

DR. WOLFGANG UTSCHIG'S  
FALL COMPOSITION 2007  
DR. WOLFGANG UTSCHIGS HERBSTSCHRIFT 2007  
L'ÉTUDE A L'AUTUMN  
DE DR. WOLFGANG UTSCHIG

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*Wolfgang Utschig*

The College of the Imperial City  
of Regensburg's Consulents and Syndics

A Short Study about the  
Reichsstadt Regensburg Council Constitution  
and about the Jurists  
having been in its Civil Service

The Lancelot Series / Lancelot Serien  
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*W o l f g a n g U t s c h i g*

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Syndics. A Short Study about the Reichsstadt  
Regensburg's Council Constitution and about the  
Jurists having been in its Civil Service.

Das Collegium der Regensburger Consulenten  
und Syndici. Eine kurze Studie zur neuzeitlichen  
Ratsverfassung der Reichsstadt Regensburg  
und über in ihrem Dienst gewesene Juristen.

Le corps des conseillers de Ratisbonne. Une étu-  
de brève à la constitution de cette Cité Imperiale  
et aux ses jurisconsultes de sa fonction publique.

Third Adaption December 2007 Christmas Issue

*Wolfgang Utschig*

The College of the Imperial City  
of Regensburg's Consulents und Syndics

The German former (until 1803) *Imperial City of Regensburg* (= “*Reichsstadt Regensburg*”), situated on the most northern point of the river Danube's current, now in the very midst of Bavaria, in earlier times was an own city-state and now it is a Bavarian provincial city. Because of its beautiful, impressive, very medieval, really extraordinary stand of important buildings and altogether and entirely being a specific work of many arts in 2007 this city became declared a *World Cultural Heritage's* part by the UNESCO. This self-governed city until 1803 by an own council needed a peculiar staff of juristic counsellors, a body in its own right. It got named a *College of Consulents and Syndics*, meaning a committee consisting of jurists apart from the city council.

The College here took care for quite specific and exceptional juristic brain-works of the local government and of other similar scopes. Many councillors were jurists, too, but often not exactly very good ones. The councillors, the jurists among them, carried through the duties of a municipal council during the council conferences or sessions of this body, for instance that ones of the Council's law-court. The members of this tribunal were identical with the sixteen councillors of the mentioned City Council. The full name of this board was *The Interior Council* (German: "*Innerer Rat*"), because the supreme power in the city-state "*Reichsstadt Regensburg*" (= *The area of the Imperial City of Regensburg*) was owned and executed by all the persons belonging to this body. An important part of the freedom of this city for instance consisted of having and using an own legal authority. In the area of the council jurisdiction peace within the "*Burgfrieden*" (*Regensburg Imperial City's territory* = area of the "*Reichsstadt*") was guaranteed by the borough. The mentioned *Interior Council's* members constituted the highest law court being not only councillors but highest judges.

But each Regensburg civic as each citizen of the “*Reich*” (= German realm) owned the practicability to fight against decisions of his second-instance court at the so-called “*Reichskammergericht*” (= *Imperial Chamber of Justice*) in the Imperial City of *Wetzlar* or at the “*Reichshofrat*” (= *The Imperial Court Council*) in *Vienna*, at the Emperor’s seat of his government. It is correct to define the Regensburg Council among other things as a law court of the second instance. The two shortly before quoted higher courts of justice in the Reich meant the third instances of Germany’s jurisdiction. In many German principedoms the inhabitants had no possibility to lodge there an appeal on a law question. In their own principedom mostly existed an own third instance law court. This council (= *The Imperial City of Regensburg’s Council*) meant also the only competent revision court of justice for the lower benches here, that is to say mainly for the “*Stadtgericht*” or (Latin) „*justicium civitatis* (= “*The City of Regensburg’s Law Court*”), but for some other panels of the abovementioned Council Court, too. One of the last-named ones was the (unimportant) council law committee for debt actions.

Moreover the Regensburg councillors or aldermen were busy in another council-committees or deputations and as directors of the offices or bureaus of the *Reichsstadt*, controlling several offices' directorates at the same time, the important and less major ones below them simultaneously.

The councillors became elected into their different government-positions by so-called (and very specific) *elections for the offices*. The council's deputation which elected all them into all the bench or administration positions by means of *offices' elections* (= „*Ämterwahlen*“) was a certain group consisting of three members of the *Interior* and by four of the *Exterior Council* [= „*Äußerer Rat*“ (= another, less important council)] and in addition by further four of the *Commune* (= „*Gemein*“), too, by the third and purely democratically shaped council group in the Reichsstadt Regensburg constitution. This city-state (following an imperial law from 1517) was a so-so complicated institution. Indeed each one will find it hard to understand its effectiveness after the first attempt. It's necessary for grasping these circumstances to think thoroughly about all that.

For understanding it you will have to know much about the boards having achieved in practice.

Most of those consulents had been descending from Jurist families. They mostly visited the Protestant *Poets'-Gymnasium*<sup>1</sup> at this place here.

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<sup>1</sup> In the City of Regensburg of today they have the classical *Albertus-Magnus-Gymnasium* (= AMG, named after a rather important medieval philosopher, an university teacher in *Cologne*, only for a very short time a bishop of Regensburg, and now they have other schools of that kind). The AMG supposes itself to be the follower-institute of the abovementioned „*Poeten-Gymnasium*”, but they don't have good reasons for that. It's a point of a great controversy. Much rather vexed historical literature is got produced about the question, when the *Poeten-Gymnasium* had been founded and when and why the *Albertus-Magnus-Gymnasium* would had been the follower of this *Poets' Gymnasium* [and of the here also existing *Jesuits' Gymnasium* (because these both institutes later were united, when Regensburg got a city of Bavaria)]. The name of this new establishment of the Kingdom of Bavaria then was *Königlich-Bayerisches Paritätisches Gymnasium*” (= *Royal Bavarian Proportional Gymnasium*, because it now got opened for catholic and also for Protestant pupils)]. They observe two different foundation years derived from two possible years led off from the case of the *Poets' Gymnasium* only, because the AMG teachers and the graduated students of this gymnasium like it very much to celebrate themselves when they have chance. They always think they would have the best school leavers here far and wide.

“*The Poets’ Latin School*<sup>2</sup>” and several elementary schools never were the only schools here.

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Their school generally and absolutely an elitist school, extraordinarily well trained for the best jobs in the region, in Bavaria and nearly altogether where they are. All students in Baaria, who acquired a certain knowledge in Greek language and literature signify themselves being on the highest summit of European secondary education level. But seen from another point of view it doesn’t be quite correct to call the AMG Regensburg the follower of the Poets’ Gymnasium. It’s quite incorrect if they always call themselves an Élite. They produce very own, rather peculiar and extraordinary elitist thoughts at any opportunity. Once the City Council controlled the Poets’ Gymnasium. Nowadays not the AMG, but the *Von-Müller-Gymnasium* (= VMG, named after its generous donor) means a school which is subordinated to the municipal administration of Regensburg like the Poets’ Gymnasium was such a one 350 years long till 1803. In Regensburg they have still another Gymnasium, where it’s possible to study Greek language and literature, the *Albrecht-Altdorfer-Gymnasium* (= AAG, named after a famous Bavarian renaissance painter). Sometimes it has more pupils for Greek lessons than the AMG. Students think this school to be here the best one.

<sup>2</sup> It was situated in the „*Gesandtenstraße*” (= *The Envoys’ Street*), named after a lot of Parliament envoys once lived here. Today this building is used by the „*Staatsbibliothek*” (= *The Free State of Bavaria’s Library*). By the way we remember this institution had been called „*Regensburger Ratsbibliothek*” (= *The Regensburg Council’s Library*).

In Regensburg they had a catholic *Jesuits' Gymnasium* here, too, another important secondary school establishment for Reichsstadt inhabitants. The citizens were Protestants<sup>3</sup>. Also a big number of catholics really lived here in *Ratisbonne*.

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It became confiscated by the Kingdom of Bavaria after 1810, when the whole city finally got annexed, after a long free era.

<sup>3</sup> In the meantime the first-named school, the AMG here, owns a new line, where they insist on enough instruction in natural sciences, too, and the Latin- and Greek-Teachers forgot, that they formerly were so biassed in favour of their own two subjects, that they often told one to another (in Latin) „*Mathematicus non est collega*“, a sentence expressing their certainty, only young men, yet all human beings, who learnt Latin and Greek, would have got the only quite satisfying and full humanistic education. In their sight the rank of other teachers, especially such ones instructing sciences don't have the same level. Then we still have to add to these sentences there in the AMG to exist the position of a *Ministerial Commissioner* (= „*Ministerialbeauftragter*“ = MB), with an own staff. All that never existed at the Poets' Gymnasium. Those staff members draw higher salaries than the others. The once so-called *Regensburg School Councillor*, a member of the *Reichsstadt Regensburg City Council*, was quite another employment. It's no wonder, that Latin and Greek teachers want to get an appointment at the AMG. Because they think this school really to be entirely, totally, utterly a heaven on earth for them. They are right in a sense, their tasks there are easier than anywhere else. But now no further explanations thereto.

Thus the french name. Many inhabitants here had been so-called “*assessors*” (=, *Beisitzer*”; this English word doesn’t be convenient, because in the anglosaxon countries it is only significant for a member of an administration board). *Beisitzer* mean inhabitants, which were allowed to live in the city, without being legal civic ones, and many clergymen, too. They all were *Beisitzer*. They belonged to numerous catholic monasteries, convents, seminaries. The Reichsstadt was a quite Protestant city. Though Regensburg was a counterreformation capital. Once, still longer ago, the city generally got called *Metropolis of Bavaria*.

The Consulents’ and Syndics’ College first gained a great significance here after 1648, when the Thirty-Years-War was over. During the ending Middle Ages the councillors didn’t be jurists. Council-Consulents therefore didn’t yet exist and just so the abovementioned for the City of Regensburg’s population very typical jurist families. Juristic knowledges owned the city clerks in the offices, too. Councillors, especially the directors among them, who made the chief scopes, chamberlains and other seniors superintended the higher and the lower officials in the townhall.

Not everywhere in the institutions of the city-state they had been equipped with officials having got a law training. At the whole they worked for the ideas and purposes of the *Interior Council*. It went without saying. The directors in the bureaus and the clerks were endorsed by office assessors, which were members whether of the *Exterior Council* or of the *Commune*. All they had to give juristic advices to the clerks in the offices. These circumstances got changed principally and finally after 1648. It's true, council consulents existed already earlier. But only a very few is known about them. But it's possible relating to the consulents to draw a conclusion from the era after 1648 back in older times. Nothing became changed. Formerly there was a connexion between having been legally trained and then working as an office clerk. You later may still see this former connection on the office copyists between jurisprudence and activity, because the designation of the *First Consulent* (= „*Erster Consulent*”) also was *Director Consulent* (= „*Consulentendirektor*”) or *Municipal Clerk* (= „*Stadtschreiber*”). He who got called a clerk had to be present in all the council sessions.

Colleagues were all the members of the Jurists' College, the consulents and syndics, and the consulent's director always was the best-informed jurist of council matters. He therefore especially took care, that whole the College got well informed over the Reichsstadt judicature and law problems. The First Consulent sooner or later got a member of the Interior Council (by the usual proceedings of some difficult understandable election acts). The influence of the consulents generally was strong. Jurists wanting to crown their municipal careers by joining the city council relatively by getting a councillor within a predictable and conceivable time, applied forthwith for such a position as a City of Regensburg's consulent or syndic. There was rather much pull. zzz The Regensburg jurist families already had been mentioned. A member of such a family for instance was *Christoph Siegmund Häberl* (1624 - 1679). He had finished his studies in *Jena* (as the most university graduates from here, they were Protestants) not only as a member of the faculty of law but of other ones, too, because he worked in *Geneve* (Switzerland) within an important family there as a private tutor (= "*Hofmeister*").

So he learnt how to speak French. Then he travelled to France, a journey finishing his formation, a so-called „*tour d'un chevalier*“ (= “*Kavalierstour*”). Regensburg jurists and patricians were forced to know all that *savoir-vivre* of their era in Europe. Really they knew about all that, especially since the new kind of German parliament (“*Reichstag*” or diet) met in Regensburg and did not ever break up from this city, but then continued all its sessions in this Imperial City. Therefore this permanent meeting now was called a *Permanently Continued Parliament* (= „*Immerwährender Reichstag*“), because at that time these lasting on parliament conventions were a new practice in the Reich. Before short diets always had existed, in Imperial Cities, and they were glad to have got the seat of a novel kind of convention. That really was to say for once and forever<sup>4</sup>. They hoped on very good economical conditions, too, becoming the parliament’s place.

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<sup>4</sup> There had been many reasons for this decision. It’s impossible to mention them here altogether. It is not the matter of this article. Later the Reichstag left Regensburg still only twice during a plague time and then because of a war threat. The envoys left 1806 because then the Reich came to its end.

In 1658 the abovementioned jurist Häberl was appointed as a consulent. Thus he got a good prospect on becoming an Interior Counciller.

Similar *Emmanuel Harrer's* (1649 - 1714) career. Because of his musical talents he grew up in the *Alumneum*, in the Regensburg boarding school he served his municipal government and his local church as a singer in a Protestant chorus. These boys were called "*umbsingende Knaben*". Regensburg was a Protestant city in spite of having a great catholic population part. Here they had not only the important catholic Cathedral St. Peter's Chorus but also in all Protestant churches *umsingende Knaben*" (= "*boys singing about*", because these boy singers formed the back-ground of all the protestant processions, funerals and generally all the other religious rituals). This chorus financially was supported by donations existing for students. Presumably Harrer learnt how to play a musical instrument, maybe even the church organ. Due to his stay in the boarding house we think him to have been able to speak Latin rather fluently, even perfectly<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> A musical forming (for a *Poets' Gymnasium* absolutely necessary) and speaking Latin fluently mean capabilities,

This school's boarders once got called *alumni*.

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which don't exist anymore in the AMG at Regensburg.- At any rate no one following the manner of those days. But still there they say they would be an elitist school. We have to ask: Does exist a generally accepted specific notion of an élite? Comments of Greek teachers from the AMG seem to show, that these people belong to an élite who have learnt at their school to know a little of the Greek language. All leading managers of German industrial plants would have learnt the Greek language, they continue to tell the public since many years. They are allways still romourmongering so far. Knowledge of Greek make human beings capable to fill elitist functions in all the branches of economy and society. Once they learnt the Greek language for reading the *New Testament* in its original text. Many graduates of the Regensburg Poets' Gymnasium students became pastors and preachers in Bavaria they forgot. Just so they omitted the Greek language to have been erstwhile the first language of philosophers. This reading matter is not more well cultivated, on no account. All that what still nowadays is connecting the old Regensburg Poets' Gymnasium with the AMG is not enough. There they pursuit too much useless smugness and selfconceit because of their own imago! In reality they think only to have more important numerals to juggle with these greater figures for getting endowment. More than half the AMG teachers are very rather high rating. That is to say as so-called *Gymnasium Principal Teachers* (= "*Studiendirektoren*"), in salary classifcation A15. It would by better to guide themselves along the old modesty and humbleness of former preceptors and along the pupil rates of their Gymnasium!

These *pupils* were forced to gain this two seconds ago mentioned language competence. Here in this locality many legations perpetually, sometimes princes and even the Kaiser came together. For all these reasons each councillor, each member of the Regensburg Imperial City government had to be competent in perfectly speaking Latin, because in the eighteenth century existed still many foreign countries where this old foreign language yet was the administrative language, so in Hungary and in Norway. Forgotten now in central Europe and at the continent<sup>6</sup>, too!

For the purposes of the Reichstag the consulents and syndics here gladly took on the legations for other German cities having had the status of an Imperial City<sup>7</sup>, because of new circumstances.

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<sup>6</sup> And also that English speakers still speak much Latin! Germans or Central Europeans not seldom trained in reading and translating Latin language often wonder why it's possible that Anglosaxon national speakers are able to use and to understand so strange words though they mostly didn't learn how to understand any original and coherent Latin sentences.

<sup>7</sup> The Imperial Cities were self-governed and –administered not becoming ruled by a highborn prince. Their only sovereigns was the *Kaisers*, who had thought themselves thousand years long as the followers of the Roman Emperors.

Engaging for them these jurists got an additional salary, of course. The third chamber of these Reich government's *colleges*, called bodies of this parliament or diet<sup>8</sup>, namely the *Imperial Cities' College* (= „*Reichsstädtisches Kolleg*“) was put together not by foreign ministers, but only by Regensburg citizens, jurists, officials and other experts (allways all with an additional income from these activities for this third chamber). At any rate vocations of this kind gave rise to new phenomenons within the administration, for instance to a strong self-assurance of the officials from here and on the whole also to that of the municipality's population, to a certain extend.

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It's absolutely correct to say the other European monarchs to have had ever doubted this very worthy sovereign's title, which was the highest one in Europe. These Roman-German Emperors' most important mission was, generally and shortly spoken to protect the whole Christianity.- The *Reichsstadt* citizens were alone subjects to this sovereign, not to a prince.

<sup>8</sup> The diet of the German Reich consisted of three chambers. First of them was the *Elector Princes' College* (= “*Kurfürstenkolleg*”), whose members elected the Emperor; thereto they had some so-called especially participations in the realms government. The second one was the *Princes' College* (= “*Fürstenkolleg*”). The third one was the rather small *Imperial Cities' College* (= “*Reichsstädtisches Kolleg*”).

The Imperial Cities needed numerous representatives. Of course not so many as the princes. But the first ones did not take own envoys here in the *Reichsstadt* for the *Reichstag*, because such ones would have been too expensive for them. Precious advisors in concerns of the Reich were rather expensive. Therefore they appointed Regensburg councillors, consulents or another legally skilled and trained persons and they made them to their authorized agents or attorneys for their representation for and within the diet. These men had to look after many public interests of their municipalities. They did it face to face with high parliament officials and delegates of all the other Reich ranks or standings in Regensburg. Because of their more or less strong soliciting and putting through activities these men once got called in former baroque Latin *solicitants* or *solicitors*<sup>9</sup>.

On a corresponding very similar career as the already fore-going jurists in their posts besides went on *Ludwig Cornelius Ritter* (1725 - 1775).

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<sup>9</sup> *Solicitor* today in Britain is an *attorney* appearing at a low court, and in America an agent or syndic of a city. *Solicitor general* in some American states is the highest judicial officer. Such differences exist in Germany, in Austria, too.

He visited the Poets' Gymnasium here and then he went to the universities of *Jena (Thuringia)* and *Leipzig (Saxonia)*. One may think him to haven't got to know GOETHE, because this most famous, really unique German poet was younger for one or for two generations. In Vienna then the mentioned Ritter won much experience in procedural law at the "*Reichshofrat*" (= "*The Reich's Court Council*"). Often they were common, civic and untitled men in origin from Imperial Cities, who preferred to devote themselves to the Reich institutions, for instance to such ones of the "*Reichsarmee*" (= *Army of the Empire*), possibly to the so-called *district military*, a territorially organized part of the same army. In 1750 Ritter worked at the *Wetzlar Reichskammergericht* (= *The Reich's Chamber of Justice* in the Imperial City of *Wetzlar, Hesse*). There turned up, too, the junior lawyer GOETHE from the Imperial City *Frankfurt*, son of this last-named very important Reichsstadt, several years later. During this stay the young poet heard the story of *Young Werther's Pains* (= "*Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*") and he made the topic to a bestsold novel, in modern speech a that time's bestseller.

On the contrary to now propagated books of such a designation, *Werther* indeed was a literarily great success. Suddenly the French found out the cultural level of their neighbours. Germans don't be able to get this *highly sensitive* (= "*empfindsam*") figure out of their minds, even when they heard of it the last time whether when they still had been at school or from a film already many years ago. The novel was a typical "*Sturm und Drang*" product (= *Storm and Desire*, a literary movement, precondition of the following classical German poetry). It is still highly ranking here all over, this story of a young jurist, who loves a young and very charming woman. She likes him, too, but she never would accept a divorce from her husband, which is a very good man. He understands Werther's situation and he allows these visits and presence. The position, where he picks up Lotte for a dancing in a horse carriage means one of the best passages of this novel. He sees her in a white robe and watches her how she distributes bread among their siblings. The mother is dead. Thus Lotte has to take care of these children, and she is doing all that with unspeakably much natural charme, grace and beauty.

Werther is enchanted. Then they dance. A thunderstorm is coming up, Lotte gets anxious and she embraces him, but all that passes absolutely pure and chaste. Now Werther feels it to be necessary to leave. He goes to a prince's residence town, where he works in a chancellory. Some titled people handle him showing that they see him of a low worth and they refuse his presence in their conversations, though high people esteem him much, his skills and talents, but they cannot change conventions. They are forced to do as the beforementioned want, namely to humiliate him. Now he returns and tries to live in Lotte's nearness again. But it gets impossible, because she has to think of her reputation. Thus Werther shoots himself a bullet *before his head* (= "*vor den Kopf*") after an evil night early in the morning. This tragedy is as well a jurist's as a Reichstadt story, a more unknown aspect of it. The influence of this novel was so great, that it became fashionable for young in vain lovers to shoot themselves, another tragic effect, in reality.

But now as soon as possible back to in Imperial Regensburg allways very important jurists families. Thus the numerous *Bösner* consanguinity.

*Johann Ullrich Bösner* (1680 – 1739) was a townsman from the Imperial City of *Colmar* (in the *Alsace / France* now). Thus it's quite correct to call him to have been a citizen of an Imperial City already before his presence in Regensburg. He had visited the universities in *Straßburg* (an Imperial City, too, now situated in France), *Tübingen* (*Württemberg*), *Gießen* (*Hesse*), and he gained experiences abroad as a solicitor of the *City of Straßburg* on the *Imperial Court Council* (= "*Reichshofrat*") in Vienna, a post, which was continued by the *Straßburg Council* notwithstanding still a member of the Reich, but now of the Kingdom of France since 1681, because on the Rhine river the same council thought to need an agent on the Danube in Regensburg further on, too, because of the numerously continued connections with Germany also in future. In the year 1708 he got a very desired vocation for an consulent post in the Imperial City of Regensburg. Nine years later (in 1717) he is known as a member of the *Interior Council* (= "*Innerer Rat*"<sup>10</sup>).

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<sup>10</sup> FÜRNRÖHR, OTTO, *Still some other Jurist Families in the Imperial City of Regensburg's Civil Service*, in: *Bavarian Family Resarching Papers* 38 (1973), p. 117 – 222, in:

The *Bösner* family brought many means to Regensburg. At the end of the Imperial City period (1803) this family was the most important estate owner within the jurisdiction area of this city. GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER, the late and engaged improver of the Regensburg political and financial conditions got 1761 the post of a *College Secretary* among the consulents and syndics here. In 1763 he became an *Authorized Con-vent Deputy* (= “*Comitialbevollmächtigter*”) of the two Imperial Cities of *Frankfurt* and of *Schweinfurt*. These both cities, situated on the *Main* river, nowadays are belonging to *Hesse* respectively to *Bavaria*. A Regensburg jurist official for the first time got a legal representation of other Imperial Cities in the parliament here additionally to his municipal post for his own community. Such double activities hitherto didn't be conventional. This authority was applicable in matters of the Imperial Court and of the Reichstag, for the basic scope of the parliament duties, just as long a matter had to do with one of them.

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(= „*Weitere Juristen im Dienste der Reichsstadt Regensburg*“, in: *Blätter des Bayerischen Landesvereins für Familienkunde* 38 (1973), S. 117 – 222, hier S. 118.-

Maybe the *Reich Stands* (= “*Reichsstände*”) required a colleague consulent from here till those years never to be able to be a servant of two sovereigns at the same time. And especially not of two or even still more imperial cities. This above-mentioned BÖSNER was the first Regensburg syndic, who was active in parliamentary operations as a convention attorney, too, and not only working for his own council government or for the municipal administration of his home city.

As he reported his son in a short self-depiction of his own life, he applied for a Reichstag attorney, because he wanted to get a more attractive address as a jurist. Of course each member of the *Bösner* family aspired to become a councillor. Presumably this membership was seen by all Bösners as a thing going without saying. He succeeded in joining the *Interior Council* (= “*Innere Rat*”) by the elections of December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1768<sup>11</sup>. He brought it about to a council member.

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<sup>11</sup> *The Historical Association of the Upper Palatinate’s and of Regensburg’s Record-Office* (= „*Archiv des Historischen Vereins von Oberpfalz und Regensburg*“) AAR 3b, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER’S *Biography for his Son*,

That is to say in a short time, within five years. Since he had been a *College Syndic Secretary*. Entitling very often changed in the baroque era.

Thus we have a council decree from 1517 for the *advocates* (= syndics) and for the consulents of the Imperial City of Regensburg, which informs very well about College brain-works<sup>12</sup>. Its duties mainly were supplying legal expert opinions, evidences or certificates for all the councillors<sup>13</sup>.

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there p. 3 – p. 12 (= „*Lebensbeschreibung GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNERS für seinen Sohn*“, S. 2 – S. 12).

<sup>12</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg* (=“*Stadtarchiv Regensburg*“ = StAR) Jur. II, 2 *Council Decrees* (= “*Ratsdekrete 1531 - 1660*”), September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1617.-

<sup>13</sup> Such an opinion was demanded on October 11<sup>th</sup> 1690, namely a *consulents’ deliberation* how a “*doubling of the fee for the residence permit of all Regensburg non-civic inhabitants would be possible to be provided, especially for such ones of a noble birth*”. The council wanted to make use of it in the near future (= “*Consulenten-Überlegung, wie gegen adlige Beisitzer Verdoppelung des Besitzgeldes möglich...*”).- *The Free State of Bavaria General Record-Office Munic* (= “*Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München*” = BayHStAM) RL Regensburg (= “*Reichsstadt Regensburg Literalia*”) 605, p. 71, October 11<sup>th</sup> 1690.- Thus the matter was a heightening of the charge of the permission for non-civics to be allowed to live here, because the tax and duty burdens and all public charges of the catholic population were rather low.

Them they should bear in their minds their attentions about city problems. And to weigh the consequences so short as possible but so careful as necessary {= “*ihre Bedencken in geflissener Kürze, doch nothdürfftiger Ausführung stellen*“ [baroque noun style (= “*kanzleideutsch*”)]}.

Because of being responsible to provide opinions for the council in the year 1764 the consulents got a important charge, namely to make a scheme, how it would be useful to help up the difficult fiscal circumstances of the Reichsstadt<sup>14</sup>.

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Therefore the council often delivered about the *Beisitzer* status in the Imperial City. But they got needed as manpower.

<sup>14</sup> “*Beisitzer*” were legal inhabitants, but without full civic freedom. It doesn’t be possible to use the corresponding “*legal assessor*”, because this English term either is meaning a certain revenue official. Or another authoritative, that is to say for assess taxes, or generally an adviser or counsellor in any or in certain offices. The last meaning is quite the same as the German *Assessor*. – Similar a demand call of the council in 1700, when the College jurist fellows got approached for fathoming the already being in force or for being legally practicable in the near future new practises, which could be able to reduce and to restrict the illegal („*black*“) wine trade of all innkeepers and publicans, the numerous deceptions of customs duties and also the defraudation of the wine bevary assess, an indirect tax, toll or duty. The very correct name of this tribute will be *assis*, like the German *Aszise* or *Ungeld*;

They had to deliver, „*wie dem aerario aufzuhelfen sei*<sup>15</sup>“. Therefore they got written sketches or drafts from the Council, still more from its permanent working committee, the mentioned *Secret Council* (= “*Ausschuss*” = “*Geheimer Ausschuss*”), that is to say in the last case from the so-called *Chamberlains* or *Secret Councillors*.

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*Record-Office Regensburg* (= StAR) Cam.70 BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Financial History of the Imperial City of Regensburg, vol. V, Fifth Financial Period, with Annexes 1700 – 1715*, p. 1 (= „*Ärargeschichte der Reichsstadt Regensburg, Bd. V, Fünfte Ärarialperiode mit Beilagen 1700 – 1715*“, S. 1). The council was especially here thinking of the wholesale dealers and of the retailers’ wine tax offences. These evaders of the public tributes mostly had been people as the mentioned *Beisitzer*, which didn’t be civics, only inhabitants belonging to catholic monasteries and convents.

<sup>15</sup> It’s true, consulents might not have been entitled to such an universal charge. At first a principal political decision would have been necessary for an increase of taxation and likewise in the cases of other modifications and alterations here. Abolishing hitherto highly esteemed, but unprofitable institutions needed a political debate. Continuously paying on or redressing now? How a legal resolution would be found out for a case, that always was called the claiming of the consulents having got the priority. Strongly ascertaining principal rulings didn’t be their assignment. Thus nothing emerged, even if the council awaited results of this kind.

Especially for them the Colleagues had to mature considerations in problematical question points, describing their first ideas, suggestions and stimulations<sup>16</sup>. Such comments all proved often rather differing. Several of these bureaucratic terms will be given here now for instances: *Con-*

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<sup>16</sup> *Chamberlains* (= „*Kammerer*“) were the addresses of six councillors having had the greatest pull within the *Interior Council* consisting of sixteen members on the whole. They formed a closer, intimate advisory, parliamentary and executive standing committee which was varied called *Secret Council* (= “*Geheimer Rat*”), *Secret Committee* (= “*Geheimer Ausschuss*”); full correctly *Interior Secret Council* (= “*Innerer Geheimer Rat*”). Or simply *Committee* (= “*Ausschuss*”). This group of councillors prepared the sessions of the other councils and carried through all the secret affairs, for instance the (rather seldom) executions of outstanding taxes (because of the law all the tax affairs had to be secret). Stiff-necked debtors were cited before the mentioned (*Secret*) *Committee* and if they turned up doggedness the beadles from the municipal court or the servants from the finance department came, all they were strong blokes, who knew well how to set pains on the people who refused to pay. But only in the the nastiest and most unpleasant cases the city government made use of legal force. GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER didn't be able to report only one occurrence, in which the *committee* was compulsory to operate as a law-enforcement agency. It was a board competent for not yet paid (secret) tax debts, additionally to a lot of other businesses.

*ception projects* (= "Konzept-Entwürfe"), *promemorales* (= "Promemorales"), *protocol extracts* (= "Protokoll-Auszüge"), *bills* (= "Dekretenentwürfe"), *post memos* (= "Postmemorales", *secret protocol extracts* (= "Geheime Protokoll-Auszüge"), and they had many other terms and phrases<sup>17</sup>. They all were a much baroque Latin speaking and writing administration board.

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<sup>17</sup> Defraudations of city revenues or tax evasion after 1648 were forth-coming in an extraordinarily large scale. These for the Imperial City of Regensburg very dangerous delicts meant the most widespread objects which always were inquired by the College. The recital of these facts is necessary for understanding the evil political relations of the Reichsstadt to the catholic cloisters, which owned taxfree consumption of wine, selfproduced in their own estates. Their self-production of beverages and also wine trade with their products from in Austria situated wineries were tax-exempt. All these peculiar liberties cohered with an very open-handed extraterritorial status of catholic church property. How strong they were within the city one can realize four monasteries and convents (among them also the cathedral and its clergymen) to be provided here with the attributes of realm stands. The bishop, one abbot, abbesses were imperial princes always having representatives in the second parliament chamber, in the *Princes' chamber* (= "Reichsfürstenkolleg"), whereas the Reichsstadt sat only for itself in the (weak) third chamber contrary to four other stands of the realm, which were Princedoms.

Thus they ingenuously invented bureau terms<sup>18</sup>. We assume them all to have been very necessary.

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<sup>18</sup> GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER gave his opinion on an old document, which still lay before him at his time and he embodied his results: „*That’s only a rhapsody of old suggestions and new wishes. Afterwards, when this paper was ready, nobody demanded its out-comes anymore.*” (= „*Eine Rhapsodie von alten Vorschlägen und neuen Wünschen, wovon nachher die Frage nicht mehr war.*“ - *The Free State of Bavaria General Record-Office Munic* (= „*Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München*“ = BayHStA München) RL Regensburg BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Comments on the First Twelve Volumes of the Secret Protocols from 1650 to 1699 concerning Treasury*, p. 78, (= „*Bemerkungen zu den ersten zwölf Bänden der Geheimen Protokolle von 1650 bis 1699, aerarium betr., S. 78.*“)- He had read these old propositions in a college memoir of 1714: *Motions how to help up on the city treasury* (= „*Vorschläge, wie der Kammer aufzuhelfen*“). About the author: „*Also these righteous men did not know the sources of all that being hear so depraving. Without wiping out them there is no successful treatment and healing possible. If a city constitution and organisation don’t be precisely inspected, scrutinized and by this way got known, then so highly erudite evidences only are docile and mock-academic ignorance*” (= „*Auch diese rechtschaffenen Männer kannten die Quellen des Verderbens nicht, ohne deren Vertilgung keine Heilung erfolgen kann. Wenn Constitution und Organisation nicht genau untersucht sind, sind dergleichen Gutachten nur gelehrte Ignoranz*“). Thus his sentences; *The Free State of Bavaria General Record-Office Munic*,

The College was appointed to overhear and to subscribe the wordings of all texts, which were destined to get any legal validity. They had to talk over these texts being intended for the very different purposes of the Reichsstadt council, always they altogether, because of the character as a body of colleagues. If any harmony didn't exist they had to publish their own opinions separately. And they were forbidden to utter in the pending treatments and proceedings of their city face to face to citizens or to strangers. They were kept to participate in the interior council sessions as far it was possible. The oldest consulent was reputed to be *Chief Consulent* or *Director Consulent* (= "Consulentendirector"). Mostly he was called *City Clerk* (= "Stadtschreiber"). In this rank he managed the council chancellery and therefore in this position he had a very great influence on the legal language of the Reichsstadt.

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(= „Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München“ = BayH StA München) RL Regensburg 613 BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Comments on the First Twelve Volumes of the Secret Protocols 1650 - 1699, concerning Treasury*, p. 34 (= „Bemerkungen zu den ersten zwölf Bänden der Geheimen Protokolle von 1650 bis 1699, aerarium betr.“, S. 34).

This language wasn't influenced by the dialect of the Bavarian environs. In the chancellery they drew up official deeds and documents, and they took fees for all these writings in a really considerable degree. The director consulent handed out the files to the consulents. That meant him to effect the distribution of duties and affairs („*er teilte die Akten aus*“). And he collected all the votes of the College members, when they had a poll (by show of hands or by acclamation).

In the year 1701 the Reichsstadt council did not take a consulent but a syndic for the position of a city clerk, it's unknown why and what this difference meant, *Georg Gehwolf*, next to not longer for the following four years. The instruction he got is known. So it's possible to form a very precise idea from his functions and activities. At first he was demanded by them to manage all the same as the other College members. The new city clerk had to write and to counsel in all points and cases within and beyond the Imperial City. During the *council hours* (= „*während der Ratszeiten*“), thus when the Interior Council met for his sessions, when they deliberated in several days a week, called *council days* (= “*Ratstage*”):

Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday morning, in summer beginning at 6.30 o'clock, in winter at 7.30 o'clock a. m. until they had finished all their works, as one may read in this already abovesited instruction. Then the deputation occupations („*Deputationsarbeiten*“) or the smaller council sessions of the different committees began, for instance the sittings of the Council Law Court (= “*Ratsgericht*”) or of the Municipal Bench (= *Law Court of the City* = “*Stadtgericht*”). Some specific committees existed. Each of them was conducted by a councillor as a director, by assessors from the other two city councils, from the *Exterior Council* and from the *Commune* (= “*Gemein*”), just as sometimes only by an clerk or by a syndic. One of this law bench committees were the sittings in actions for debt („*Schuldgerichts-Sitzungen*“). They, as we want to maintain, competent for less important matters of *bankruptcy*. About 1740 they had a very much important case of this kind. The Reichsstadt's Exchequer had lost a great sum, too. This proceed was appealed by the council in the function as the second instance law court. Gradually it was got to sleep; some Interiors were involved.

They had helped by an tax office credit. Presumably they hadn't been allowed to do that. It got unknown having been fraudulently or not.

Back to the Regensburg deputations. During the council hours the city clerk was ordered to be present in the *Consulent Chamber* (situated by the side of the *Council Chamber*), temporising whether the Interior Council wanted a statement only of him or of the whole College or not<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> The council room and the Colleague room originally were situated side by side in the first floor of the tower called *Townhall Tower*. Once its name had been *Assess Tower*. In German "*Ungeldturm*", after the there deposited *Ungeld*, which originally had been the first municipal income, an indirect tax, for instance the *beverage assess* or *toll*. Behind this tower one of several town hall courts is situated, for instance the *Assess Court* (= "*Ungeldhof*"); designations for parts of this building nowadays forgotten in Regensburg). The both mentioned rooms in the first floor of the town hall tower once were made use of the sessions by the *Elector Princes' College* (= "*Kurfürstenkolleg*") and by the *Princes' College* (= "*Fürstenkolleg*") respectively by their envoys and secretaries. Here one may see, that important people of former times, parliamentarians too, were rather contend with in no way too big and too luxurios accommodations. At the end of the eighteenth century they needed an new annex, because of the requirements of the parliament, at first up to the now not existent, already burnt down *Market Tower* (= "*Marktturm*").

And it is to get completed, the other members of the college, too, in this *Consulent's Chamber*. Here they had to be ready for giving their opinions in the ordered way. In praxis certainly that doubtless meant for each College member to do not be a regular participant of all these sessions, but to attend another work, if it was possible. On Wednesday and on Saturday the repeatedly cited *Secret Council* (= “*Geheimer Rat*”) assembled regularly at the upon-defined council hours. Then the consulents and syndics had to be prepared for the (six) *Secret Councillors*. These six councillors, we repeat it, which sat up this secret council or more simply the *Committee* (= “*Ausschuss*”), and they were called *chamberlains* or *treasurers*, too (= “*Kammerer*”). More casually here it became spoken about this small, but highly influential body with really the greatest pull in the Reichsstadt. But the virtual topic now is further on the position of the city clerk. Now instantly back to this post. He got also assigned, in the registry office to record busily all the files (“*die Akten der Ämter fleißig...registrieren*”).

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Later they had still another extension once again, the baroque building in the east of this construction, on the *Fish Market*.

Evidently this clerk had to do with all the contract parties of the city, for instance with such ones of the local rate or tax office. It's reported him to have been not allowed to express himself on tax allowances of the already mentioned municipal rate office or of other tributes' offices. Probably that's meaning, that tax officials often came to the city clerk (or to another Colleagues) to ask these legally trained persons, whether it would be possible for him to give a certain tax relief of a debtor whether not. Giving such advantageous advices was prohibited him, for simple and obvious reasons within everybody's grasp. Rate officials had to decide by themselves, relying only on regulations of the office. On occasion of the mentioned city clerk's instruction all the other syndics got admonished likewise to communicate with a new city clerk in all occurrences and to substitute him, because it often happened, that fellow consulents or syndics of the College were forced to step in one for another. The salary of the city clerk was sat on 300 fl a year<sup>20</sup>, then to that two *Schaff* (= vats) of rye.

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<sup>20</sup> A silver currency: 1 *Thaler* (Dutch language *daler*, from there *dollar*) = 1 *Florin* 30 *Kreutzer* = 360 *Pfennige*. Orig-

And finally half a vat weat *in natura*. These *re-munerations in kind* also were called in antique, latin or in french terms *natural competences* (= "Natural-Kompetenzen") or moreover "*natural reverences*" and "*venerations*" (= "*Natural-Bezüge*", "*-Liebigungen*", "*-Verehrungen*"). All the officials here liked it very much to get these natural emoluments (= "*emolumenta*")<sup>21</sup>. Additional natural salary ("*salaria in natura*") was extremely searched after, when the prices of all fruit stiffed, often in the eighteenth century.-

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nally the Florin had been a gold coin. Then they made silver florins, big ones as worth as the smaller gold florin

<sup>21</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg* (= Stadtarchiv Regensburg) StAR I Af 30 *The Municipal Clerk's Instruction 1701*, p. 54 – p. 67 (= „*Instruktion für den Stadtschreiber 1701*“), S. 54 – S. 67.- High councillors had a propensit, to plead happily-go-luckily and irresponsibly, devil-may-care for tax abatments. They wanted themselves to play the part of very wellmeaning figures. Then they, the academically trained officials were seen for a magnanimous people, whilst the offices purview employees seemed to be hard-hearted sticklers for nothing-worth principles. Nevertheless this example shows the syndics to be reputed in the townhall at any case by lower officials, for instance by revenue officials, as very versed and as rather great law experts, and so they searched usually rear cover near them in all questions of law. Thus did many clerks. A problem, that the governments preferred to seem very kind.

Very remarkable is the order *Gehwolf* got in 1663, namely to keep a book about defects in the Reichstadt administration<sup>22</sup>. What a good suggestion! Suchlike really exists very too seldom! Of course an administration expert will think an author of such a book to make himself many enemies keeping such an important and as we think rather by sedulous and staunch registrations fast growing tome! By such a manner he would produce himself really a great number of antagonists in all city offices. The (six) leading councillors were members of the Interior Council. All the office directors were Interior Council members. Quite similar to the other councillors from the *Exterior Council*, the second municipal council.

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<sup>22</sup> *The Free State of Bavaria General Record-Office Munich* (= „*Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München*” = BayH StA) RL Regensburg (= “*Reichsstadt Regensburg Litalia*”) 613, BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Comments on the First Twelve Volumes of the Secret Protocols from 1650 to 1699 concerning Treasury*, p. 7, (= „*Bemerkungen zu den ersten zwölf Bänden der Geheimen Protokolle von 1650 bis 1699, aerarium betr.*“, S. 7).- BÖSNER’S here cited comments are rather unknown in Regensburg, though all his scripts are conceived and carried in a large scale, not being hoity-toity, though he was a mighty, powerful General Commissioner.

And these ones from the *Commune*. (= “*Ge-mein*<sup>23</sup>”), the third municipal council (= “*Ge-mein*”), as we often repeat, were deputation members, too, important for a successful office administration. Therefore the Interiors got forced to make many contacts with them. The last-named bodies, Exterior Council and Commune were by far not so eminent as the Interior Council.

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<sup>23</sup> They were not called (Latin) *consules*, because they did not represent the highest power. In late mediaval times they often got named *consularii*, an expression for councillors’ *relatives*. In some cities existed a so-called closed patrician standing, impossible there for unpatrician kin to become a councillor. There existed only a hereditary possibility to join the council, namely owned by certain families. No members of other families were allowed to get a councillor. They did not own a council qualification owning lineage (= “*Ratsfähigkeit*”). If these families became extinct, the danger sprang up, that civics fought for *council capability* - bloody uproars and revolts. In the free Imperial Cities such insurrections necessitated the Kaiser’s intervention in his function as the Reich’s head. In Regens-burg never had been quarrels of that kind. Here a so-called *open patrician stand* was effective. Non-patricians succeeded in joining the Interior Council, merchants, advanced officials, promoted clerks, mostly assessors of the Exterior Council, very seldom craftsmen (when they were very rich, thus not quite seldom goldsmiths). Day-labourers having got Interior Councillors are unknown.

As already told the Interiors having the greatest pull were the Councillors of their *working or standing committee* or *Secret Council* (= “*Ausschuss*” or “*Geheimer Ausschuss*” or “*Geheimer Rat*”). All the *Councillors* were usually addressed rather complicated, as *gentlemen* (= „*Herrren*“), with some honour-full epithets as “*honourable*”. Often one may read “*highwise*” for Interior Councillors and university graduates. By the way, a councillor and owner of a Doctor title in the social graces were reputed to be on the same rank as the members of the gentry. Both mentioned standings intermarried mutually, especially young gentry men non seldom preferred marriage unions with rich daughters of patrician rank. A lot of the members of the Exterior Council or of the Commune didn't be reputed for *patricians*, in spite of having many men among them who descended from patrician families. Last ones easier worked up. The other Exteriors and those ones from the *Commune*, too, long remained *office assessors*, for instance in the tax office (good English *revenue assessors*?). Six assessors worked here together, three by three from the *Exterior Council* and from the *Commune*.

They came into these positions from the “*Äußerer Rat*” and the other three ones from the not much lower *Commune*. This third council (= “*Gemein*”), as already told, was a really democratically or cooperatively elected group. The chiefs of the offices, for instance this one of the tax office, was a patrician. All the assessors were members of the named two lower bodies and they got elected into their office positions by those office elections at the end of a year, for the next year, that is to say more precisely that they didn’t have got chosen only by Interior Councillors, but by eleven “*election officials*”, who were composed once more by three Interior Councillors (= “*Innere Räte*”), by four councillors from the Exterior Council (= “*Äußere Räte*”) and still by four members of the *Commune* (= “*Herren der Gemein*”). These eleven councillors altogether formed the *Election Deputation* or *Office*. As the patrician directors from the Interior Council each office assessor got addressed *Herr* like all the Interior Councillors. Generally the assessor positions within the Reichsstadt administration also were called *Deputies for the Offices* (= “*Amtsverordnete*”) or *Deputation Members*, too.

The assessors worked in their town-hall offices under direction of Interior Councillors, there called *Directors*. An older councillor not being an office director got titled *Superior Councillor* (= "*Oberrat*"). The order of precedence and competences were absolutely clear. The assessors had to be able to substitute the directors and to do the work of other assessors who didn't come into their bureaus, whether one of them had to do a service errand, a field service in the territory of the Reichsstadt within or outside the walls (in the "*Burgfrieden*"), or if one of the others got unfit for his service or ill and thus stayed at home.

By the way, it's surprising, how seldom GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER mentions the Colleagues in his own-produced copies of the „*Secret Minutes*“ (= „*Geheimes Protokoll*“). At that time still existed twelve volumes of these protocols reaching until 1699 at least. Then he added to these tomes his likewise home-made long and informative commentaries. But it's attracting one's attention, how seldom the consulents and syndics became mentioned by BÖSNER in his volumes. They seem to have had often difficulties in establishing personal contacts to the Interiors.

Some more service calls or official discourses calls would have been very desirable. On the one hand, the time of all these high officials was confined. On the other hand at any rate we don't see the jurist Colleagues being able to exert a direct influence on the results of the council elections by convincing the eleven electors for persons they wanted. Such an upon-mentioned influence existed surely. The degree is unknown. Especially the secret councillors or chamberlains had oral face-to-face hearings before, in which they prepared the elections anyway. Thus they got at any rate political influence at home for the future.

Now a view on that, how much the college here had been on stake for the *Cashier Office*<sup>24</sup> (rate office). The tax director was the most important of the directors owning in his position the most finance influence. Of course he always was a member of the Committe. In regular intervals (mostly after fifteen months) he got chairman of both the exterior and of the secret council. The Secret Councillors were titled chamberlains, too.

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<sup>24</sup> The Tax Office was called *Cashier Office*, too, because it existed not only for incomes, but also for expenses. Thus it mostly owned here the highest priority, the highest rank.

As already told. In 1663 *Johann Albrecht Portner* left the Colleagues, because he got a councillor. Now *Johann Caspar Lenz* acted as a consultant director or city clerk, who got 600 fl a year and additionally 100 fl for *cameral businesses* (= "*Kameralsachen*"), nearly so much money like the chamberlains. As just said, the chairmen of the councils changed regularly among the chamberlains. Therefore they got an additional pay only for being secret councillors [members of the *committee* (= "*Ausschuss*")] but not as chairmen, though one may see these chairmen to have been the mayors of the Reichsstadt Regensburg. Their chamberlain salaries barely were higher than that one of the city clerk. Two other consultants, *Haberl* und *Weyer*, got 350 fl respectively 400 fl; 300 fl were due to City Clerk *Georg Gehwolf*. *City Syndic Wirth* took 200 fl, but in 1664 likewise 300 fl. In the same manner the salary of the *Second Syndic* JOHANN LUDWIG PRASCH (a famous baroque novelist), increased. The other members of the College, *City Registrar* (= "*Stadtregistrator*") received 300 fl and also the *City Secretary* (= "*Stadtsekretär*"); 1763 *Georg Friedrich Gumpelzhaimer* owned this position.

Then we have to quote an *advocatus pauperum*, the poor citizen's advocate. He was the attorney of civics being not able to pay a private one before a law court here. We all know advocates' advices to be expensive. *Johann Georg Muck* was the name of such an advocate in the upon-mentioned year. He got only 100 fl<sup>25</sup>, and we think he was allowed an earning of additional money by being a private representative. In the seventies of the seventeenth century these salaries altogether had expanded about a quarter. They mainly had been resulting from the number of employed jurists, only three ones or five, and nobody knows from what this number was dependent upon, from a need, from offers or from the financial situation of the city. In 1751 all costs for them reached a sum of 4 100 fl. Because of a destitution the College fellows hadn't got their salaries regularly. Thus the tax office paid extra sums. Then grave hardships in the eighteenth century eighties forced to save any money.

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<sup>25</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg* (= "Stadtarchiv Regensburg") StAR Cam. 124 *General Financial Ledger of the Imperial City of Regensburg* (= "Hauptsteuerrechnung" = HSt Rg) 1663, f 98 – f 103.-

Also from the Colleagues' salaries, so that in 1758 they altogether got only 2 700 fl in 1758. The College had thinned out a little. In this year the city paid three consulents, three syndics and also a secret registrar. But in 1764 already five consulents got paid again (*Eduard Glätzl, Emanuel Wild, Hieronymus Memminger, Johann Friedrich Häberl, Georg Gottlieb Gumpelzhaimer*). All these family names are names of typical Regensburg jurist families). And further there were three syndics (*Georg Gottlieb Plato*, who is called a city clerk, too, *Michael Friedrich Wild* and still another one; he wasn't not called a syndic, but exactly in the same manner a *Secret Registrar*). Obviously he was peculiarly responsible for the registry offices and answerable for the secret registry. You will meet among the consulents and syndics colleagues very seldom new family names. It always was nearly quite a matter of the known jurist patricians and council families. Councillors descending from merchant families in Regensburg existed absolutely rarely in this city, at any rate after the end of medieval times. Though not all consulents and syndics always had been from patrician descendance.

The upon-mentioned occurrence, namely non-patrician councillors, had intensively taken down since the late middle ages, because then they did not have enough patricians, who had been forced in their professions (merchants) to read and to understand account- or financial year books from their youth. Candidacies of foreigners for City Colleagues whether were very scarce, at any case very scarcely successful. In this lastnamed year 1764, all the College personnel at the whole drew 3 650 fl though hard seeming times. This greater sum had mainly to do with the salaries of at that time existent *two first consulents*, and each of them got 600 fl a year<sup>26</sup>. Now it doesn't be still necessary to give more explains for all the different salaries of Reichsstadt Regensburg juristic College fellows, for all them jointly. The Colleagues overall might have been 1648-1803 more than forty men, maybe even some more.

Another great part of consulent and syndic works was to process all the chancellery's files, if they were necessary to get inspected and scrutinyzed.

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<sup>26</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg* (= "Stadtarchiv Regensburg") StAR Cam. 201 *General Financial Ledger of the City of Regensburg* (= "Hauptsteuerrechnung" = HStRg) 1764, f 106.-

The consulent director was ordered, to inform all the other five chamberlains (= the *Secret Councillors*), especially the always a quarter of a year, a three months long period conducting in Regensburg *Governing or Ruling Chamberlains*<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> After each quarter of a year, the *Governing Chamberlain* anyway got newly determined or elected. He always had to be a member of the *Secret Committee* consisting of six chamberlains. How these *Secret Councillors* ensued is unknown. Three months where over, then they regularly had a new chairman. He was taken from the six chamberlains, but the electors are unknown. Probably the other five ones did this operation. The *Governing Chamberlain* both was the chairman of the *Interior Council* (= “*Innerer Rat*”) and of the *Secret Council* (= “*Geheimer Rat*” = “*Geheimer Ausschuss*” = “*Ausschuss*”), too. This chamberlain led the businesses of both even-mentioned councils and of all the offices. He presided all the sessions of the named council and of the Committee. Further his task was to be always ready for to take care of urgent and brooking no delay cases and incidents, especially for security police concerns. Therefore he had to be prepared to come into his bureau in the town hall, into the treasury, which never had been really a finance department (the tax office only was competent for central financial and for civic tax affairs), though it had been the most important office, where all the branches of the administration got combined. On the other hand this chamberlain’s treasury, the office of the ruling chamberlain, was the highest guard-room, too. So to speak, the room was the Reichsstadt’s nerve centre.

At any rate they didn't be *Imperial Mayors* put in by the Kaiser. They were councillors and council chairmen and should hold the secret councillors and the other ones continually and absolutely precisely informed about the City matters occupying all the Colleagues at the moment.

Especially the secret councillors or chamberlains wanted to be steadily got fully informed<sup>28</sup> about the registry businesses, for which they were presumably responsible, and appropriate for the files they had traced out, planned, put in circulation and treated until these got finished. Whether they were only duly qualified for all real files of the council in a narrower sense whether for the files of all the offices is unknown. But it's probable.

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The position of the governing chamberlain then was a task, which today would be named in Germany a "*Kammerer vom Dienst*" (an official perpetually present to take care of a city head tasks). Therefore he was entitled to expend some money and he conducted an own office cash-box and even a secret strong-box for paying not-to-be-delayed costs and expenses.

<sup>28</sup> Each chamberlain was ordered to keep himself always well informed of the consuls' and syndic's activities; *Record-Office Regensburg* (= "*Stadtarchiv Regensburg*" = St-AR) Jur. II,2 *Council Decrees 1531 – 1660*, p. 45, decree 1617 ("*Ratsdekrete 1531 – 1660*", S. 45, Dekret von 1617).

At least these syndics were dued to such a full degree, who often are called *registrars* or *secret registrars*. In particular all jurists and the College fellows had to report and to recite the problems of the city, quite especially the legal difficulties<sup>29</sup>, obstacles and dilemmas, *which had to be carried out before the Imperial Court of Justice or before the Reich's Imperial Chamber Court, at elector princes*<sup>30</sup> and at other Reich's stands

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<sup>29</sup> The context seems to show that they think here especially of the of *Reich Estate Standings*, not of other standings, especially not of *Bavarian standings* [= "*Kurbayerische Stände*" ("*Kurbayerisch*" = *Electorially Bavarian* means a term Bavaria to characterize an elector prince's territory or state or an elector principedom)]. But who else would have been competent for these other standings? Presumably only the Colleagues.- Elector Princes in the Reich have been the Princes of Brandenburg, Hanover, Saxonia, Bavaria and the King of Bohemia, thereto the Arch Bishops of Mainz, Cologne and Aachen. The three last ones owned important functions, when a new Kaiser got elected and after it crowned.

<sup>30</sup> The *Electors princes* were the eight even mentioned princes who elected the *Roman Emperor of the German Nation* (= Kaiser). Germany never was a hereditary monarchy. The Kaiser's representative in Regensburg was called "*Imperial Principal Commissioner*". This function got administered by the still here being *Princes von Thurn und Taxis*. Princess *Gloria von Thurn und Taxis* and her son are well known.

(= „*Gr. Stadt Sachen am Kayserl. Hoff oder Cammer-Gericht, bey Churfürsten und Ständen insgemein oder... sonderbar zu verrichten seyn möchte*“). All the consulents and syndics were allowed to treat with their urgent files at their accommodations or homes where they lived<sup>31</sup>.

If they attended the council sessions (it's that they ever had to be there complete, what indeed never would have been necessary). On reasons of speeder conferences they often got invited to give their position by word of mouth, keeping with the progress of the debate. In such instances, which didn't be rare, they had subsequently to supply their opinions for the files as elaborated memorials. Such compositions became called „*postmemoriales*“. They entered the chancellery registry as enclosures or schedules of the council protocols respectively in specific minutebooks<sup>32</sup>.

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A substitute, the *Concommissioner*, by rights was the prosecutor of the Kaisers' political interests relating to the diet.

<sup>31</sup> *Regensburg Record-Office* (= *Stadtarchiv Regensburg* = StAR) Jur. II, 2 *Council decrees* (= „*Ratsdekrete*“) 1531 – 1600, September, 15<sup>th</sup>, 1617, p. 43 – p. 46, here p. 45.-

<sup>32</sup> If an intested reader will have a look into the protocols of the council he will see, that utterances of the named kind are rather scarce in these tomes. They became filed separately.

Principally all the College members were always advised to reflect on how he could to be able to report instantaneously the Governing Chamberlain<sup>33</sup> all the auspicious or ominous incidents.

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The protocols specify only the subjects conferred in the sessions respectively the titles being on the agenda, the really passed decrees and the statements of such councillors who insisted on getting placed into record. Moreover one may read here the mathematical results of the poll. The secret protocols were more exhaustive, because the Gouverning Chamberlain recited from them his ideas and bills. So they contained already the notes for decrees, as one may see in the preserved copies. Obviously the consulents themselves took care of the correct storage of the subsequently filed opinions in the registry, because they were at any rate always lump-some responsible for all legal instruments and official documents.

<sup>33</sup> How his person precisely was designated is unknown as already upon-mentioned. Did only the six chamberlains or the whole Interior Council body elect him? Or did exist a periodical turn? A not quite unimportant question. It's not yet proved till now, because it never has been conspicuous. Never this problem attracted the historians here, as it's known to the writer of this here before all the much interested readers lying Colleagues exploration. Likely the six chamberlains might have observed a certain turn or a mutual agreement suitable to all their wishes and needs of that moment. The strenuous and ingenious chamberlain GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER owned a by far more successful status. About 1770 he broke through the conventional succession, because he got authorized by the Exterior Council and by the Commune, too.

Thereto the existent circumstances and recognizable developments. He should get always informations<sup>34</sup> concerning the Reichsstadt's problems.

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<sup>34</sup> The mentioned two lower council bodies made him *General Commissioner* or *Chairman of a General Commission*. Further he got all the perpetual legal power of a *Governing Chamberlain*. Because of such powerfully connected several competences he was able to continue uninterruptedly his already from the beginnings brilliantly thought out reform works. These efforts to a modernize of the city, a quite row of reform works reached their goal arranging the municipal Exchequer to be able paying more than ever it had been. The reforming works were lasting continuously about three decades, for numberless continued reforming works. It never was possible to remove BÖSNER from his specially by him and only for him built up sphere of power and influence. He got not been taken off already after three months as all chamberlains so far. Soon he hold the post of a Governing Chamberlain regularly and persistently, that is to say in the usual practice, too, but he got never removed. Gradually his combined competences were capable to give him a position which was rather similar to a dictatorship. Then his adversaries and antagonists of course not infrequently maintained, BÖSNER would have appropriated his status and influence illegally, because he simply had pressed and importuned all the other councilors and the high officials, too, so that they preferred to allow him all that he wanted for his so old Reichsstadt. Thus he did, what they conceded him. He really possessed many written proofs of having the only correct opinion. For instance he owned a extensive private collections of the council statutes.

Namely such ones being in a relation to the territory surrounding its own one, which would be able to disturb the relations to the Elector Prince-  
dom of Bavaria and to the other standings within the own freedom and of course about all the other things to be of a benefit, of an injuriousness or of a danger for the *Free*<sup>35</sup> *Imperial City*<sup>36</sup> now or in the near relatively in the far future.

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And thereto other self-made copies of municipal papers. He always was equipped with very good arguments, impossible to have got contested, denied or doubted. He had all that he needed for his objects in files and books having been excerpted by himself alone out of the secret protocols and from the other council minutes and deeds. Thus he knew the offices' instructions in an incredibly thoroughly studied degree.

<sup>35</sup> As Free Cities got reputed such municipalities having been able to free itself from its bishop's dominion. Thus the bishop of Regensburg was only a Reich's stand within the city but no lord of the city, similar to Straßburg or Cologne.

<sup>36</sup> The positions and functions of the members of the Regensburg college of consuls and syndics didn't differ from the *Reichsstadt Ulm council consuls* (= „*Ulmer Ratskonsulenten*“): There they also were ordered altogether to specific duties of the public service duties „*which belong in all the jurisprudence branches in every respect to politics and also to the economy of the state*“ (= „*welche in alle und jede Zweige der Rechtswissenschaft im ausgedehntesten Verstande, in Politik und auch in Staatswirtschaft einschlagen*“;

After 1648 the bearing of the consulents and syndics increased, for what reason their selfconsciousness augmented. In part it developed self-conceited. GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER, author of a *Regensburg Fiscal History* („*Ärargeschichte der Reichsstadt Regensburg*“), told referring to the year 1652: *These Chamberlains had some egoistic flatulances. Actually it is seeming, that in those days the rage for higher ranks became a habit* (= „*Die Herren Consulenten hatten einige egoistische Blähungen. Überhaupt scheint um die damalige Zeit Rangsucht einge-rissen zu sein*“). This occurrence lagged behind, that consulent director *Johann Caspar Lenz* had required to get a certain precedence before all the other councillors, that is to say before the other newly elected ones (hence before the new members of this Interior Council). He wished *prece-ding* them; unknown this wish's exact meaning.

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ZITTEL, BERNHARD, Die staatsrechtlichen Verhältnisse der Reichsstadt Ulm beim Übergang an Bayern im Jahre 1802 / 1803, Ulm und Oberschwaben, Schwäbische Blätter für Heimatpflege und Unterhaltung 34 (1955), p. 120 – p. 144, here p. 125.- This cited author had been following the Ulm author MILLER.- A treatise about the consulents of the Imperial City of Nürnberg will follow after a longer while.

Indeed at 1658 November 29<sup>th</sup> a decree was presented contending they had reflected long, how they would be able to revere the Colleague *Lenz* for his peculiar merits. And really he became allowed to precede forthwith in the future the new council members and to be liked better at all assemblies (= „den zukünftigen Ratsmit-gliedern vorangehen und bei allen Zusammen-künften vorgezogen werden“). Did all that be only a typical formality of baroque time conventions? Probably when they had general inquiries within the council, *Lenz* now became been allowed to give his opinion as the first at least before the newer or younger councillors, a concern hanging together with other and unknown circumstances. We cannot make head or tail from a consulent to have got more esteemed than the councillors. The last ones always had had a higher status.

Many councillors had studied law, it's true, but at the same time they partially had not endeavoured very much for good results, and therefore they didn't own many merits. Consequently some of them were not provided with all the necessary qualifications. It always seemed rather sure for them to get here an employment contract.

Namely from the Imperial City of Regensburg's Council, owing to a always widespread, an entirely usual public service nepotism<sup>37</sup> everywhere.

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<sup>37</sup> It's not correct to overemphasize the phenomenon of local patrician family nepotism. Weak jurists seldom reached more than the *Exterior Council*, not the College or the Interior Council. The Exterior Council (= „*Äußerer Rat*“) was a body completing the *Interior Council* in certain cases, mainly in financial matters and in all concerns of public property. But it's more serious to don't play up this a aspect. One may meet jurists on clerk posts, for instance if they didn't had finished their studies. Always you will see patrician children on posts of the minor civil service. These posts often were occupied by men of patrician descendance, too, but not at any rate only by these ones.- Many jurist councillors did not have adequate experiences. They did not get about. They never saw really great deals. The author is thinking that in the Reichsstadt Regensburg's administration altogether existed mostly sixty jurists. An expectancy for patrician positions, which often was linked with the ability to get Interior Councillor („*Ratsfähigkeit*“ = “*council capability*”) didn't guarantee an important Colleague- or councillor-career. The most councillors were forced to work their way up on the conventional way. In that course it meant to be a good advantage, if a jurist married a patrician girl or widow. Excellent jurists became consulents or syndics and then joined the council more effortless than other ones. Consulents existed, who did not want to get councillors. The reason was the salary. They came on account of more payment. They were demanded so intensely, that they were not obliged to acquire the civic rights.

It was also practised by the jurist families in their own towns elsewhere<sup>38</sup>. Still much could be enlarged on it, but it may be incorrect to interpret the jurist Colleagues mainly from this viewpoint.

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In some contracts they successfully requested for exemption of taxation. It all lagged behind a small circle of men. Many readers of this treatise may think no essentially other conditions to be today nearly everywhere.

<sup>38</sup> Not only those men got a chance to join the College and to become a councillor, who owned good practical juristic knowledge combined with experiences in internal and external affairs. Clearly projecting municipal jurists seldom offered their work. BÖSNER strove after the best ones. Students from here, who were supposed to be auspicious, got a scholarship. The council gave out charitable endowments for them wanting them to go to an university, to return and to join the civil service, especially jurists and divines. The city was an important Bavarian place of Protestant pastors' and preachers' origin because of having had the Poets' Gymnasium.- BRUNNER, OTTO, *Problems of Sovereignty and Social Structure of German Imperial Cities in the Early Modern Time* (= "Souveränitätsprobleme und Sozialstruktur in den deutschen Reichsstädten in der frühen Neuzeit"), in: *New Ways of Constitutional and Economical History* (= "Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte"), Göttingen 1968.- Again: *Old Standing of the Middle Classes* (= "Altständisches Bürgertum"), vol. II *Business Life and Social Ranks* (= "Erwerbsleben und Sozialgefüge"), ed. by HEINZ STOOB, Darmstadt 1978, p. 361 – p. 400, here p. 298.-

At the end of the eighteenth century it was not possible to may be observed in such a so drastic degree as in earlier times, an effect of several social progresses, especially of the philosophic influence of the *enlightenment*. Now principally a lot of more sensible and reasonable engagement was expected and demanded. So the young candidate of law *Heinrich Johann Thomas Bösner*<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> The *Bösner* family had gained Regensburg by nepotistic relations into the Reich and to the Imperial Court in Vienna, too. On December 29<sup>th</sup> 1707 in the Secret Council they talked about a letter from the *Reichshofrat* (here a title of a member of the *Imperial Court Council*) *Binder*, in which this man, who had a lot of pull, requested an consulent appointment at the City of Regensburg for his cousin *Johann Ullrich Bösner*. Not to mention that all Bösners at any rate always were good and vigorous jurists. The council surely had already soon as possible to grant a wish of such an important man yet soon, because the city then was able to dispose of a thankful high-ranking interlocutor in Vienna. But it's true, it seems to be also possible, that the Reichsstadt council had wanted to get nominated a jurist well-known at the Imperial Court in Vienna for his well-polished competencies and efficiencies for having him here on this spot for the public service of the famous Imperial City; *Record-Office Regensburg* (= "*Stadtarchiv Regensburg*" = StAR) Cam. 70 BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Financial History of the Imperial City of Regensburg, Vol. V, Fifth Financial Period 1700 – 1715*), p. 50

It is true, got allowed 1789 to enter orderly and regularly the Regensburg City's secret registry. The council took in experience this young man's in *Leipzig* and in *Marburg* got knowledge and also his training at the famous *Reich's Chamber Court of Justice in Wetzlar* (= "*Reichskammergericht*"). Further he already had proved his worth in a certain connection with the *Regensburg Prebrunn*, a locality in the Reichsstadt where the *Elector Prince of Bavaria*<sup>40</sup> still owned several prerogatives. There difficulties had raised and BÖSNER had success-fully taken care of them, as a semi-official aspirant for the position of an consulent in the near future. Then he got a syndic. Before he got fully appointed, he had to leave for the *Reichshofrat* in *Vienna*. For this sojourn he was granted the cost of maintenance, a not yet common practice at that time. The councillors expected much from this young jurist. Later on they saw them to haven't got disappointed.

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(= „*Ärargeschichte der Reichsstadt Regensburg, Bd. V, Fünfte Ärarialperiode mit Beilagen 1700 – 1715*“, S. 50).

<sup>40</sup> One and a half century earlier the *Duke of Bavaria* had got this title. Since he was authorized to participate in the Kaiser's elections (always in the Imperial City of *Frankfurt*).

It's true, nepotism may be involved in this way of getting an employment here in Regensburg, too. The council financially promoted young students of great promise, who seemed to be rather appropriate for the city in the near future, maybe besides for that reason, that they did not become enticed away by other cities or by princedoms, which were interested in also enrolling productive academic capacity for work, and often they were able to offer more money and better career opportunities. Of course it's curious, that mostly the young jurists which got the preference here who were descending from Regensburg patrician families. When last-named BÖSNER would return from Vienna he was told then to get assigned his functions and paid out his first salary<sup>41</sup>. Thus he got a new Regensburg's juristic Colleague.

In the last decades of the Reichsstadt it had got harder to grow a College fellow. They appointed persons to a high post only preliminarily. In a council decree from the year 1800 you watch a direction for the *consulent and syndic Dietrich*.

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<sup>41</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg* (= "Stadtarchiv Regensburg" = StAR), *Council protocols 1798* (= "Ratsprotokolle" 1798 ), f 198'.

He had been a city clerk hitherto only temporarily and now he became allowed to become invested permanently<sup>42</sup> with this good post<sup>43</sup>. Similar syndic GEMEINER in those days. He likewise got a city clerk with emoluments of 600 fl a year.

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<sup>42</sup> Unknown, why one may read both designations here. Unknown, why he was both a *Consulent* and a *Syndic* and only “*for appointment*”. For the present only an aspirant?

<sup>43</sup> Following a council decree they especially concerned him, the city cleric. After the council had ordered in his session on June 22<sup>th</sup> 1800, because until that time the chancellery and the offices had often made mistakes in their notes and writings, especially in titulatures, even in a deed addressed to the third chamber of the Reichstag parliament, to the Imperial Cities’ Colleague, and also even in letters to the Kaiser, the city clerk got an absolutely new instruction. After the examples of other cities from now on the city cleric was advised to check at first all dispatches of his chancellery and then only to sign them; *Record-Office Regensburg* (= “*Stadtarchiv Regensburg*” = StAR) council protocols June 22<sup>th</sup> 1800 (= StAR “*Ratsprotokolle*” 22. Juni 1800).- Here one may see the Imperial City of Regensburg to be always fully informed, which functions became carried out by other clerks in other cities in such positions there corresponding to the executions of these officials here in this municipality. There existed a brisk exchange of letters between the Imperial Cities, from Regensburg especially to *Nürnberg*, *Augsburg* and *Ulm*. Attending this correspondence might have been belonged to the many other assignments of the Reichsstadt’s consulents.

Evidently the contracts of service and the nomenclature of ranks and posts had become changed<sup>44</sup>. Dietrich was ordered to continue the council protocols in future, too. A special bonus for that is not mentioned. Later on he is said to have got such an extra pay again<sup>45</sup>.- Still more time had passed and then they wanted to withdraw Dietrich's city cleric position. It may only mean him to have left because of (unpaid) retirement. When one finished working, he not was pensioned off. Since that moment he didn't get any money. Whether they would want to abolish Dietrich's position totally or not is quite unknown.

One may be rather valid giving his opinion that the whole number of all consulents and syndics here was high, what strictly speaking at any rate it's only meaning that some council jurists often feared to overrate themselves. Indeed they had to apprehend to be made liable for greater fakes.

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<sup>44</sup> Originally they had employed GEMEINER for a prayer.

<sup>45</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg* (= "Stadtarchiv Regensburg" = StAR) Jur. 17 *Council Decrees 1778 and following years*, decree September 27<sup>th</sup> 1800 p. 1. (= „*Continuatio der Oberherrlichen Dekrete 1778 ff*“, S. 1, Ratsdekret vom 27. September 1800).

Namely with their properties, after a trial turned against them and loosen by them. More council consulents may have been necessary in Regensburg, it's true, because of the always here presence of the *Reich Diet* (= *Permanent Parliament* = "*Immerwährender Reichstag*") since 1652/1654. Then additionally the patrician jurist families at all times wished to be intend on having here in the College so many juristic positions as possible. Then they planned to place their sons, which they considered for exceptionally good legal eagles, into this body, and, it's true, for life, and to furnish them with a very good being in the running to become an Interior Councillor of the city. In 1701 *Johann M. Plato* was engaged as a fifth College consulent, for 200 fl a year in the beginning<sup>46</sup>. The fifth consulent was the lowest one. He always became titled *Secretary Consulent*.

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<sup>46</sup> For 200 fl a year; *Record-Office Regensburg* (= "*Stadtarchiv Regensburg*" = StAR Cam. 70) BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Financial History of the City of Regensburg, Vol. V, Fifth Financial Period with Enclosures 1700 – 1715*, 1701 February 10<sup>th</sup>, p. 1, p. 7 (= „*Ärargeschichte der Reichsstadt Regensburg, Bd. V, Fünfte Ärarialperiode mit Beilagen 1700 – 1715*“, S. 1, !0. Februar 1701, S. 7).

Differently minded councillors required for the future allready on January 9<sup>th</sup> 1701 to abolish one consulent position, because of the dangerous situation of the municipal takings. All the encumbrance of the city was too highly rising. In 1794 five men belonged to the Colleagues: at first the important *City Judge* (= “*Stadtschultheiß*”<sup>47</sup>).

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<sup>47</sup> The *Chairman of the Municipal Bench* or *City Judge* (= „*Stadtschultheiß*“) also was a member of the *Interior Council* and *Chairman of the Exterior Council* (= „*Vorgeher des Äußeren Rats*“, too; „*Vorgeher*“ means *advancer, protruder, proceeder, prostander*. These words were often used terms for a a chief. The chairman of the municipal bench (a court of justice with twelve justice assessors from the Exterior Council or from the *Commune* (= „*Gemein*“) is one of the oldest-known Regensburg officials. His position existed already before the municipality yet had been an Imperial City. This post originally got filled up with a nobleman from the German King’s or Kaiser’s retinue or from a follower of the Duke of Bavaria. The *Stadtschultheiß* never got elected by office elections; unknown, how he became appointed bench chairman. The „*Stadtgericht*“ (= „*Municipal Bench*“ or „*City Law Court*“) was a low and a criminal law court of the first instance. The judge became called a “*Vorgeher*“ (= *advancer*) when they meant him a being chairman of the Exterior Council; MEIERHÖFER, JOSEF, *The Circumstances of the Imperial City of Regensburg and of the Regensburg Elector Princedom during the two Epochs 1780 / 1802, 1803 / 1620*, a Historical Dissertation Erlangen 1923 (typewritten),

Then the *City Clerc* (= “*Stadtschreiber*”). He constituted the essentially responsible jurist for all the documents, account-books, files, accountancy<sup>48</sup>, records. Then they had two syndics, one *syndic for interior affairs* and another one *more authorized for exterior affairs*. In the reality both of them presumably were evenly competent for the just mentioned areas. For the distribution of all transpiring works and authorities might have been decisive the ability and the efficiency of the Colleagues and of the momentary requirements.

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p. 87 [= “*Die finanzwirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse der Reichsstadt Regensburg und des Kurfürstentums Regensburg in den Zeitabschnitten 1780/1802 und 1803/1820*“, Diss. Erlangen 1923 (masch.), S. 87].- The city clerk never was a judge, but he was mainly competent for recording documents and files.

<sup>48</sup> Separated from the chancellory existed an *Audit Office* (= “*Rechenamt*”). Two *Interior Councillors* managed it, three *Exterior Councillors* as *Audit Office Assessors* and other three members of the *Commune* (“*Gemein*”), also titled *Assessors*. This office or bureau was directed by an *Interior Councillor*, who was a *Chamberlain* or *Secret Councillor*, too. Thus they organized the management in all more important deputations in Regensburg offices. One, two or three assessors from the Exterior Council and from the Commune supported the direction. There were office deputations counting up to nine members like the mentioned audit office.

Within all the administrations of the existing states and city-states the single competences of the officials cannot be separated strictly one from another. Therefore it was necessary also for each College fellow jurist to be able to carry out all the co-operators' substitutions of this body.

And further there was still another member of the Regensburg jurists' College, the *College Secretary*. In the case of him we don't be sure whether he always was a qualified jurist whether not<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> For the last point one may plead, namely that the secretary syndic though was a jurist, because a 1701 refused request of chamberlain *Gritsch* is known, who wished his son, a *Tax Office Assessor* (= „*Steueramtsassessor*“, therefore being a member of the *Exterior Council*, too) to be allowed to join a higher body (it's an incident which cannot get here in this publication more attentiveness but only a little short row of lines). Thus it might have been, a right one, so this father guessed, a certainly very suitable spot, that is to say a soft but nevertheless an influential job. Therefore this father logically wanted for his mentioned son the position as a syndic or as a *second College secretary*. Until this time such a post never had existed in the colleague (and never later on, too). This son was said to have been turned out, but the father though rendered him much obligingness, because he had been infatuated with him He wasted all his means and his properties for him. At last he kept alive by alms. The son left the Regensburg public service, preserving phantastic plans in his head.

With a positive degree of certainty one may say, that it was necessary for him to have a juristic basic knowledge, because it was incumbent on him to keep in minutes discourses and examinations, presumably especially of such cases, in which a member of the Exterior Council was in charge as an assessor of the law bench (of the municipal court of justice) and apart from that in all other highly significant outlooks of the council. A so-called *Duty Book* for the officials of the Imperial City of Regensburg (= „*Pflichtbuch für die Beamten der Reichsstadt Regensburg*“) expresses the voice of the council about the syndics' assignments: to obey the (Gouverning?) chamberlain and naturally all the other Interiors.

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Finally he came to an end in the *Kopenhagen* (Denmark) penitentiary; *Record-Office Regensburg* (= “*Stadtarchiv Regensburg*” = StAR) Cam. 72 BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Financial History of the Imperial City of Regensburg*, vol. VII, *Seventh Financial Period 1740 – 1789*, p. 34 (= “*Ärargeschichte der Reichsstadt Regensburg, Bd. VII, Siebende Ärarialperiode 1740 – 1789*“, S. 34).- A sad story. Such tales creep in unfortunately, it's true, and it's also impossible to prevent them in a simply and always successful way, even when it's tried by parents, by other educators, by public institutes and their employees, still today when a boy or girl has been in an reformatory or in a reform school.

Thus the members of the Interior Council got named, too<sup>50</sup>. In the *duty book* they required all these Councillors to have to provide for the observance of the City's agreements and contracts, to behold it at its statutes and to watch all the other laws and to comply just that with their appointments (in the employment papers named duties).

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<sup>50</sup> The full *Interior Council* (sixteen heads) in all matters was the highest instance, not the *Secret Council* (six members, who were the most important members of the Interior Council, too. They got called *Directors*, too. Each of them conducted directorates. That is to say several of the most important ones, too. As already upon-mentioned these last-named councillors also were called *Chamberlains* (= "Kammerer"). They decided in their sessions by the majority. Always for three months such a chamberlain got chairman of both upon-mentioned bodies. The *Governing or Ruling Chamberlain* (= "Regierender Kammerer") presided at the Interior Council and at the *Committee* of it (= "Ausschuss"), which was named *Secret Council*, too. It's sometimes necessary to repeat these facts, each time shown in some new light. The votes of the Secret Council could become revoked by a resolution of the majority of the Interior Council. Very much depended on the preparations and upon the kind of chairmanship in that Secret Council, where the most important councillors and office directors of the City were among themselves. Thus many preliminary decisions got developed. Then they mostly became accepted by the full body. The Colleagues often played an important rôle by giving their opinions.

Each citizen owned the very important claim to *come before the council* (= „*vor Rat kommen*“) with his requests. Namely in bench cases as well as in administrative affairs<sup>51</sup>. All civics had the right, to get a decision of the council, not only of a deputation. Either these natives talked directly to the competent councillor in person, (for instance if it was a matter of the responsible office director, judge or another) or to a syndic, if the whole council or its legal status was at stake. A syndic then carried on the first colloquy with the contracting party. He was advised to behave understandingly and appreciatively when being face-to-face with the party members assigned to him<sup>52</sup>, who had wanted to plead their cases.

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<sup>51</sup> Whether the same status was conceded also for the non-civic population of Regensburg or not, which was allowed to live and to work here, is unknown. Here catholic clergymen cannot be meant. As far as concerning these ones and the Regensburg *Beisitzer*, which belonged to one of the four other (catholic) stands within the area here or to foreign sovereigns. We are not able to give clear utterances about their status if they had a hearing before councillors, officials or Colleagues.

<sup>52</sup> *The Bavarian Free State General Record-Office Munic* (= „*Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München*“) RL Regensburg 426 *Duty Book*, p. 166 (= „*Pflichtbuch*“, S. 166).

In 1798 the Interior Council conceded syndic GEMEINER (the historian well known all over Bavaria) additionally to his salary as a College fellow syndic further of 100 fl a year for keeping the minutes. The volumes written by him make a very neat impression on today readers. They are as well readable as easily understandable, not only in well-read knowing the city's antecedents historian's, but in everybody's grasp<sup>53</sup>, whose gist doesn't be very rich, being more unpretentious.

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<sup>53</sup> It's unknown, why the Consulent Secretary hadn't been entrusted with that; *Record-Office Regensburg* (= "Stadtarchiv Regensburg" = StAR) *council protocols*, January 5<sup>th</sup> 1798, f 84 (= "Ratsprotokolle", 5. Januar 1798, f 84).- Once and still nowadays additional executions are attached meritfull officials for giving them the opportunity to get some more income or extra pays). Imperial City salaries and wages were rather low. What officials and day-labourers here got in comparison to that amounts they earned in other Imperial Cities really didn't be much. The reason of this fact is unknown. Accordingly GEORG SIEGMUND BÖSNER once voiced in his commentaries to the secret minutes about the salaries of the chamberlains, these salaries would be very moderate; the councillors would get more money by *carrying manure*. In 1650 each chamberlain got only for his activity as a chamberlain 75 fl a year, additionally to his councillor salary. For working as an office director they did not get anything at that time into the bargain. Later they also became paid for that.-

When consulent *Gumpelzhaimer* had died, the Interior Council tried to economize his position. That indeed meant some additional and also new labour for the syndics. At that time they were said to be on an equal footing with the consuls, but not yet quite concerning their salaries<sup>54</sup>.

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*The Free State of Bavaria General Record-Office Munic (= "Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München" = BayHStA München RL Regensburg 547 BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, Extracts from the Protocols of the Secret Committee, concerning the Assess Office (the office the for taking of indirect taxes), vol. I, 1655 – 1699, p. 3, June 21<sup>th</sup> 1650 (= "Extrakte aus den Protokollen des Geheimen Ausschusses, Ungeldamt betr., Bd. I, 1655 – 1699", S. 3, 21. Juni 1650.-* For additional occupations, for example working with the *Land Title Register Council Deputation* syndics got supplementary pays, too [by chance an interest of the receipts from the *Land Register Box* (= "*Grundbuchs-Büchse*")]. Syndics seldom were co-workers as office assessors in the council deputations. It was possible, if detailed judicial knowledge was necessary. We scarcely know instances for such attachments.

<sup>54</sup> From preserved copies of the secret minutes one gets told some aspects of the syndics' further competences. The youngest one always was delegated to the land registry office deputation of the council. After the first weeks of the year 1702 [= *Interior Secret Council = Secret Committee of the Interior Council* (= "*Geheimer Rat*" = "*Innerer Geheimer Rat*" = "*Geheimer Ausschuss*" = "*Ausschuss*") accidentally a land registry book got mentioned in the *Secret Committee*.

Now they all consequently got more, GEMEINER 150 fl, *Gumpelzhaimer* and BÖSNER 100 fl<sup>55</sup>. Other imperial cities<sup>56</sup>, smaller ones, paid more.

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It was became loosen by syndic *Meier* (!). Such misfortunes did not very seldom pass on within the administration of the Imperial City of Regensburg. Thus during the *Seven Years War* a big cash-box got stolen in the *Assess Office* [= *Indirect Taxes Office* (= “*Ungeldamt*”)], which at that time was accommodated in the eastern new building of the town hall, where they had deposited the *Reich’s Operation Cash-Box* (= “*Reichsoperationskasse*”), money of the “*Reich’s Army*” (= “*Reichsarmee*”), on daytime, during the office hours. The *Reichsstadt* had to compensate for this great loss. Fortunately very much money did not be in this box (about 12 000 fl). War needs money. The whole harm came on the *Reich*. In all earnest it did not be well for to laugh. In spite of it we have to suppose, that many members of princedom agencies in the Regensburg parliament ugly laughed, hiding their faces behind their hands, at the Imperial City citizens’ awkwardness and at the thoughtlessness of the men in its institutions.

<sup>55</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg* (= “*Stadtarchiv Regensburg*” = StAR) *Council protocols*, February 19<sup>th</sup> 1799 (“*Ratsprotokolle*” 19. Februar 1799, f 84).

<sup>56</sup> *The Reich is becoming old and weak*, they said, *each following organisation of a new kind would be better*. The third chamber of the parliament, the *College of the Imperial Cities*, was derided already for a long time. The first and the second *Reichstag* chambers named *Elector Princes’ College* (= “*Kurfürstenkolleg*”, and the *Princes’ College* (= “*Reichsfürstenkolleg*”) did not get earnest about this *Cities’ College*

They gave higher salaries and extra pays, for instance in *Ulm, Reutlingen, Schwäbisch Hall, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Worms*. Of course they were a still higher in *Nürnberg, Frankfurt, Cologne*.

Normally a testament and last will were made in the council chancellery and whether they always called a consulent in or not, is unknown, at any rate in the cases of more important parties. An extraordinary superior commission of consulents met for the *Secret Legation Councillor* (= „*Geheimer Legationsrat*”) *Johann Georg Clapius*.

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(= “*Reichsstädtekolleg*”). When the first two chambers had agreed, it was not necessary to ask the third chamber. This last one then got voted down and the first and the second chamber didn't need anymore an assent of the cities. In this cases the consulents of the Imperial City of Regensburg had to do no further works. In Regensburg, in Bavaria, in Germany some people still think the whole permanent parliament here to have been superfluos. This people often face all parliamentarianism very doubtfully and scepticly, and also it is appearing them our modern democratic parliamentarianism. At any case the existence of a kind of a more modern diet especially that one of the third chamber (an own room for their assemblies) was well appropriate to a invigorating and to a strengthening of self-confidence and of Reich conscious-ness of the German bourgeoisie; Reichstag reminder further on meant an important admonition to German unity in future.

He was the envoy of the principedom *Hesse-Kassel* and he wanted to make his last will. *City cleric* (= “*Stadtschreiber*”) *Habrecht* and the consulents *Gumpelzhaimer* and *Dietrichs* came. Such commissions passed the last dispositions by them recorded to the council, in whose plenum they got their legal force. They were preserved in good keeping in a deposits room of the council, in that one of the tax office<sup>57</sup>. Therefore *Clapius*’ last will was handed over into this chamber<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>57</sup> The tax office made the *opening of the will*. It wanted to be sure, that the municipal Exchequer got the control of the assets of a deceased man as soon as possible, because of still outstanding taxes debts and of legacies, too, especially of such ones for charity grants. Consequently the city had so-called *testamentary officers* (= „*Testamentierer*“). And *inventory takers* (= „*Inventierer*“), too, always employed in the tax office. Their work above all was to take an inventory of an estate and to handle the intestate shares correctly. The City Guardian Office carefully minded the orphans to not became ignored. The welfare work for the orphans in Regensburg was rather well endeavoured. Here the City Council had ordered to build up one of the first German tutelage offices.

<sup>58</sup> In this chamber it’s catching one’s eyes, that many valuable deposits were forgotten by the owners or by the heirs, so that the city council ordered to sell these assets by actions after fairly long times, when it seemed possible, an occurrence may trace back to an intense fluctuation of the inhabitants.

Namely into the drawer of a chest *C. K.*, so precisely it's substantiated in that case.- The *Legation Councillor* became acquainted with all these proceedings by an extract from the council minutes, not only by a deposit voucher, which seemingly was conventionally apart from acting to the more numerous unassuming persons<sup>59</sup>.

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Especially envoys' families leaving the Reichsstadt omitted to demand for their own in the tax office. Citizens, child of citizens and of other townsmen, especially those who didn't own the City freedom, vanished without giving the tax office's personnel any information. Thus especially did lastnamed people, the *Beisitzer*. Then the officials of course were enabled to put up these deposits for public sales in fairly regular intervals. Especial machinations of that kind were managed, if it came to light, that they had had in certain offices too much missmanagement. Then they did not have subsequently enough cash in the hand. The withdrawal of forgotten deposits made it possible to close such deficiencies inconspicuously. In a similar way they acted with deposits having been survived in the guardianship office, where they often had neglected deposits, too. Later they found them again. There were the most deposit and propriety finds, heirlooms, jewellery. The owners had got all their beautiful things out of sense. Rather often they really did not demand anything back.

<sup>59</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg, Council protocols*, June 15<sup>th</sup> 1795, f 109 (= "*Stadarchiv Regensburg*" = StAR) "*Ratsprotokolle*", 15. Juni 1795, f 109.-

Here one may recognize, that the assertion is correct, the venue of the syndics here, that they had their priority in interior affairs, the consulents more in exterior ones. Indeed the externals of the Reichsstadt did not become domain of the syndics, also because of their lacking experience, that one which they only could win abroad, in princedoms and in other German territories or in really foreign countries, especially in France or in Italy, seldom in Spain or in Great Britain or overseas. Further the syndics were consulted within council commissions. Specific groups of officials took the more important interior problems before themselves, which generally often resulted from great financial difficulties of the Reichsstadt. Thus the facts of the pawn house commission, which convened 1761 then lasting on a row of years. It really was one of BÖSNER'S hardest works and also one of the most difficult strains or exertions of the city-state's Exchequer during the whole eighteenth century (1761), because they didn't been enabled to conclude this heavy and grave trouble in a reasonably limited time. The *Pawn Office Commission* (= "*Pfandamtskommission*") was extraordinarily important.

Thus our opinion, at any rate<sup>60</sup>. It was necessary for this even-called working team to have an Exterior Councillor as a member within this commission, because of the great significance of the pawn affair and of whole the concern. Assessor *Glätzl* was ordered and additionally three other commissioners, Interior Councillors, and Colleague GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER<sup>61</sup>, too.

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<sup>60</sup> GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER expressed himself very malcontent about this commission. They did not perceive a brisk dissolving, the commission would have brought up very soon, as the author defined, *so speedy as a cat from a pigeonry* [= „*wie die Katz' vom Taubenschlag*“ (German idiom, alluding to a cat which was even devouring a pigeon and then very fast rushes away feeling it to have been forbidden).- For the participators of such commissions existed additional pays. Also in last-mentioned case; BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Record-Office Regensburg*; StAR Cam. 72, *Financial History of the Reichsstadt Regensburg*, vol. VII, *Seventh Financial Period 1740 – 1789*, p. 34 - 36, *Record-Office Regensburg* (= “*Stadtarchiv Regensburg*”); StAR Cam. 72, S. 34 - 36.- At that occasion BÖSNER'S poor impression was confirmed, that they had within the administration *to much non-sensical topsy-turvidum* (= „*zuviel unsinniges Wirtschaften*“). Indeed he saw a lot of absurdities.

<sup>61</sup> At that time BÖSNER acquired deeper insights into the (partly rather bad) conditions of the Reichsstadt Regensburg administrative. He felt like JULIUS CESAR in one of his wars:

At that time he still was a rather young syndic<sup>62</sup>. Besides the last-named very high-ranking personell consulent *Ritter* assisted this commission.

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„I came and everywhere I saw conditions like in the pawn office here“ (“*Veni, vidi, vici*”; „*Ich kam und sah überall Pfandamt*“). Too modest to add him to have been victorious everywhere at least like Cesar.- He begun by intimating at the first time in Regensburg to have been many old omissions, noisomnesses and abused municipal authorities. Here he was absolutely right, because fundamental reforms already had been quite necessary since a long time, which now really followed. Indeed they startet the liquidating of the debts still in the era of the Reichsstadt (about 1785).

<sup>62</sup> It is a widespread fairy tale within the relevant literature about the *Elector Prince Arch Chancellor Dalberg* (= „*Kurzerzkanzler Dalberg*”), that the abatement of the city debts got not started before the beginning of this prince’s rule about (1803), after the end of the Reichsstadt status. They are telling lies, if they assure, the conditions of the city-state would have become improved not before *Dalberg’s* government arrived. No, these new officials only continued, what already had been initiated during the last thirty years of the Imperial City’s existence, especially the spectacular debts reduction. These works still became successfull, because BÖSNER had enforced absolutely inflexibly and very powerfully the heightening of the civic rate by introduction of a new civic ordinary capital tax levy [an additional third percent for one’s whole properties (therefore „*Drittelsteuer*“)]. BÖSNER also fought radically advancing against all the rather numerous deficit spending municipal institutions, undertakings and projects.

It was a rather mixed one and its thing certainly very important. Financial problems of Regensburg were always of great consequences. If the Exchequer broke down, it's no question, the end of the Reichsstadt would follow<sup>63</sup>. Unthinkable!

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Finally his efforts got crowned by very good results. He became supported designedly by the College Consulents and Syndics. They supplied him effective papers for convincing the *Great General Commission*, where these writings vigorously and energetically knocked through. *Dalberg*, his officials, later on the Kingdom of Bavaria and its government held that back wanting to have been the only successful ones.

<sup>63</sup> The pawn office owned an exterior proportion, too, because this institution, the „*pawny*“ [= „*Pfandhaus*“ („*pawny*“ = „*Pfandl*“ in Bavarian dialect)] always had advanced money also for subjects of the Elector Principedom of Bavaria, not only for citizens and other inhabitants of Regensburg. Among the last ones chiefly were much people who were no civics of Regensburg, but who got allowed to live here by paying for a special residence permit. They became called „*Beisitzer*“. The last-named inhabitants had been townsmen possessing only a little civic freedom. They were citizens of a minor right, as already mentioned, with a limited duration of stay. They mostly were catholic and subjects of cloisters or convents relatively of the four ecclesiastical principedoms within the Reichsstadt Regensburg's walled in area. Their total number at last was rather more important than that one of the civics. The *Beisitzer* were not obliged to pay a rate. They only gave a fee of stay, a subscription for longer living here.

Meaning this city-state to become a subject of the Elector Princedom of Bavaria in all probability and to loose its for centuries highly renowned and appreciated independence and to be further on a stand of the Reich. Indeed in 1750 already they did not were found wide from bankruptcy; deeper reason for all that was an agricultural crisis. Thus many councillors thought quite similarly just to our politically ruling class. They only hoped the still present conditions to continue as long as they were alive<sup>64</sup>. About 1750 already a well known and a widely held devise.

No syndic took part in the fruit commission 1770, which had to investigate for the reasons of a bad famine, which very evilly forced to starve the inhabitants. In that case the real and deeper reason was a false tabular book-keeping, indeed.

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Not only for a short sojourn, and they got allowed to be workers in the citizen's shops and households, but not self-employed. The *Beisitzer's* duties were slight. It would be very undue to compare with civic obligations and responsibilities.

<sup>64</sup> At that time GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER quoted an in Regensburg rather often heard maxim of the superior councillors: „*I only wish the Reichsstadt still continuing in future as long as I am alive.*“ [= „*Wann's nur noch hoit', soilong' ich leb'!*“ (Bavarian dialect pronunciation)].

The books allocated much fruit, but the several stores were empty. Consulents *Gumpelzhaimer* was a member of this commission. They needed a consulent with experiences abroad, not a syndic, maybe because of debating where abroad they should buy expensive grain<sup>65</sup>, in Hungary?

Financial commissions had acted already formerly but only one got successful, which was headed by GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER. He was in charge as a so-called *Council General Commissioner* (= “*Generalkommissar*”) of the already mentioned *Great or General Commission* (= “*Große Kommisssion*” or “*Generalkommission*”). The whole *Interior Council*, representatives of the *Exterior Council* and of the *Commune* belonged to it<sup>66</sup> and many or all College fellows.

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<sup>65</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg* (= *Stadtarchiv Regensburg* = StAR), BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Financial History of the Imperial City of Regensburg, vol. VII, Seventh Financial Period 1740 - 1789*, p. 58 (= „*Ärargeschichte der Reichsstadt Regensburg, Bd. VII, Siebende Ärarialperiode 1740 – 1789*“, S. 58).

<sup>66</sup> Forty men from the citizenry. Each of the eight guard districts (= “*Wachten*”) sent five freely and directly elected citizens knowing many civic duties outside the town hall.

And also clerks of the most important offices. With the help of the *Interior Council* all these works turned well. Thus it was possible to neutralize the full influence of the *Secret Council* (= the six chamberlains) as far as these men offered resistance. All that scarcely came to pass, because BÖSNER had staunch friends in the last-named body. And with the aid of the *Exterior Council* he outvoted the Interior Council, which didn't feel able to resist these reforms, in such a lime-light, because of the publicity of the procedure. In these circumstances this council preferred reconciling to the new conditions. The General Commission was successful in voting down all the opponents, which were very numerous in the beginning of that works. The reason for this good result was, that the sessions of the General Commission also became reputed to be sessions of the Interior Council, whose councillors all were obliged to participate in the commission sittings.

Former financial commissions all had failed. They really finished nearly without any success. That one from 1703 came together seven times.

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When elected they worked like the *Exterior Councillors* acquiring experiences as the even-called other assessors.

BÖSNER gave his true opinion on their work, that they on the whole didn't regard anything seriously. *Never such a commission would have had a bigger head, but only fees like a dwarf. They recorded nothing correctly, they only dawdled with slips for years. So they didn't improve the position of the city....* Thus he wrote later on (= „*Niemals habe eine Kommission einen größeren Kopf und zwerghaftere Füße gehabt. Sie zettelte jahreweis' herum', um nicht vorwärtszukommen*<sup>67</sup>“). He had a typical pungency, an own sarcasm. Sometimes he did not try to utter himself more diplomatically or to avoid to mince any matters. Thus he had a row of enemies, because he often hurt his council opponents, and he hit: *Everything remained as it previously had been, and the commission died wretchedly without having done only a smallest sum of its missions* (=

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<sup>67</sup> *The Free State of Bavaria General Record-Office Munich* (= “*Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München*” = Bay HStA München RL Regensburg 605 BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Comments to the First Twelve Volumes of the Secret Protocol, from 1650 – 1699, concerning the Exchequer*, p. 31 (= “*Bemerkungen zu den ersten zwölf Bänden der Geheimen Protokolle von 1650 – 1699, aerarium betr.*“, S. 31).

„Alles blieb beim Alten, und die Commission crepierte, ohne das Geringste von ihren Aufträgen vollzogen zu haben<sup>68</sup>“.- Only a forgotten commission which was sat up a long time before BÖSNER exerted its mind, that one from 1688, which obtained at that time a seizing of a whole extraordinary municipal rate (the scale of this tax was not at all the same as that one of a *Single Ordinary Tax* (= “*Einfache Ordinari-Steuer*”). The name of this tribute meant the regular and single rate of one year, all the citizen’s or the civic tax, a combined tax, a property rate and a poll-rate mixed. Thereto BÖSNER still reached other augmentations of the civic duties<sup>69</sup> and liabilities.

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<sup>68</sup> *The Free State of Bavaria General Record-Office Munich* (“*Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München*”) BayHStA München RL Regensburg 462 BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH, *Extracts from the Protocols of the Secret Council, concerning the Duty Office, vol. II 1700 - 1789*, p. 2 (= „*Extrakte aus den Protokollen des Geheimen Ausschusses Ungeldamt betr., Bd. II 1700 – 1789*“, S. 2).

<sup>69</sup> It is to know, that the Council members lowered some important tributes in a very happy-go-lucky manner after 1648, direct rates and indirect assesses. These reductions meant the greatest mistakes of the Reichsstadt’s administration. Higher taxes pressed on the population of the Elector Princedom of Bavaria than on the Regensburg inhabitants.

Six Interior Councillors joined the aforesaid rather important conferences and thereto the consultants *Wendler, Harrer* and *Steininger*. BÖSNER'S marathon commission beat through indeed, but just much more later: He had a surprisingly good success after the seventies of the eighteenth century until the end of the free city period in 1803. The burden of debts sunk. BÖSNER told in his history, formerly only the chamberlain and tax office director PRASCH (a famous novelist) would have recognized the intended situation of this Exchequer, namely the true outlook of the municipality in a clear and correct manner. He had been *endowed with an excellent power of concentration, with a sharp and skilled ability of overlooking and with more than enough open-heartedness (= "mit scharfen und geübten Blick und der Offenheit des Kopfes und Herzen begabt"*<sup>70</sup>). Other ones didn't know enough details.

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Then in the eighties of the seventeenth century the *War* costs *against the Turks and against the Crown of France*. All these finances got decided by the permanent diet, that is to say by the here deliberating colleges representing the standings.

<sup>70</sup> *Record-Office Regensburg* (= "*Stadtarchiv Regensburg*" = StAR) Cam. 64 BÖSNER, GEORG SIEGMUND ULL-

Thus they never met the commonwealth problems here and they consequently didn't understand the cooperating offices and the kinds of revenues and of this city's expenditures. They all became aware only a little. An alarming few of Interior and Exterior Councillors owned adequately enough knowledge of all the Reichsstadt's institutions and how their many takings were won. BÖSNER put through the all-day and full-time office hours and a regular and intensive study of records just as a very effective impressiveness in black and white. It's like a diversion to pursue the important progresses of bureaucratic-technical forms and manners administration in the copies of the Regensburg secret council minutes, which got provided by this man! So much persistent and steady and also forbearing consequence! How often council and College in the midst of 17<sup>th</sup> century didn't have had the foggiest ideas in helping up the economics one may know by a genuine and recorded occurrence. Councillors were forced to inquire in their capacities into the matter, how many watermills had got built here.

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RICH, *History of the Assess Office*, vol. III, p. 55 (= „*Geschichte des Ungeldamtes*“, Bd. III, S. 55).

Whether situated on the Danube whether ashore or on the isles. Or on the fundamentals of the Stone Bridge, on its ground works, and also beside specific mill water channels, and how many of them would be still being in run. The City was a centre of grain mills and also of industry mills, too (saw-mills, polishing mills, hammer mills). Nobody of the two mentioned bodies, neither during a chamberlains' conference neither in a College session, had been able to give the other participants the full details. Therefore at that time some councillors got ordered to inquire after the realistic number of these public water mills in an official capacity. They wanted to know it, because the municipal mill expenses got higher and higher to a dangerous point. Strictly no exaggerating. Really there was no committee member knowing how many of these economically very important installations existed within the area of Regensburg at the whole, within the freedom of the city, so that they were forced to inquire officially on this matter, because no councillor and also no Colleague was able to give any correct details. At that time they run the risk, that the high costs wrecked the city-state's Exchequer.

After 1648 they had spent too much money in the mills because of the Thirty Years War's rages. All buildings on these isles had got ruined<sup>71</sup>. Indeed, they totally didn't know their place enough well. BÖSNER, taking the constitution of the Reichsstadt in his own hands, thinking it to be quite necessary city fathers should own the entire knowledge and exhaustive experiences of their home institutions, uttered: *This experience and insight they can get only by for long lasting studies of the contents of all the office folders and especially by acquaintance with the account-books and by the ability to audit and to collate all them mutually* (= „*Diese Kenntnis erhält man bloß durch langes Studium der Akten und besonders durch die Bekanntschaft und Vergleichung der Rechnungen*<sup>72</sup>“). These words on the whole are true still nowadays. We believe with this author in such rather fundamental identifications.

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<sup>71</sup> During this war they pulled down these buildings situated on the isles to get a free field of fire northward. By the way, complete devastations of the suburbs for defence reasons had not been seldom during the Thirty Years War. When Vienna became beleaguered in 1683 by the Turks, the defenders themselves blew up big parts of their city.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem.

Each civic has to work always as solid and careful as possible. Only by this way the author received his own (he is allowed to say quite precise) informations on the administration of the Imperial City and on the municipal accountancy here, too, that is to say mainly by his lasting for years lecture of the authentic writings, records and many kinds of papers being in the archives.

At last one may deliberate, this presentation will be finished soon, whether it is a little eminent or whether it is quite worthless to have got some impressions of the *Reichsstadt Regensburg's constitution, government and administration and of the former jurists* here. It does not be a quite negligible description, at first because the still existing number of relevant records for this subject is rather petty, and secondly because until today a longer and continuous comment on this theme has been lacking. The Regensburg historiography needed for reaching a higher point of cognition, where it would be not more necessary to become told any news about the juristic administration branch, such a treatment on the *College of Consulents and Syndics* (= "*Collegium der Consulenten und Syndici*"). It will do that now.

They have here a little longer study which established a part of the history of these Reichsstadt jurists, about their bearings and works, like in the *Reichsstadt Ulm* for instance, another rather important Imperial City, situated more up-stream in *Württemberg*. It's true, about the beginnings of the college there are only sporadic sentences. Namely because of the scanty sixteenth century record situation, which seems very meagre. May be they will obtain more, if they longer research in the City of Regensburg's record-office. Or as already upon-called to the readers, who came to this article's point in their hands here, in the Free State of Bavaria General Record-Office in Munich. But they never will chance upon documents from the late medieval period. At that time the office clerks had a legal forming, and the councillors did not have a such one. The lastmentioned ones certainly were better trained in reading and understanding balance-sheets, because in those early days they mostly did not earn their money by working in municipal bureaus but in their own merchant offices. Due to the presence of legal trained clerks, writers and copyists they did not need special law consulents or syndics.

At first such officials got required, when the Roman Law practice definitively called for academically well instructed and trained jurists.

Whether the body of the Interior Council meant a board or an authority of permanent civil servants whether not, that's rather doubtful. We prefer to say that they owned no kind of a lifelong officialdom. To be an Interior Councillor did not include a just as long life-time post. It came to pass and we know councillors to have been elected out of the council. Even a such extremely full of merits council member as GEORG SIEGMUND ULLRICH BÖSNER lost his membership in this board. At last he got thrown out by not became again elected<sup>73</sup>. He quitted that electional meeting, ignoring the result of the polling without any flinching. We don't know the circumstances.

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<sup>73</sup> A younger generation was not more able to stand his rather authoritarian appearance, his pungent sarcasm and his often having a row with other administration members. Besides all that after 1790 a new kind of opposition rose to the council rule, maybe influenced by the French Revolution. One may see movements of that kind in many imperial cities, where they had felt themselves already long as republicians and to have also long a gouvernement of that kind which then was recent proclaimed very loudly. The times got more uneasy.

It was a kind of condemn. However that may had been, he left the room (the big council hall in the very eastern wing of the new baroque square building round an interior court, situated immediately westward the Fish Market; this room still nowadays is the place where the modern and democratic municipal council meets). BÖSNER, General Commissioner didn't utter any word about the received ingratitude and the degree he had been wronged. Therefore, Bösner is a non-correct example, it doesn't be accurate to call the members of the Interior Council to have ever been political officials. The Regensburg councillors didn't have been forever elected officials, not really such ones of a lifelong stand, but only of a temporal status. It's true, in this point we are availing a newer, a modern terminology. At least BÖSNER never withdraw his salaries or an part of in from the tax office in the Regensburg town hall spot. Thus finally a sum of nearly 20 000 fl there had got collected for him respectively for his name account in the rate office. He thought it to be an great impertinence to take money for one's embracing such a good thing as to be allowed to work for the Reichsstadt's public service.

In his opinion wearing himself out for the Imperial City meant already an extraordinarily important distinction. It would mean an impudentness and shamelessness if a national of this municipality would be so fresh to claim money for having an opportunity to be benefit for the commonwealth of his home town, even if it was only rather small state, a so-called city-state, a *Reichsstadt*. But after all even yet rather particular conditions it was an *Imperial City of the Holy Roman Reich of the German Nation*. A man of God, a civic and a true municipal servant presumed himself to getting money from the paydisk of his own hometown, of his paternal municipality. Each civic would have to know to work for it, that is to say for his *fatherland* (the city-state always had been his fatherland), and each national to be in moral respects obliged to give in civil and in civil service duties all his best. He should have to understand that as a matter of fact to work there for nothing, only gratuitously, and not require anything, quite especially no money. Each citizen would have to perform honorary the necessities, the pressing needs of the community he belonged to with the truest and greatest sacrifice.

We see in BÖSNER the beginning period of German classical thinking starting in a philosophically deeply established manner arguing each human being to have to convert duties into likings.

In contracts to the council these consulents and syndics were, expressed in terms of our time, for the most part permanent civil officials. With the exception that they sometimes worked on a basis of (not seldom more advantageous) temporal agreements. Extremely good consulents were able to treat themselves peculiar privileges and allowances and to expand all these when they lengthened their contracts. Speculating on claims to old-age pensions wouldn't have had very much pith or good chances, because such payments existed only rather seldom and just so widow allowances. When a Regensburg municipal official had finished his service for the city, he had to subsist on returns from his property, from his saved salary means or from allocations of his children. We know only Professor *Ostertag's* widow to have got a lifelong pension, an exceptionally rare obligingness really only proving the rule.

It had been a very commendable result of BÖSNER'S intercessions before the Interior Council.

He did it due to the important taking of that man on the Poets' Gymnasium here, on the subject of physics in his school and for his engaging as a director on the whole. At that time physics ranked with the philosophy faculty<sup>74</sup>. Ostertag had heaped up an extraordinarily extensive collection of physical instruments very appropriated for school instruction lessons, which he contained in the *alumneum*, in the boarding school building, and in its own accommodation. For that time one may believe natural sciences in this classical gymnasium to seem having had (inspite of Ostertag of course having been a philologist) a greater meaning in this classical gymnasium than today for the AMG teacher college's fellows. Most of them are a rather conceited people, as we think, especially the there ruling classical philologists.

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<sup>74</sup> Historical books exist about the *Elector Prince Arch Chancellor Dalberg*, who became a Regent of the *Princedom Regensburg*, when the *Reichsstadt* had finished. One may read Dalberg in person to have given the license to this pension, an absolutely wrong contention, though it is repeated still often again. It means a kind of hawking, got copied incessantly. One may think them to have wanted thus the prince feeling flattered. Please read BÖSNER'S own secret minutes extracts for coming to know all the unadulated truth!

Their instructors' staff holds only students being able to understand the Greek language for sufficiently well talented to will become really thinking and arguing in humanistic manners. Their pupils got through would tower the leavers of other gymnasiums. Only AMG leavers in all future were quite right to set up the whole administrative, technical, economical and scientific élite here. No overdoing, no exaggerating, indeed!

However that may be, Ostertag owned an excellent reputation. BÖSNER valued the phenomenal solidarity to this man's aforesaid subject. OSTER-TAG had been a great official and teacher. Therefore BÖSNER caused the council to grant the widow a pension, which meant a greater appreciation for the deceased director than grandiloquent plot speeches. Among German jurists, often full of self-overestimation, it's rather seldom that they may tribute the instructing personell of higher educational establishments or to applaud this odd people, as they think. For them they are only *schoolmasters* or *crammers*. In Regensburg they sometimes simply and a little crudely call them, in Bavarian dialect „*Schuilehrer*”, regarding them as a kind of rather curios living beings.

Gymnasium teachers (and others, too) would be organisms actually without any knowledge of a consequence at all. These higher school personell in the Imperial City of Regensburg was titled *praeceptores* (Latin, German: “*Präzeptoren*”). They never were more than six men altogether, and among them there were also excellent people as also among the jurists, really very outstanding ones. It is true, many consulents and syndics considered their positions, offices and duties to mean the best spring-board into the body of the Interior Council. A such one or a similar one never didn’t exist for abovementioned gymnasium teachers. Maybe therefore jurists had better career chances than those *praeceptores* thought by the lawyers only to have got sneezed. This would be the only correct reputation for teachers, they often repeat. Vice versa gymnasium colleagues believe jurists to be pettifoggers and hedge-lawyers at any rate (a great part of jurists really belong to them, thus on the other hand the members of the philosophy’s faculty like to think). At any rate the *preceptors* had been acquainted with the later consulents and councillors already when these ones had been students of the Poets’ Gymnasium.

Theologians owned more, nominally the members of the so-called *consistory* (= „*Konsistorium*“), the council office having all jurisdiction of the Protestant parish of the Reichsstadt here. For theologians it was easier to join the Council through this consistory, to which always some other councillors belonged, because this body was also rather important. A superintendent officiated as the director of this body. He always was an Interior Councillor like the other directors.

BÖSNER, rather enlightened, did not like the Superintendent rank<sup>75</sup>. For his taste high churchmen interfered too much with secular business. He thought them to feel being the most supreme conscience of the city, but in reality they preferred obtaining or changing many things as only they wanted them here to be, thus BÖSNER'S view. For his taste they would operate too much for their many own private interests in the city.

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<sup>75</sup> BÖSNER later on belonged to the intellectual and religious movement in Central Europe called „*sensitiveness*“ (= „*Empfindsamkeit*“), as we may see in some examples.- He didn't like the superintendent post. In his opinion they also got too much money. Therefore this post was dropped. One may believe BÖSNER to have been able to think and to do so.

Moreover he doubted them whether to have a proper, suitable sense for the youth or not. After an active and nimble pushing on he really came up to his aim. The even-mentioned important and eminent church position was abolished forever.

Thus one now may see the complete significance of the Regensburg consuls and syndics and everybody is able duplicating the capability and the duties of the College syndics and consuls for the Reichsstadt here. This body as a whole of life-long officials constituted applicants meant a momentous part of the administration schematism of the spot. Never the council would have been of the opinion to be able getting along in the long run without such a working group assisting the municipal administration. The often likewise juristically trained lawyers in the council, the councillors, more filled the direct and practical labour with parties insisting on reaching a councillor, and they did the committee and deputation works as well as all the other in a closer meaning political efforts, for instance debating on the necessity of a extraordinary rate investment (an irregularly, additionally property rate) or on better collecting of outstanding tax debts.

Or on popular, but not enough paying Exchequer enterprises, businesses and other institutions at the expense of the Reichsstadt. Then the Colleagues especially gazed at the legal mental endeavors. To be sure, otherwise than the efforts the results often didn't be right to pass in all that really had been necessary for the city-state, because of particular and exceptional, political and economical difficulties of this municipality. Very well working jurists were seldom. What's more, a good legal consultation always is expensive. Indeed, the Reichsstadt's consultants and syndics value advices throughout often didn't be cheap<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>76</sup> In the German language exists a proverb: „*Guter Rat ist teuer*” (“*A good advice will be very expensive*”).- The French say : «*Les conselleurs ne sont pas les payeurs*», meaning: *It's easy to give and to get good or bad advices, but all depends on it, that one recognizes the good ones. Many advices are worthless, because they only will be twaddle. Or bumbling and sophistry. Many counsellors feeling them importantly and knowingly, are braggarts. They talk very much, but without any responsibility, especially not with a financial one. Indeed they will pay for nothing, especially not for the looses caused by them.*- Did the Colleagues think in German or in French about this point? They were able to speak French fluently. We believe them being able to think in French. The writer of this treatise doesn't know any British equivalent.

The Colleagues really were well remunerated. But if the council did not go clumsily to work, when they tackled in principle their works awkwardly, then the utmost best Colleagues were not able to secure any good results. Then they often obtained nothing. We cannot tell more, because we have no historical sources with more details. Their routine affairs and operations are nearly quite unknown. He who wants himself to be still more precisely told about the College respectively about the consulents and from the syndics here, he may consequently betake into the municipal records office here, where he shall be under consideration. The author of this composition recommends to don't allow that they refuse there to admit him already outdoors or in the first floor before the big glass door. He shall enforce all the slackness of these municipal records officials.

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And no American one. If anybody is able to tell such a saying he is heartily invited to give it to the writer. Anglosaxon people dispose of a better scent to perceive faster what's good or bad for them. Thus they don't need to think long answers for problems. They rather well feel such advices to being only canting. In Europe they sometimes are said to proceed for themselves in a specific kind of a pragmatic philosophy. Maybe a well hitting advice proverb isn't necessary for them.

They are competent in the record-office and in the monuments' preservation office, too<sup>77</sup>. Jog-trot, old hum-drum way, dawdling, slopwork of the personell are likewise rather traditional there.

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<sup>77</sup> You will not get anything from there by phone! Get the Regensburg municipal archivist by Email, because he is a computer-faddist! Don't let refuse you the admittance of the outer office lady by the talk-back device installed on the first floor of the already above-mentioned *Runtinger House*. She is a kind of drake sitting in a dark cave. It's possible that the chief doesn't want to see you for whole weeks or only if he speculates you to be willing always fast relinquishing him your results. He often wants only to get be provided with materials in which he is being interested. A visitor will reach him only when a big glass door gets opened in the second floor of this building as by magical hands. He who will got acquainted with informations from the papers, files and documents there received in the public reading-room may plead „vor Rat“ (= *before the municipal council of the Stadt Regensburg*) that the keepers of Regensburg records will get a rise in salary or an extra pay from anew initiated fees owed the employees for their well procuring the visitors with knowledge of the city's relevance for the *UNESCO World Culture Heritage* from a so-called *World Culture Heritage money box*, which shall get filled up by the visitors. The collected coins and notes shall be monthly given to the personell. Or the users may solicit the mayor for an advancement of this chief! Salary group A15, additional pay and bonus! The record-office boss will be very pleased by such visitors.

They are specific Reichsstadt traditions, too. It may be useful for the visitor respectively for the reader of this article to know, that an office chief not quite seldom likes to turn down many of the interested people. He may prefer only these users, who are right to use besides him. And if he gets phoned, often he prefers to deny himself, because he thinks the public here to be for his person and not vice versa. We, who just now are reading this treatise being in our hand, don't want to get dealt with such exploiting rites they have in the *Runtinger House*<sup>78</sup>. It would be a blunder to continue so rather recent customs. All the more we prefer those virtues once called in again by General Commissioner BÖSNER. These virtues in earlier times had been characteristic features of the German imperial cities, too. Only by such outlooks he thought the *Reichsstadt Regensburg* to be able for mastering a ticklish, complicated and irksome future. In this way only the simple and plain survival of the city-state *Reichsstadt Regensburg* would be made feasible.

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<sup>78</sup> An building of famous medieval merchants (they left one of the oldest European account-books), now the uncomfortable accommodation of Regensburg city's record-office.

He and his friends and the Colleagues wanted the Imperial City of Regensburg to raise again, to assert its complete freedom and to bring the municipality status to a new, to a second prosperity. Here in this citizenry *Reichsstadt virtues* still meant something. BÖSNER esteemed them high and he wanted all them to get restored to live. No one of the citizens should have been afraid, that his peculiar, also a little odd, but well-proven community would have no future. On the one hand very old institutions usually seem everywhere in a queer and on the other one in a little oldfashioned, but in a charming and affable kind. Thus may be for instance this place of the diet. In BÖSNER'S thinking nobody should be anxious about the continuance of the *Reich*, that time still right reamed as *holy*. In Regensburg it wasn't advisable to fear. It's true, the real worth of the mission of the *Reichstag* still always looks a little indistinct and vague, at any rate not quite clear. But he who calls this worth in question, often doesn't be able to hide that he looks on our modern democratic parliamentarianism rather sceptically, even if he keeps this opinion in secret from the others, and he will prefer concealing it.

They don't want to utter this misconception. Against it the quite right contrary is: The Reichstag meant an important initial stage of modern European parliamentarianism. It was a diet remarkable for the whole continent, and they paid it much attention, namely by the envoys and solicitors sent to here. They remained for a long time. You may see near churches some of their graves. But he who wants to gather more material for Reichsstadt council, consuls and syndics, for him we'll recommend to start in an easy manner, on his own way, only on this way, not in another procedure, generally not in another kind. For it works only, if one finds out his own methods of researching in archives. Thus he reaches any results. It is to say, everyone after his own fashion. All the Regensburg permanently appointed personell claiming to be competent in *Kultur* may be feeling now soaring very up, since the old historic, but now quite afresh renovated City of Regensburg got declared to belong to the *World Cultural Heritage* (= "*Weltkulturerbe*") set up by the *UNESCO*. That may originate only in a less degree from clear and explicit efforts of these city officials. Such endeavours scarcely had existed.

Much city personell only had glib tongues. What did they decide for getting this high-sounding, pompous, nearly bombastic title? The rich early brisk, bustling, very industrious and still furthermore evident efficacy of the Reichstadt merchants, craftsmen, officials, chamberlains, Interior and Exterior Councillors. Don't forget the *Commune*! This „*Gemein*“ was the third and really democratically elected part of the Reichstadt government respectively municipal parliament. And the consulents and syndics belonging to the meanwhile often enough mentioned College. Of course they got not elected, they were appointed. This body of once here indigenuous lifelong municipal jurists still now didn't have a sufficiently and adequately treatise. On the one hand they had a high price because of their good salaries, but on the other hand their counsels had been cheap, according to the two possibilities, which are seeming a little different. Whether one is thinking in a German or in a French readings tradition. Now we revert to that upon-quoted German proverb believing a good counsel to be expensive (= “*Guter Rat ist teuer*“). But in our reality even worthy advices are possible failing.

In spite of them it's riskily potential you to enter tricky situations. Therefore one always has to search not only for a good, but for the best advice. It's difficult to find out the best answer to a political, economical or social problem. That's why you often will receive a valuable counsel for a colossal sum of money. Good advices will be expensive. But the French proverb will say advising to be cheaper and easier than helping, because often people may get aiding words without any costs, but they don't know, whether these counsels are good, unsure or bad. Many of them only are gratuitous gabbles. You will find them and they are worthless. Irresponsible *wisenheimers* gave them, who talked like the damned know-alls. Often it happens, that anybody may have very promising consultants, who are able to speak loud, long and pleasing to the ear, but all that is worthless. In addition it carries more weight to be able to realize a good advice and to accept such an one. The last (those German and French) sentences are containing several different aspects of counsel giving, but they stand for similar problems. On the one hand they are matters of searched law aid or of any advocats' jobs.

Then on the other hand questions of offered assistances or advocate's activities. In Regensburg often not a single one knew a good proposition, offer or suggestion. Although they had available many picked jurists among the Colleagues. We remember: As a result of the Poets' School and of a following nobleman's tour to France all the colleagues had been able to reflect perspicaciously on their things and to express themselves not only in German, but in French or in Latin, too, exactly and fluently. We'll search and find an example showing us an as good as cheap advice, though the situation in regard of the foreign affairs in the Bavaria midst seemed very difficult.

It will be an utterly contrary to the present time graduates from the modern AMG. They have quite forgotten as many other subjects, too, that in classical antiquity still other qualities belonged to a Greek élite than to be only a little acquainted with some or more Greek sentences. For instance that one of nationally, democratically and philosophically acting.

Thus everyone has to remember how often Socrates, the philosopher, to have put on his armour pieces in the service for his municipality.

Such armouring and then the organisation and the command of the *phalanx* constituted the instruments, by which the formed and civilized civic-infantryman very well and quite successfully hold the field and his city-state against barbarian professional warriors. Hence it would be necessary to draw a conclusion, which we call a Greek one: Similar dispositions and organisations, for originally being Greek, have to be reputed characteristics of an élite and thus other Greek arrangements, institutions, practises and inventions, too. Akin to that ability of self-defending of Greek citizens who all were called up and obliged for a defence contribution. The Greek foot-soldiers in their phalanx started the battle, for instance *Marathon*, they all below a strong armoured protection. These heavy covers and shields have been Greek devices, too. In the same way do young men, who are liable to the military service of the Federal Republic of Germany, that is to say also the armoured infantrymen of the German Army (= "*Bundesheer*") do so among others. They are called *armoured grenadiers* (= "*Panzergrenadiere*"). *Grenadiers* in all armies of the world are called only the infantry elitists.

It's seeming that nowadays German gymnasium directors don't want to talk about necessities of that kind. They prefer always to seem dived into an *soft and indulgent light*, in some kind analogous to the Reichsstadt consulents turned to tax allowances, in some longer years of various descents here, which all are not doubted by the author and by the readers of this treatment. But for the most part the mentioned Colleagues, the consulents and syndics meant a law élite. Gymnasium directors of now apparently don't be such an elitist choice. At best they are second-rate quality<sup>79</sup>, in our opinion. Mainly they want palliating and treat their pupils with dummy objects and targets. Quite like all the self-conceited AMG-fellows interceding for a wrong Greek élite idea, but never dare declaring it to be necessary to fulfill military duties. Strictly speaking they all should propagate: They who learnt some Greek and know other European foreign languages and cultural manners, a special military service as *armoured grenadiers*<sup>80</sup> rendered to them

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<sup>79</sup> Thus they forgot the Greek Gymnasium always had also been a kind of premilitary training.

<sup>80</sup> *Grenadier* is a traditional term of an élite infantry man.

(= “*Panzergrenadiere*”), such young men only do own the membership to a real social élite! Therefore AMG-graduates would have to serve in a unit of heavy armoured personell carriers (= *Schützenpanzer*), in a *Marten*<sup>81</sup>-unit, because the phalanx of Greek hoplites<sup>82</sup> today is technically quite antiquated! All they who stuck in a martan behind and below a steel armour and who moved among a whole Marten force, they only belong to an élite! Therefore a leaver of a gymnasium, an *Abiturient*, should soon appear in a *Panzer-grenadier force* of his Federal Army. That’s a duty for each of them, coming from a classical school like the AMG! It means a quite natural and self-evident activity for all those young men, who learnt to read and to understand some Greek, because they accept and affirm classical forming in all. They say unstrictly yes to it altogether, because it’s classically greek. We call all these young Greek experts of today “*Graeculi*”

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<sup>81</sup> „*Martan*“ (= „*Marder*“) is the name of the different armed and strongly armoured heavy personell carrier of the *German Federal Army* (= “*Bundesheer*”).

<sup>82</sup> The heavily armoured Greek foot-soldier (helmet, shield, cuirass, greaves).

(= “*Little Greek men*”, once a Roman nick-name for Greeks) having a secondary education, will come hastily to the nearest stationed armoured force, to the “*Armoured Infantry Bataillon 112*” (= *Panzergrenadier-Bataillon 112*), in *Regen, Eastern Bavaria* (= *Regen, Bayerischer Wald*), and if they will serve with *Panzergrenadiers* there they will get an élite! The value of these troopers may be similar to the *hetaires* of *Alexander the Great*, heavy armoured foot-soldiers, most-liked by the king, his nearest friends, in their substance and character a genuine élite! Eastern Bavarian *Panzergrenadierbataillon, Greek phyle of hoplites! Hetaire-Horsemen*<sup>83</sup> are the troops in *Lynxes*<sup>84</sup> (= „*Luchse*“) and *Leopards* (= „*Leoparden*“). All that would ever belong to a conception, idea and notion of an élite having graduated from the modern classical gymnasiums, how they should have to understand this word.

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<sup>83</sup> During the eighteenth century in Regensburg they had a militia squadron of *Civic Cavalry* (= “*Bürgerkavallerie*”), mainly consisting of the sons of national patrician families. Here we see a young élite of jurists to have been a military, a mounted troop élite and at the same time also a civic, political and jurist élite, that’s to say a *Reichsstadt élite*.

<sup>84</sup> German armored scout cars.

It's a rather noble-minded one for the required upper classes of a society<sup>85</sup>. And really a state and a city, too, also in former times, still needs, always needed such an élite. We are forced to imagine Professor Ostertag of course to have remembered the Poet's Gymnasium leavers getting officers of the Reichsstadt militia. For this reason, namely being militia officers, too, BÖSNER, his friends and many of the Regensburg consultants and syndics were élite fellows, too. Each classically formed civic has to think of the Greek military service. An alternative civil service instead of a military service doesn't be classical Greek, it's ungreek and unelitist! Only rather a few leavers of the AMG today render this military service. Many don't be fit for it! Or they prefer not seeming fit, we are allowed to think. And many of them join an alternative service, which exists, strictly speaking, only for conscientious objectors. Do so many young people here be conscience-stricken, if they shall do civic military duties? It had been unknown in Greece.

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<sup>85</sup> A panzergrenadier is the writer's son, a *Goethe-Gymnasium* leaver. He has never been a *Graeculus*.

And also in the former city-state *Reichsstadt Regensburg*. The mentioned duties really quite unknown also for German classical Gymnasiums?

Consulents and syndics here are the treated subjects. Mostly once they had been leavers of the Poets' Gymnasium. They knew the Greek language, because later on they often got pastors. The best of them did not deduce their excellence from their Greek knowledge, but on the contrary from a broad and deep musical, poetical, literary and religious formation, but especially from their legal talent and skill, from political and from social behaviour just as from their perfect final touch and at least from their ability to counsel in one's law difficulties and to win intricate litigations. And we add: Always economy-priced!

Once they had to join the *militia* (= "*Bürgerwehr*"), Athenians and Regensburg civics. In the last-named municipality a councillor (or "*Guard Councillor*" = "*Wachtherr*") as a captain commanded one of the eight militia companies. Commander of all the military was a "*Highest War Councillor*" (= "*Oberster Kriegsherr*"). The highest military power as well as all the other powers owned the whole totality of the Interiors.

And if it was impossible that sixteen members came together, then the six men of the Secret Council (the Secret Committee) had whether to decide at their own discretion or to follow the War Councillor's or the militia officers', especially the colonel's advices. The *militia regiment* (and the professional *city guard* with its *City Captain*) for the very last time manned the fortifications and walls at the beginning of the Spanish War of Succession. All the Reichsstadt military got alarmed at night. Strongholds gave stationary protection from the fire of the Bavarian field army. They were like a fixed, permanent armour. But a very hard, bad and grave artillery bombardment soon would follow. Only no hasty fire out of the city! Death penalty for each militia or guard soldier shooting without order! But then nevertheless treaty or agreement! The militia removes. Red-and-white (Regensburg colours) soldiers smash the rifles on stone walls, unutterably fury being forbidden to fire upon the detested Bavarians. Did the College jurists succeed in getting such an understanding or compromise? Had it been a capitulation face to face with the enemy? We think such a one of an older meaning.

They agreed an appointment already made shortly before, a contract concerning mutual exterritorial priorities. The enemy was allowed to have draw through the city only on one street block which was permitted for him. He didn't occupy the whole municipality. If he would take another way to the Stone Bridge the City guard and the militia would shoot on them from the nearest adjacencies and from the shut barricades. He hadn't been able to maintain a big garrison here, because he needed the most troops elsewhere. Did the Colleagues give an advice? It was an advantageous, profitable and beneficial one and it was also a very cheap one, with absolutely no costs – quite in the contrary, no demolitions here. As the readers of this treatment already know, a proverb says, in France they have also very low-priced suggestions. As we all are informed, such advices may sometimes be even bad. Bavaria in that war was an evilly counselled ally of that western kingdom. The Regensburg Colleagues were acquainted with French manners and it's possible that they had bargained this really cheap appointment, which never meant an intrigue against *Kaiser und Reich*, but a good and equitable counsel.

Thereto with-out any costs. Both proverbs can be right. Good advices may be expensive, but there are also good and cheap ones. The fellows had given a low-priced counsel, which became put through by the council, for the whole solid city had demonstrated a self defence capability. Thus a state will survey and maintain its independence. And the inhabitants their self-consciousness, which is an important thing, too, more important than to only have a bombastic title meaning to belong to a so-called world's cultural heritage.

Finally things came to such a pass, that the Bavarian Elector Prince at last was positioned in a grandiosly stupid situation, because of his willingness for phantastic war adventures, together with the far away from him Crown of France, in spite off being Austria's nearest neighbour, against the Habsburg dynasty, against the Reich and against the Reichsstadt Regensburg. The Bavarian Elector Prince, mostly an enemy of the extraterritorial Reichsstadt in the very midst of his territory, didn't reach his aims. But the City quite on the contrary! What a wisely advised and prudently acting council! The municipality got over the war without damages worth mentioned.

Our College of consulents and syndics (together with other ones) was a participant causer of these eminent results brought about, as we all think at least, because of having counselled so worthy. These men just were a true élite of a great value. We really know such an élite to be very worthy.