundation by Conrad's descendant, the Count Palatine Ruprecht I. This is the university, hoary but gifted with eternal youth. Hardly black enough could be painted the picture of the moral and mental needs of the time, in all western Europe, preceding the birth of the first universities, of which that of Heidelberg was among the earliest. The great Roman church had sunk into a deathly lassitude, and superstition everywhere prevailed. From the monasteries, which had held learning in their keeping, there flickered scarcely a spark of intellectual life. Even the celebrated St. Gallen stood at so low an ebb, that in 1291 neither the abbot nor any of the chapter could so much as write. Among the people hordes of half-naked flagellants roved from place to place, a plague and a pestilence; the devil incarnate seemed rampant, and the poor witches his servants were burned in great numbers, their death-days being made festive occasions by the people. Against all this and much more the human spirit rebelled, and in Italy, Spain, and France the first universities originated not with princes or church, but with thinking men, who out of love for knowledge joined together for scientific work, untrammelled by monkish vows. So powerful a weapon the church, however, soon saw would be of use, and took it into her service. Princes, too, smiled upon these new developments, finding it advantageous to their state and fame to found schools of learning, full of active, thinking, practical men. Paris early attracted great crowds of learners, the university being so celebrated that to have studied there was considered a high honor. But from the lack of books education dwindled down to meager proportions, the students spending their time in servilely copying what their teachers dictated. Disputations, however, gave occasion for some

play of thought, and these were so admired by Carl IV. of Prague that, in imitation, he started a university in his own residence. It was to the direct influence of this young and enthusiastic prince, Carl of Prague, upon his aged friend, the Palsgrave Ruprecht I., that Heidelberg owes the establishment of her university. Ruprecht's long life had been filled with futile wars and conflicts, but the old warrior easily foresaw the advantages his land would derive from this more enduring work, and although he wrote with marked humility, "I understand only my mother tongue; I am untaught and ignorant of all learning," still he did his utmost to make prosperous his infant university. He gave strict command that no violence should be done the students in traveling to and from Heidelberg, a great boon in those lawless days. Besides, he made the institution absolutely free to pass judgment upon and punish its own members, and declared it to be in no way subject to civil authority, a right which German universities have, to a great extent, preserved to the present day. A rich dowry in lands and other sources of income was given to the university. The university had four faculties, which conferred the different degrees of bachelor, master, and licentiate, and on October 18, 1386, it was solemnly opened with mass attended by all the students. The first rector was Marsilius von Inghen from Paris, where Ruprecht had found the pattern for all that concerned his new institution, even to the fashion of dress to be worn by the professors. The very hours were fixed when the learned men called from afar should hold forth, but they were forbidden to fill up the whole time with stupefying dictation, some chance being thus wisely afforded for the breath of free academic life. While inheriting a developed organization like that of the church, as well as its affection for ranks and degrees, far greater simplicity and limitation ruled in the university in all that concerned material needs. The professors were satisfied with from one to eight groschen (about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  — 20 cents) for each course of lectures, according to its length, and the disputations paid three gulden (\$1.50) annually, a sufficiently large sum for those days. Fifty gulden a year (\$25.00) was a fine salary, but for traveling for three months in Italy on university business a professor received only an additional thirty-nine gulden (\$19.50), a modest sum indeed, according to our modern ideas, even on the basis that money had twenty times its present value. For the prosperity of the institution a library was most essential. But while, in our day, a private man may have his thousands of books, a priceless storehouse of knowledge, in Ru-



precht's time a library of sixty volumes was considered very large, in fact, well-nigh inexhaustible. As, before the invention of printing, the store of learning was confined to rare and perishable manuscripts, on each of which a small fortune was expended, Ruprecht felt the importance of protecting dealers in manuscripts, paper, and parchment, and so he granted them the same privileges that he had given to the university itself. How strange a contrast to his course in these matters, and how vivid a picture of those wild days, was the position taken by this prince with regard to the robberies then prevalent on the highway! In these he shared openly, for he kept active two fortified robbers' nests, not far from Speier, on the great road to Worms, and, as the merchants passing to and from the far East, with costly wares, neared the forest, they were fallen upon, and their goods seized to replenish the prince's treasury. Private men, as well as the Elector, smiled upon the young library; one Conrad of Gelnhausen gave his books, and soon Marsilius von Inghen, the first rector, followed this example. The growth of university and library induced Ruprecht's son, Ruprecht II., to take energetic but strange measures. He drove the Jews out of their street, which even to-day keeps the name of Judengasse; occupied all their houses for academic purposes, and confiscated their Oriental manuscripts! A measure of greater justice was his merging the old village of Bergheim in Heidelberg. The number of students had increased so greatly, in four short years over one thousand having matriculated, that the walled town could no longer contain them and their numerous following. Consequently this Ruprecht issued a remarkable edict given on Whit Sunday, 1392, to "our poor people" in Bergheim, offering them freedom for fifteen years from all tribute, provided they would tear down their huts and move to Heidelberg. He promised to build a strong defense about their new homes, urging upon them the greater security they would enjoy by their living within his walls. His tempting offer seems to have been eagerly accepted, and Heidelberg now had its borders much extended toward the Rhine valley, the new part being called the Bergheim or Speier suburb, names it has retained to the present day.

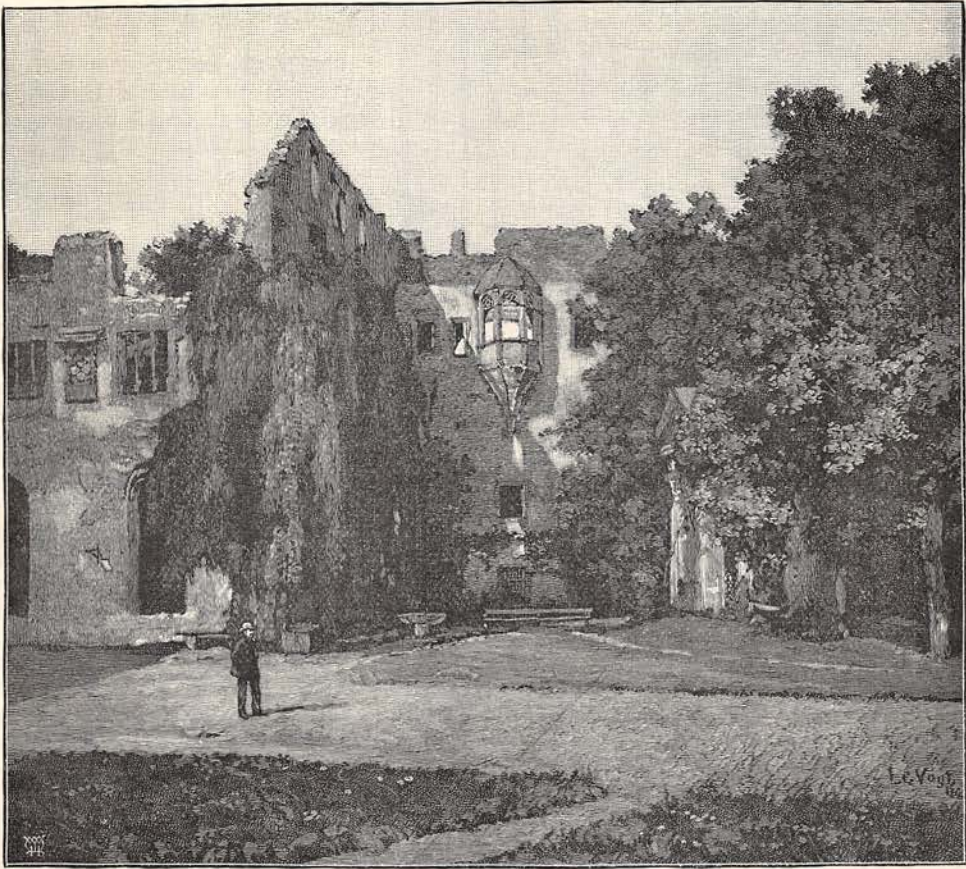
But while so much was taking place in the valley, the Prince Elector of the Palatinate had become so powerful that he was elected by his compeers to become King of Germany and Roman Emperor. Instead of the humble quarters where his fathers had lived for nearly a century, the Prince Elector, Ruprecht III., reared a noble structure, now, alas! much crowded by an unseemly Latin square tower at

the entrance to the Heidelberg castle court. This palace, usually called the "Ruprecht's bau," is a fine sample of a princely dwelling of the Gothic type; for rising in three floors communicating by a winding staircase in the octagonal tower, on the western or outer face of the building, ample room was afforded for all the festivals of an imperial court. On entering, well-proportioned Gothic arches on either side, supported by two massive columns, vaulted the great halls where the retainers of lower degree held wassail.\* On the floor above was the king's hall, once celebrated for its exquisite finishing of carved woodwork, tapestries, portraits, etc. Directly over the keystone of the arched gateway, two angels still hold their wreath of roses inclosing symbolic compasses. Could these angels speak, they might tell us of the ancient Masonic Lodge in far-off Strasburg, and of the mason-artists and workmen there, who in strong corporation upheld art, building mighty cathedrals. They might further relate how Ruprecht called thence such skillful men to build, besides this castle-palace over which these angels still keep watch, the imposing Heiligen Geist church, destined to play a most important part in the history of the university and of the Reformation.

In King Ruprecht's son, the Prince Elector Ludwig III., the library happily found a generous patron, and even the Pope granted it privileges, graciously releasing all its donors from the necessity of restoring church property unlawfully wrested from the bishopric of Worms. In the year of the invention of printing, 1436 A. D., Ludwig gave the university his own princely library, consisting of one hundred and fifty-two volumes, one of which he had copied himself; and all these costly manuscripts he placed in the Heiligen Geist church, where "masters and scholars of the new studies might use them freely." These bulky parchments, all "bound in costly leather, velvet, and silk," with "silver and gilded clasps," and fastened to long desks by iron chains and strong locks, stood, no doubt, not in the choir, but in the roomy galleries which still run around the sides of the Heiligen Geist church; and thus, even when daily mass was going on in the crowded choir far below, students could steal up through the winding stairways on the outside of the church, and in this quiet loft pursue their studies undisturbed. Following the example of Ludwig, Prince Electors, one after the other, as well as rich men, like the Fuggers of Augsburg, sent their libraries to be added to this "Bibliotheca Palatina"; and thus the collection slowly but surely be-

\* The photographs used throughout this paper for the illustration of the ruins we owe to Ed. von König of Heidelberg.





RUDOLPH'S PALACE AND PART OF RUPRECHT'S PALACE.

came the first in Europe, "superior even to the one in the Vatican," as the great Scaliger admiringly wrote towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Under no ruler were Heidelberg and the Palatinate more warlike and yet prosperous than under Friedrich I., Prince Elector from 1452 to 1475 A. D., called by his friends "the victorious," but by his enemies the "mad Fritz" (*der tolle Fritz*). Friedrich, perceiving the changes that would result from the invention of gunpowder, made important alterations in his army, and began mighty fortifications around the Gothic castle of his forefathers, planning six great towers, as well as bastions and casemates, which might, when completed, defy even the new and more powerful demons of war. The massive walls and threatening bulk of the "Powder Tower," the only one of the six finished by Friedrich himself, speak eloquently of the iron strength he meant to give the mountain side of his castle, most exposed to the attacks of the enemy. Philip the Upright (1476-1508) did not

continue the fortifications of the castle on so grand a scale as they had been begun by his uncle and predecessor Friedrich; still he employed one military builder, the father of Melanchthon, plain George Schwarzerd. There is no doubt, however, that this prince caused the interior of his castle to be much beautified. From Nuremberg he called the famous sculptor Peter Vischer to give him "advice and handiwork," while painters must have used their skillful brushes for him, since there is a quaint picture in a Codex Palatina of an artist presenting Philip with his work. It was in Philip's hospitable halls that great thinkers, representatives of the revival of learning, met to hold converse with their prince. But while he eagerly entertained the learned Greeks driven out of Constantinople by the Turkish conquest, the university with scholastic exclusiveness closed its doors against such dangerous innovators. While the university thus lingered far behind in the darkness of the middle ages, the people and court of Heidelberg were rapidly passing into the dawn of the Reformation.





PORTRAIT STATUE OF LUDWIG V. ON THE GREAT TOWER.

Melanchthon was being educated among them, and Luther was soon to appear within their walls.

It was on the 21st of April, 1518, when Ludwig V. had for ten years been Prince Elector, that there appeared at the gates of old Heidelberg an Augustine monk, come thither, after a long journey made on foot and alone, on business for his order. But his was to prove a broader mission, and a few days later all Heidelberg was discussing the views this monk had just dared to promulgate in a disputation held in the ancient Augustine monastery under the hill. There, in the presence of citizens and court, of professors and students, of clergy and laity, had he defended "justification by faith and not by works" with such burning, persuasive eloquence, that students and people broke out into stormy, scornful laughter as one of the professors

peevishly exclaimed, "Luther, if the peasants should hear this they would stone thee."

Under the influence of this new movement the Elector Ludwig V. must have also been when, three years later, at the Diet of Worms, he saved Luther from the fate of Huss. But although the new religious ideas were thus protected by the Elector, his university would have nothing to do with them. Yet even here a tiny spark of light at last seems visible, and Erasmus and Sebastian Münster came to Heidelberg to teach, though Münster soon departed to accept a more remunerative position in Basel. Still, the university remained far behind the requirements of the time, and it is no wonder that students fell off greatly, and that the institution in 1525 was obliged to record the unpleasant fact, "Here there are more teachers than learners." But not to their own course did these professors ascribe their troubles. With the usual blindness of mankind they now complained bitterly to the Elector that Lutheranism and the peasants' war had brought blight to their blooming university, and demanded of him that he should immediately stamp out the dangerous dogma! Perhaps fear of peasant uprisings led the Prince Elector to raise the masses of his "Great Tower" (*Dicke Thurm*) frowning on the river face of the castle. And today, as we gaze upon its mighty walls, twenty-four feet thick, suspended in mid-air over the depths, with no foundation left to support the gigantic

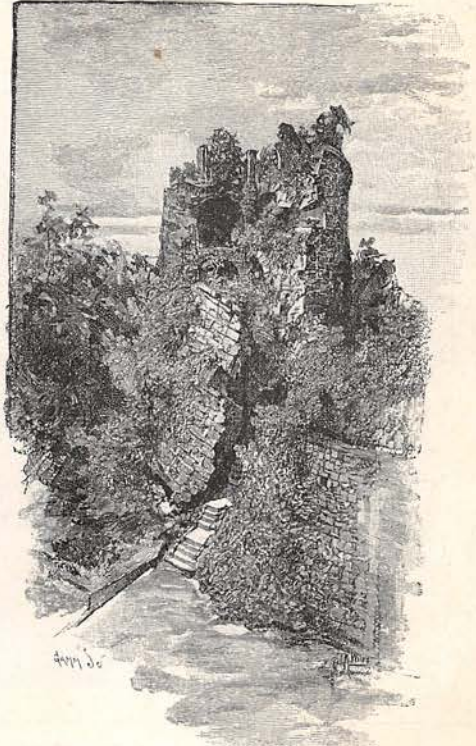
weight, we almost believe with the old storytellers that these ponderous masses hang from a magnet. From this giant, completed by Ludwig in 1533, a bastion, crowned by a roundel, swept northward, connecting it with still another but smaller tower, now in ruin, known as Ludwig's tower, or "Seldom Empty" (*Selten Leer*). In the deep castle moat on the south side, Ludwig threw up piers carrying mighty arches, which at one end should bear the castle gate, now sadly ruined, and at the other the great square watch-tower, still intact. Its heavy proportions and the two huge stone watchmen in armor, still keeping guard over the entrance to the castle court, speak only too plainly of a failure here to attain the artistic or beautiful in striving for the strong. This watch-tower, completed in 1541, was united by powerful walls to the "Seldom Empty," while underground passages, inaccess-



ible to the enemy, connected all these formidable structures, and internal stairs, a part of which are now visible near the roundel, gave access to the upper works. But where watchmen once patrolled the walls that shut in the inner gabled buildings is now a beautiful garden; and it is impossible for us to imagine the castle, the simple Gothic fabric of Münster's time, scarce peering out from its mighty fortifications. A picture in Münster's famous geographical book, his "Cosmographei," a rude piece of wood-cutting indeed, gives us the earliest representation of these walls. It was in this old Gothic castle that Luther was most kindly received and shown about by the Palsgrave Wolfgang, Ludwig's younger brother.

But in this old castle, which for centuries had preserved its Gothic character, a revolution in architecture was now to come, the necessary outgrowth of the great revolutions in thought; and Friedrich II., who as an old man succeeded his brother Ludwig in 1544, stands in character and works upon the borderland leading over to higher plains, where the Renaissance should take full possession of the fancy of sculptor and architect, and the Reformation of the minds of people and ruler.

As Friedrich settled in the castle of his fathers at Heidelberg, there was an end to his many wanderings. In the days of his poverty he had blamed his brother for extravagance in building, but now he himself indulged in the same luxury. But as Friedrich was most unlike his staid brother, so do his buildings all show a different spirit. The plain old court could no longer satisfy a prince familiar with the elaborate and new-fashioned palaces of Italy and Spain. He therefore had Jacob



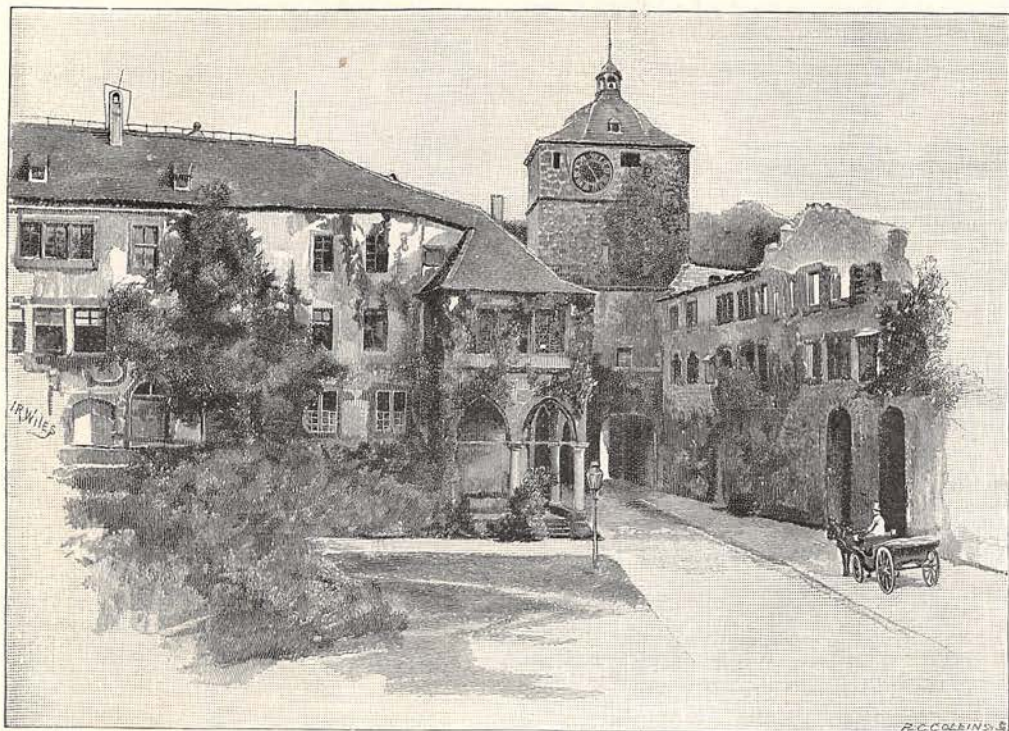
THE POWDER "SHATTERED" TOWER.

Haidern build a "New Court" (*neuer Hof*), extending away out to the fortifications at the north-east corner of the castle, but facing inward. As to-day we gaze up at its three tiers of porticoes, having pillars of classic shape with fluted shafts and antique capitals, visions of similar colonnades in sunny Italy float before us, and the influence here of the Italian Renaissance dawns upon us. But strangely mingled with such classic forms are familiar elements borrowed from the then surrounding Gothic architecture of the old castle court. Thus a Gothic staircase-tower clings incongruously to the east end of these classic colonnades; originally it interrupted them, for arches and pillars once swept on unconcealed, where now interposes the adjoining palace. At the opposite end an obtrusive wing juts out beyond these colonnades, a sun-dial written on its brow, Gothic windows peering out of its face, but classic monsters riding its gable, the whole a most bizarre medley of the new style of the Renaissance and the older Gothic trying to make peace with one another. In building the famous Octagonal Tower Friedrich's architect followed the Gothic more purely, but the purpose of the structure, originally intended for a bulwark, was changed, a great bell being here hung. The old German fortress



OVER THE ENTRANCE TO RUPRECHT'S PALACE.





RUPRECHT'S PALACE, WATCH-TOWER, SPRING-HOUSE, AND LUDWIG'S BUILDINGS.

thus had at last its *tour de l'horloge*, from which the hour-marking peals might ring out as they did from many a French château.

Friedrich's work in reforming the university was more harmonious than his art effort. Thus he not only put into action many of the modernizing changes proposed by Melanchthon and the philosophical faculty, but of his own accord ordered that the barbarous Latin of the middle ages should no longer be read, urging the use of the more tasteful works of the restorers of classic culture. This easy-going old courtier and personal friend of Charles V. could not, however, enter with a whole heart into the religious movements in his own land, even though doing his best to be free from the baneful influence of the Spanish monarch. When, however, the people assembled in the Heiligen Geist church, instead of joining in the mass, broke out singing the Reformation hymn of victory "Es ist ein Heil uns kommen her," Friedrich took warning. By Melanchthon's advice, he at once gave orders that the mass no longer be read in Latin, but in German; that both bread and wine be administered to the people in the sacrament, and the clergy be allowed to marry. On Christmas-day, 1545, in the castle chapel, the host was thus administered to the communicant for the first time, and on January 3d

the first Protestant service was held in the Heiligen Geist church. But this action provoked the "Most Catholic" Emperor Charles, and soon Friedrich was obliged to undo his work. But where the aged Friedrich halted, his earnest nephew Otto Heinrich vigorously took up the work.

## II.

THIS prince, who reigned three short years, from 1556 to 1559, having early joined the new faith and for it suffered exile and distress, in coming to the electoral dignity immediately showed the position he should take as ruler of the Palatinate. In March the new Prince Elector issued from his castle an edict ordering the introduction into the whole Palatinate of the evangelical doctrines, and the doing away of all papal errors.

The university and city also felt at once the magic energy of Otto Heinrich's noble character. Besides caring for such matters as the cleaning of the streets and justice in commercial affairs, he furthered the enlightenment of the people. He now called to his aid his personal friend Melanchthon, and the arrival of this great humanist and reformer is chronicled in the academic records as one of the gala days in the history of Heidelberg. Many

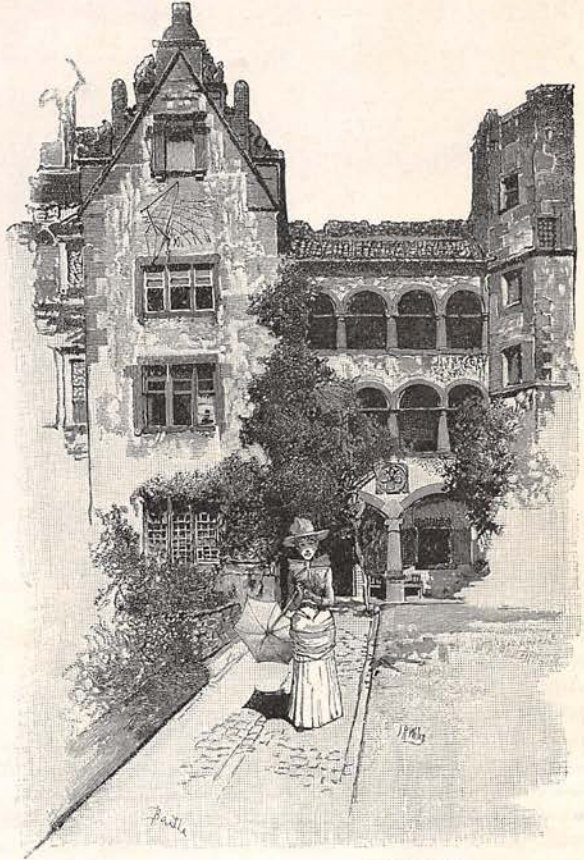


were the outward changes now made in the university, the principal one perhaps being the substitution, in the place of the old scholastic methods, of five full professorships of Greek literature, ethics, physics, mathematics, poesy, and eloquence, and the doing away with all the wooden compendia of so-called Aristotelian lore, for the fresh sources themselves, Homer, Pindar, Herodotus, and Xenophon being made the text-books. The Prince Elector showed his wise policy by increasing the professors' salaries, and by so enriching the library with truly valuable, well-chosen acquisitions that it has often been called his creation.

But, while fostering with tender care church and school, Otto Heinrich did not forget gentler, less intrusive art. Between two plain, gray Gothic towers, both striving upward, there is unfolded to us a façade of rich red stone, its quiet horizontal lines lying in gracefully proportioned tiers one above the other, while the perpendicular or wavy forms of statue and relief, of column and arabesque, cast in harmonious profusion over the stern architecture, transfigure it from ponderous stone into a living, breathing whole, telling of the poetic fancies and the artistic aspirations of the three short years when Otto Heinrich's genius ruled.

A pyramidal effect is attained by rolling and irregular cartouche decoration, and even an inexperienced eye will see that its geometrical and artificial lines are quite out of keeping with the natural swing of the greater part of the ornament, which, reveling in plant or human forms, follows the purest early Italian Renaissance. This is so Italian, indeed, that fable long connected it with the name of Michael Angelo. But there are no traces of the influence of this master from Florence; on the contrary, very many details point to Pavia, with its older Certosa, as the spot whence Otto Heinrich's artists must have drawn inspiration. The medallions of Roman emperors between winged cupids, the arabesques above the windows, the decoration by statues in niches, the friezes of running pattern, in fact, the general style of the whole, all seem echoes from the marble front of the ornate cathedral at Pavia. No doubt the red color of the stone used in Heidelberg has misled some modern critics to believe that the terracotta incrustations of northern Italy have influenced the artist; but in Otto Heinrich's

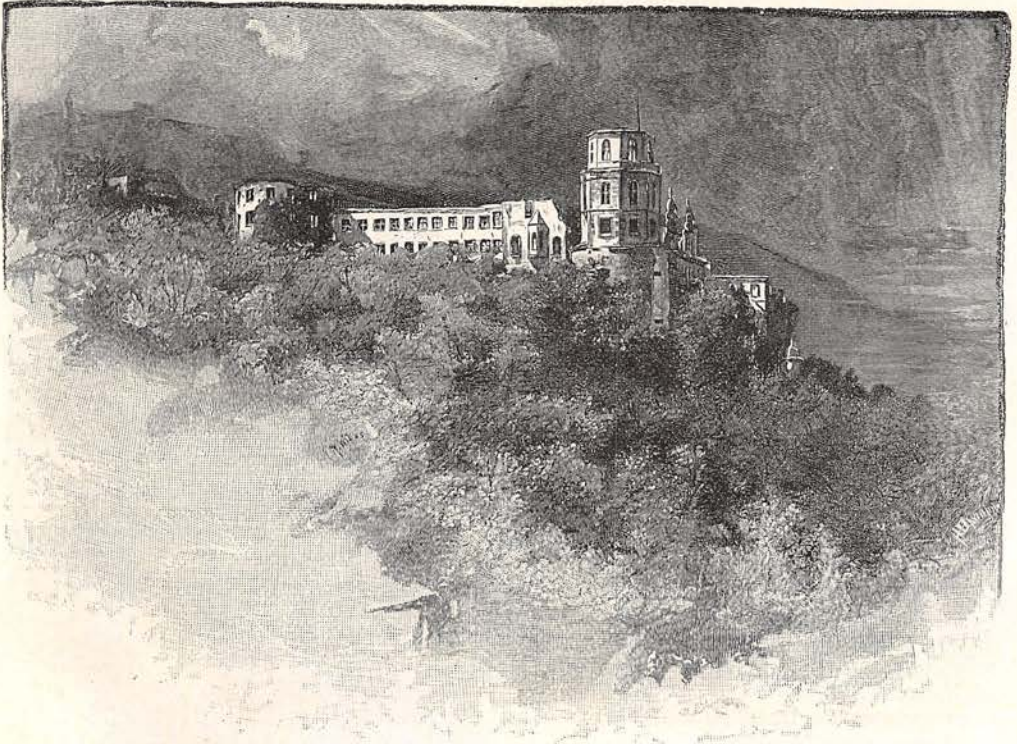
façade there is nothing of the roundness peculiar to every inch of such decoration, nor of the lavish covering of every spot with ornament, well illustrated in the retired cloisters at Pavia, which are so widely different from the proud marble façade at the same city. Many of the artistic features of Otto Heinrich's pal-



PALACE OF FRIEDRICH II.—NEW COURT.

ace front, however, tell us that by the side of Italian influence a northern spirit was at work. The gables once crowning it, the pyramidal gateway, the cartouche decoration, the peculiar division of the lower tier of windows with their steep gables, the Gothic arches of the substructure, and the elaborate coat of arms, all point to a northern fancy. Fortunately, the old archives found a few years since confirm these inferences from the artistic style. From these quaint records we hear Alexander Colins from far-off Mechlin in Belgium receive the order to do all the carving not finished by one Anthoni, and see Casper Fischer and Jacob Leyden, two Palatinate architects, present at the closing of the contract. This "honorable" Alexander was a widely sought artist in his day, as every visitor





CASTLE, SEEN FROM THE EAST, SHOWING LIBRARY, OCTAGONAL TOWERS, OTTO HEINRICH'S PALACE, AND NEW COURT.

in Innsbruck will understand who has seen the grand monuments by this sculptor in that Alpine city. The interior of Otto Heinrich's palace also shows his skill, and as we admire its elaborately finished doorways, its kingly hall, once supported by delicately carved columns, of which only mere fragments remain, we wonder what part the Belgian sculptor and what his predecessor Anthoni may have had in the work.

In 1559 this great Prince Elector was suddenly taken away, and with him the older line of the rulers of the Palatinate became extinct. On his death-bed he sadly expressed the belief that this judgment of Heaven was sent upon his house because its founder, Ludwig III., had led Huss to the martyr's pyre.

The angry dissensions within the Protestant church between Lutherans, who virtually held to the doctrine of the real presence, and Calvinists, who as stoutly denied it, were already threatening when Otto Heinrich died; and under his successor, Friedrich III., surnamed the Pious, the storm broke, to rage for years. With observant mind watching the counter-currents of thought, the serious-minded Friedrich soon espoused the cause of the Calvinists, and with his aid the famous Heidelberg Catechism was written by Ursinus and Olevianus,

and accepted in 1562 by a synod of the clergy of the Palatinate.

The internal and external affairs of the Palatinate were most flourishing when, in 1592, Friedrich IV. became Prince Elector, ruling until 1610. In contrast to former electors, he appears as a very modern prince, and with him everything in Heidelberg seems to take on a more modern face. The skill of the French and Netherland Protestants who had found welcome in the land roused latent native talent and beautified the cities. Mannheim in the broad Rhine plain is laid out and fortified, and an extensive union between the Protestant princes throughout Europe is attempted, while Friedrich brings home as his bride the daughter of one of the greatest of these, William of Orange. The simplicity of older days is fast disappearing. But the changes in taste are nowhere more evident than in the buildings put up by Friedrich IV. about the castle of his fathers. Tearing down Ruprecht's old chapel, he built a more sumptuous one, having over the entrance inscribed, not in homely German, but in Hebrew and Latin, "The gate of the Lord into which the righteous shall enter." Above this chapel he reared an elaborate palace. But the rooms this gay young prince occupied are no more to be rec-



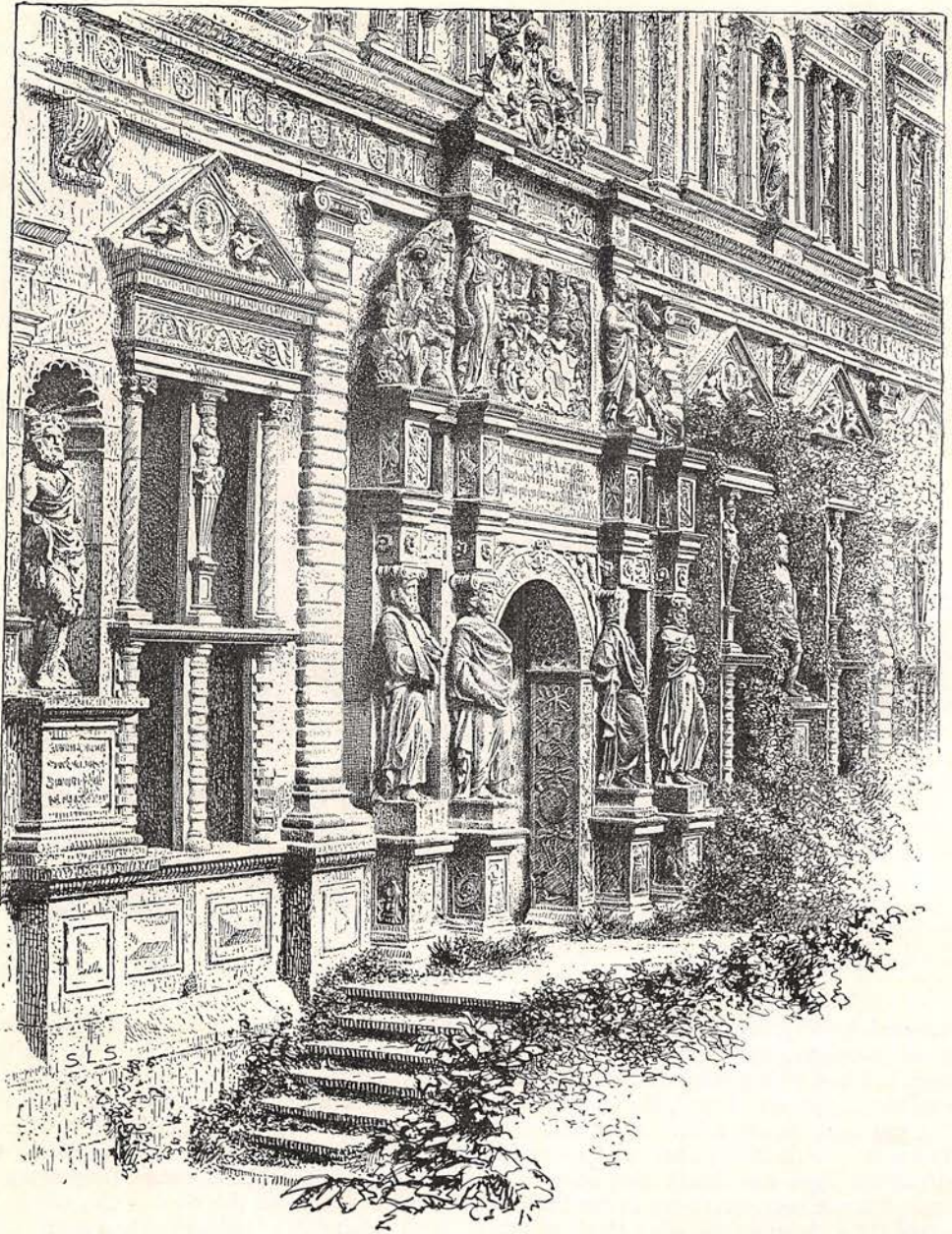


FAÇADE OF OTTO HEINRICH'S PALACE.

ognized, having long ago undergone a complete transformation. The gorgeous façades once brilliant with gilding and color, the royal esplanade (*grosser Altan*), the completed octagonal and library towers, all speak of the richness of Friedrich's taste, and of its wide departure from the chaste simplicity of the early Renaissance, best seen in the hesitating art of Otto Heinrich's façade. Here, in Friedrich's palace, the Renaissance seems fairly to have "run mad"; but so luxurious and picturesque is the effect produced by the profusion of portrait statues, of cartouche and imitated beaten-metal ornament, together with the bolder architectural lines, that we are tempted to find much to admire in this new and wild rococo. That the statues of Friedrich's ancestors, adorning the court front of his palace, were much more to the taste of his day than the earlier allegorical figures of Otto Heinrich's façade, appears from the amusing nego-

tiations between the Heidelberg Chamber of Accounts (*Rechen-Kammer*) and the sculptor Sebastian Götz of Chur, chosen to do the work, as is related, "because he was unmarried and had been praised in Munich." The old *Rechen-Kammer* thinks sixty-five florins too much to pay for each figure, and orders search to be made as to the cost of the statues of Otto Heinrich's palace; whereupon Götz grows angry, saying that in Munich he had received one hundred florins for like carvings, and that they must not make him lose more time. If they wanted such as are on Otto Heinrich's building, planets and the like, why, he could make work like that for thirty florins; but for the portraits of the Prince Elector's ancestors, which must be "artistic counterfeits," he would take nothing less than sixty-five florins. This arrangement was finally made; the sly *Rechen-Kammer*, however, taking the sculptor at his word, included in the contract





PORTAL OF OTTO HEINRICH'S PALACE.

a few of the cheaper statues in the nude for thirty florins, even though quite out of harmony with the rest. Many of these bold forefathers of Friedrich's proud house are masterpieces of realistic art, and well justify the sculptor's delightful confidence in himself.

When on August 16, 1614, Friedrich's son, the new boy prince, took the electoral dignity, the Catholic League and the Protestant Union,

which he should aspire to lead, stood face to face with no friendly feelings, and in German politics there were low mutterings of bad times to come. But this young prince, Friedrich V., with his easy, light-hearted nature, little dreamed of trouble. His own land, the Palatinate, was most prosperous, his people contented, and he had entered with all the abandon and heedless joyousness of youth into the festivities which should unite him to the



powerful English court through his marriage to Elizabeth, the beautiful granddaughter of Mary Queen of Scots. That the youthful Friedrich, but eighteen years of age when he took the helm of state, should have been irresistibly carried on by the dangerous tendency everywhere seen to luxurious living is most natural. Besides, economy in a prince was no longer respectable, display being considered necessary to keep his position among fellow-monarchs. So for the daughter of the English king Friedrich now raised a fitting palace, containing all the refined comforts of the day, and added many a luxury of which Heidelberg castle had not dreamed before. Of this palace for his beloved Elizabeth, known as the English building, the mere shell now remains, but the chaste simplicity of its external architecture, combined with the richness of its internal finish, as preserved in fragments of beautifully modeled stucco, show that Friedrich built his bride a house in keeping with the most modern English taste of his time. The frowning bastions of Ludwig's fortifications Friedrich V. now transformed into a blooming garden; a bridge that could be thrown across the moat, so that Elizabeth might step from her rooms into the flowery walks, has, indeed, long since disappeared, but the garden portal, in the form of a triumphal arch, with the affectionate dedication "Fredericus V. Elizabethæ Coniugi Cariss. A. C. MDCXV.," still remains to testify to the Elector's devotion as well as to his luxurious tastes. Dense mountain forests on three sides had always dipped close down to the castle walls, the earlier prince electors having had their gardens on the level below, near the Neckar. Friedrich V. chose, however, to join his pleasure-ground to his dwelling, and accordingly he called the famous Norman Salomon de Caus to Heidelberg to turn the wilderness around the castle into a garden, which Louis XIV. at a later day regarded with jealous eye as a dangerous rival to his tedious creation at Versailles. About this famous Heidelberg garden de Caus wrote a proud book called "Hortus Palatinus," in which he tells of the orange-trees over four hundred in number, of grottoes lined with precious stones and coral, all beautifully reflected in artificial lakes, of jets of water sprung upon too curious visitors, of fountains of marvelous work, of beasts and birds and statues of fantastic shape. So beautiful was this garden considered that Fouquières, the great Flemish painter, in a picture of Heidelberg engraved by Merian, in 1620, gives it a prominent place.

On November 4, 1619, Friedrich rode forth from these castle gates to take the treacherous crown of Bohemia. But as he

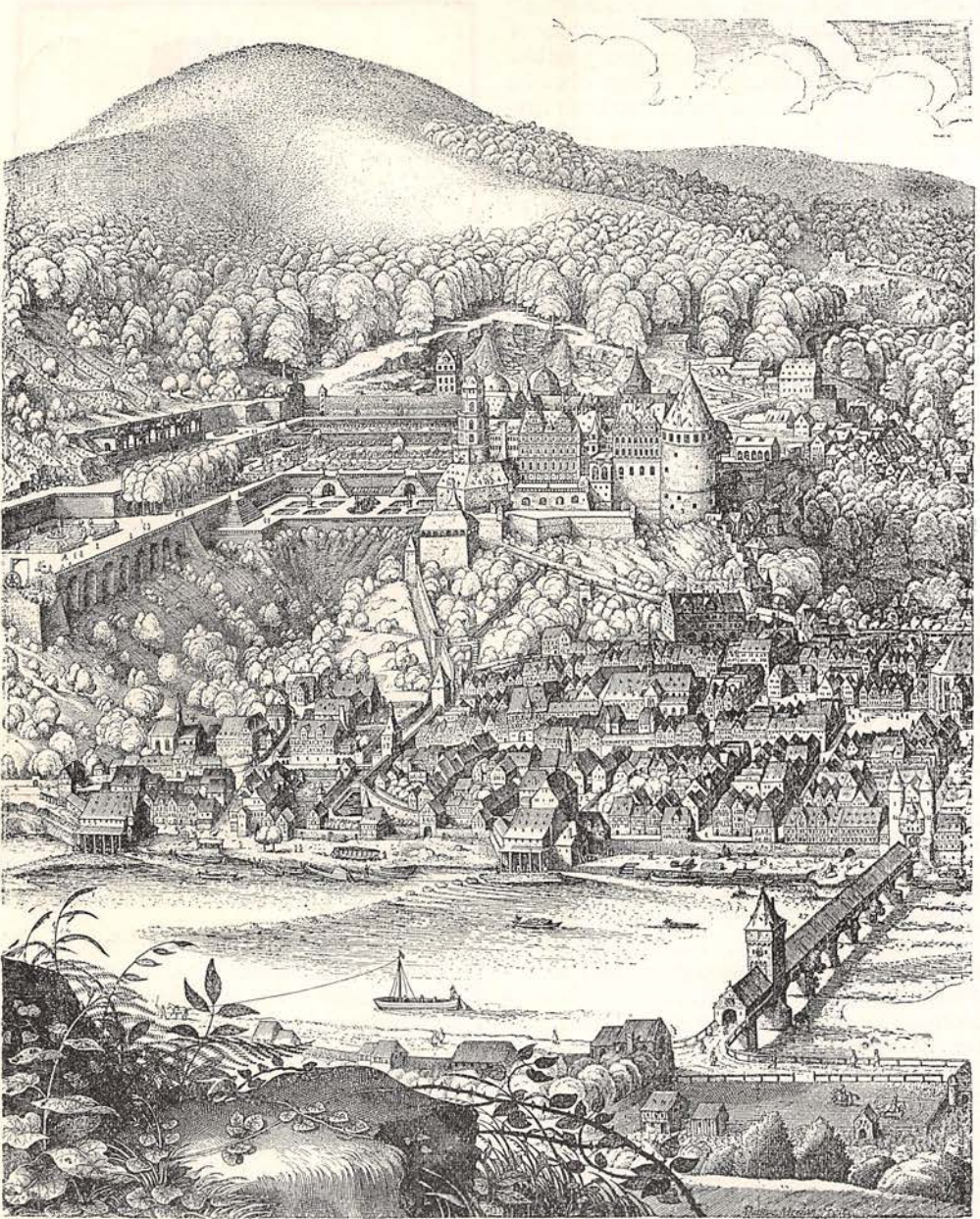


STATUE OF PLUTO, PALACE OF OTTO HEINRICH.

started, his royal mother, the wise daughter of William of Orange, looking down upon him from her window, sadly exclaimed, "Now the Palatinate vanishes in Bohemia" (*Nun gehet die Pfalz in Böhmen*). Three suns portentously appeared in the sky, and Friedrich never returned again to the castle of his fathers, but spent his life a homeless wanderer and throneless king.

Inseparably leagued, demons of war and religious fanaticism now took matters into their own hands, pouring out their blood-thirsty legions, year after year, to desolate Heidelberg and the Palatinate. Terrible is the story of this thirty years' war, turning the garden of Germany into a howling waste. At first, we see the fierce soldiery of Tilly place their fiery torches to flourishing towns and villages, and then in 1621 appear before Heidelberg to wreak vengeance upon her for having given birth to the Heidelberg Catechism. The university, long a Protestant institution, now sank completely crippled, and fortwenty gloomy years, from 1632 to 1652, no





HEIDELBERG CASTLE IN 1620. (FROM AN OLD WOOD-CUT BY MERIAN.)

student matriculated and no rector was chosen! Her library, the world-renowned Bibliotheca Palatina, was, alas! an object after which the papal power had long lusted, and now, Heidelberg crushed and her ruler a fugitive, the chance had come to secure the prize. Pope Gregory XV. at once sent his nuncio Caraffa to the head of the Roman Catholic League, Duke Max of Bavaria, saying that nothing would be more welcome than the possession of the Pala-

tina, and the Bavarian prince consented to rob his native land to please the foreigner. Allacci, a Greek, and chief scriptor at the Vatican, was immediately dispatched over the Alps with orders to bring from Heidelberg every book and paper or parchment he could find,—“without neglecting the smallest scrap” (*senza trascurare la minima carta*), read his gentle directions.

The soldier Tilly, for his assistance in the



robbery, was immediately rewarded by the crafty and exultant Pope with the following gentle message :

"The ruins of Heidelberg, that workshop of treachery and dwelling-place of godlessness, will not only be a monument to thy heroic courage, but also a bulwark to the true faith; for the spiritual weapons, which there an atrocious heresy has used, will here serve as a protection to Catholic science, and in the hands of men versed in the doctrine of salvation will glorify thee by the extermination of the devilish lie."

Is it irony that this year, as his tribute to the rejoicing in celebrating the five hundredth anniversary of the university, Pope Leo XIII. presents to Heidelberg, not her precious manuscripts themselves, but an exact catalogue of them all—a lean gift, which the German press, blinded, we must believe, by the gleam of the diamond order of Christ hanging from their Chancellor's neck, welcomes, however, "as most acceptable."

Yet the cruel loss of the Palatina was but one of the many terrible devastations of the thirty years' war throughout the land. Over the Palatinate, that once sunny home of a contented people, wolves trooped in such numbers that they were said to be more numerous than the peasantry. In Nuremberg an order even was given that men should take two wives, and the priests themselves were required to marry, that the desert land might be re peopled. Every sacred tie seemed loosed as famine and pestilence ravaged the land. But enough of these horrors.

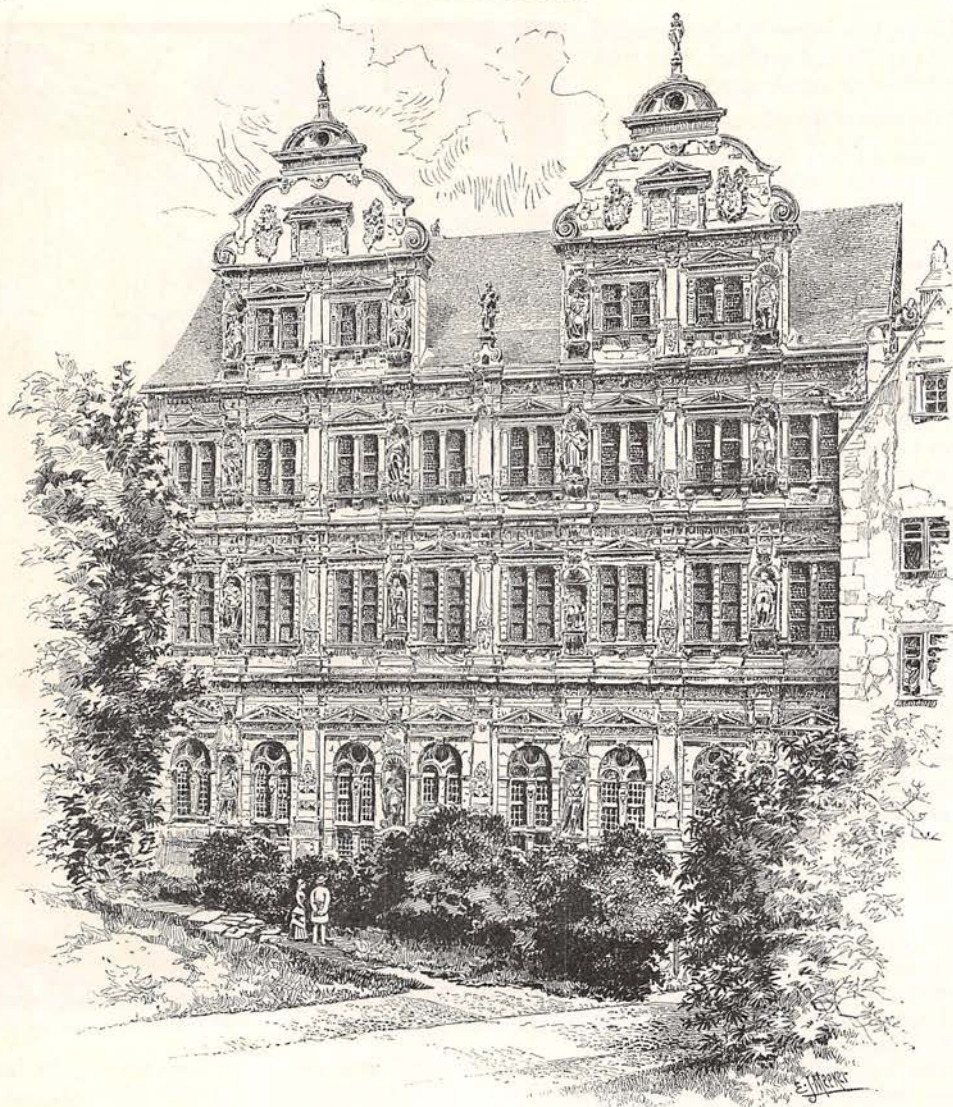
The long-wished-for peace at last broke upon ruined lands, to light up with sickly beams the ghastly darkness. Carl Ludwig, son of the throneless "Winter King" and nephew of the beheaded English king, now at last returned to Heidelberg, after a lifetime of banishment and suffering, entering the city in 1649. The castle was so desolated that the returning ruler could hardly find decent lodgings within its once stately halls. To every one who would rebuild in Heidelberg's wasted streets he granted privileges, and taxes were levied upon the rich rather than upon the poor. The university he called together, Spinoza and others being invited to fill the long-vacant professorships. The otherwise scrupulously economical prince made provision also for a new library, and although failing to receive back any of the Palatina from Rome, he caused some valuable manuscripts to be copied there. In the church he strove for



STATUE OF OTTO, KING OF HUNGARY, IN PALACE OF FRIEDRICH IV.

a freedom of the confessions, such as the land had never seen. Having sorely suffered himself, the idea of religious toleration seems to have ripened in his mind; and at the consecration of his new church at Friedrichsburg, significantly sacred to Holy Concord, at the request of the Prince Elector, a Lutheran, a Reformed, and a Catholic priest, one after the other, ascended the pulpit to conduct the services. Untiring in his efforts to raise again his fallen land, he marvelously built up its finances, and encouraged agriculture and industry as no other prince had done. Believing that an alliance with the house of his overshadowing neighbor France would establish the prosperity of his land, Carl Ludwig gave his only daughter, his pet Charlotte Elizabeth, or "Lise-Lotte," as he fondly called her, in marriage to Louis XIV.'s brother, the Duke of Orleans. The secret enmity of Louis XIV. to the Palatinate already began to be too manifest even during





FAÇADE OF PALACE OF FRIEDRICH IV.

the life of Carl Ludwig, but happily this Elector did not live to see what dire results would come to his beloved land from the treacherous neighbor in whom he had trusted. Under pretext of a claim to the ill-starred land through its unhappy princess Charlotte Elizabeth, Louis gave the notorious order, *Brûlez le Palatinat* (Burn the Palatinat), and the fearful days of the Orleans war broke upon Heidelberg. The whole city was set on fire and burned to ashes, the Heiligen Geist church, crowded with refugees, not being excepted. The tombs of the princely dead even were plundered, their bones torn up and scattered to the winds. At the news of this terrible destruction Lise-Lotte wept

day and night, but Louis XIV., Madame de Maintenon, and Bossuet rejoiced. The King caused a *Te Deum* to be sung and a coin to be struck representing Heidelberg in flames, with the legend, *Heidelberg deleta*, and on the other side his own portrait, with the words, *Ludovicus Magnus Rex Christianissimus!*

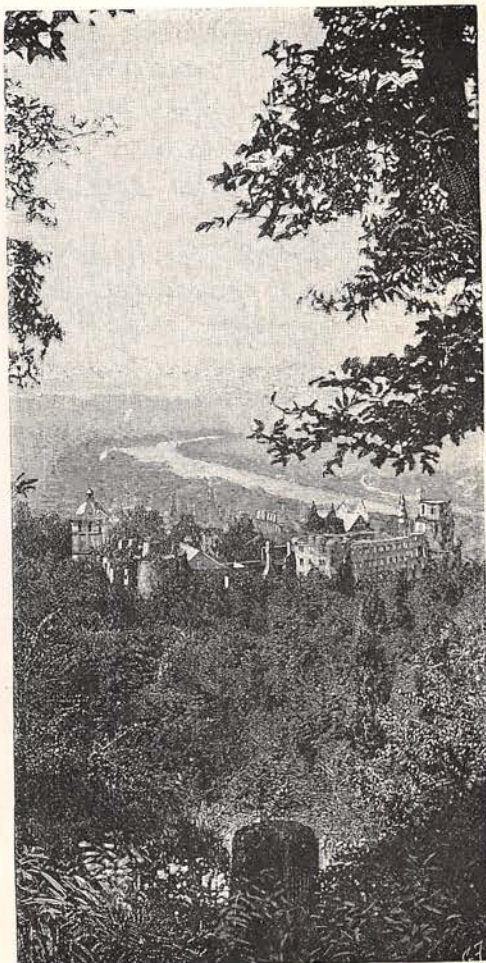
The dawn of the eighteenth century promised but little light to Heidelberg; with Carl Ludwig's son the Protestant line of rulers had expired, and the new branch, a frivolous and unprincipled race, was sadly steeped in bigotry, readily lending itself to be a toy in the hands of Jesuit intrigue. While the handful of Catholics had seven churches at their disposal, the far more numerous Protestant community



had but one for their exclusive use, besides a part of the Heiligen Geist church; but even this part Carl Philip, with outrageous effrontery, insisted on their giving up. The Reformed, backed by the Protestant powers Prussia and England, however, refused to yield, and the enraged Prince Elector declared to the people, through the city director, that he would remove his residence to Mannheim with all his officials and courts of law, destroy the Neckar bridge, and reduce Heidelberg to a mere village, where "grass would grow before each house." In May, 1720, according to the threat, the seat of government was removed to Mannheim on the plains.

With the decay of Heidelberg University the city government shared. All the official positions were sold to the highest bidder. Even pastors and teachers had to buy their offices, and many were removed because delaying to pay the customary bribes. In the university professorships were hereditary, descending from father to son without regard to merit, while French Jesuits and ignorant monks occupied the majority of the places of honor and profit. Two of these, Flad and Wedekind, were appointed to the censorship of letters just at a time when a vigorous national literature was springing up, and men like Lessing, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller were appearing on the horizon. But the very enlightened Heidelberg savants declared that they had no time to occupy themselves with the "poor, forlorn, and vicious books" that the public admired as very "clever poetry"; in them they could find "no moral whatever," only "shocking free thought!"

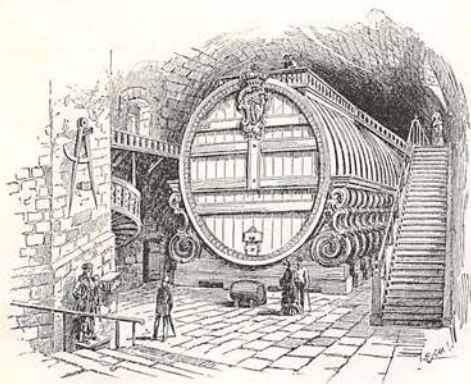
It is with a long free breath that after the thunder-storms of the Revolution we greet a clearer sky brightening over Heidelberg at the opening of our century, and as the rotten Palatinate falls to pieces, see the noble house of Baden come in to take the reins of government. It would lead too far were we to try



HEIDELBERG FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

to picture the revival of the university in 1804, the restoration through Prussian influence of a very small portion of the Palatina, and the far healthier state of affairs, external and internal, that followed the change of thought consequent upon the Revolution. Nor can we detail the noble part taken by Heidelberg in later troubles, and the efforts of such scholars as Gervinius, Hänsser, and many other equally great men to bring about a united German fatherland.

In these better days, happily, the castle has also shared. During the eventide of the last century a few poets and artists alone caught the magic inspiration wafted from these heights; to the occasional visitor the great tun in the cellar of the castle was the one object worth climbing the hill to see; but in our own day the mighty also have felt the gentle force, and come to look fondly upon the ivy-wreathed ruin, while to hosts of all



THE GREAT TUN.





PORTAL OF PRINCESS ELIZABETH'S GARDEN.

tongues and tribes "Heidelberg" is now a charmed word, full of sweetest, noblest memories. But no truer friends has the ruin than Heidelberg's citizens themselves, who, in 1866, founded a society, the "Schloss-Verein," to watch over the priceless jewel which for so many centuries had shone down upon their city from its exquisite setting of mountain and forest. It is from the active efforts of this

society, its doors now thrown wide open to receive every stranger, that the glorious but sinking ruin has most to hope. And this year, at the great jubilee, thousands will no doubt swear allegiance anew to the peerless pile, which wrapped in golden sunlight graciously responds to the greeting of forest-clad summits or holds queenly watch over city, valley, and river.

*Lucy M. Mitchell.*



EMBLEMS OF HEIDELBERG. (FROM AN OLD WOOD-CUT BY MERIAN.)