

## **Karine Crousaz: « Schemes for Students' Mobility in Protestant Switzerland during the Sixteenth Century »**

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Swiss educational structures experienced major transformations during the sixteenth century, transformations which were driven by the cultural movement of humanism and by the Protestant and Catholic Reformations.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Swiss Confederacy counted only one institution of higher learning: the University of Basel. In 1560, if we take into account the allied territory of Geneva, Switzerland benefited also from four newly created Protestant academies in Zurich, Bern, Lausanne and Geneva.<sup>2</sup> These academies offered instruction in arts and theology, comparable in level and nature to that in the universities of their time. However, the academies did not have the right to grant academic titles. At that time, this ability was restricted to institutions that had received a privilege from the pope or the emperor, and these Catholic authorities would not give it to institutions in Reformed (Calvinist or Zwinglian) territories.

In this chapter, we are going to look at how students were helped financially by the Swiss political and religious authorities in order to travel and study abroad. We will see that the policy regarding student scholarships varied considerably among the different Swiss Protestant cities. I will briefly present these policies, city by city, starting with Basel, and moving chronologically through the newly created academies.

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Michael W. Bruening for his careful reading of and useful suggestions for this article.

<sup>2</sup> In this chapter, we will study only institutions with a level of instruction comparable to that of universities. These institutions were all Protestant in sixteenth century Switzerland. In the last third of the century, Jesuits founded three important colleges in the Swiss Confederacy (Lucerne in 1577, Fribourg in 1582, and Porrentruy in 1591), but it was only during the seventeenth century that higher level courses in art and theology were added to them. For Catholic institutions of higher learning in Switzerland, see Rudolf Bolzern, « Das höhere katholische Bildungswesen der Schweiz im Ancien régime (16.-18. Jahrhundert) : eine Zeit ohne eigene Universität », *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 1989, Jg. 83, p. 7-38. The most complete study on Jesuit colleges in Switzerland remains to this day the monograph dedicated by Joseph Studhalter to the Jesuits in Lucern : *Die Jesuiten in Luzern : 1574-1652 : ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der tridentinischen Reform*, Stans : J. von Matt, 1973, (coll. Der Geschichtsfreund. Beiheft n° 14), 477 p.

We will then be able to answer more precisely questions about the motivations that pushed political and ecclesiastical authorities to send some of their best students abroad. For instance, did they want them to get degrees from foreign universities?

Finally, we will observe that religion played a considerable role in the choice of a foreign university or academy. Even within the Protestant camp, the divisions between Calvinists, Zwinglians, Bucerians, and Lutherans played a major part in this choice.

I base my conclusions mostly on the recent studies of Amy Nelson Burnett regarding Basel, Karin Maag and Anja-Silvia Göing for Zurich, Karin Maag for Geneva, Beat Immenhauser for Bern, and my own studies dedicated to the Academy of Lausanne.

## **Basel**

The university of Basel, which received a papal privilege in 1459, was established in 1460.<sup>3</sup> After the city became Protestant in 1529, teaching was interrupted for three years. In 1532, the university reopened, with nine professors and a new teaching program. Until the end of the Ancien Régime, Basel was the only university *stricto sensu* in the Swiss confederacy, and thus, the only institution which could deliver master degrees in liberal arts and doctorates in law, medicine and theology. Basel attracted students mainly from the Swiss confederacy and from southern Germany.

None of the Basel authorities, whether political, religious or academic, developed a scheme to send their students abroad. They were apparently happy with the education they could offer their students locally. In 1532, they created twelve student scholarships that were reserved for the citizens of Basel.<sup>4</sup> Under the supervision of the academic authority, these students had to live in one of the two colleges of Basel (both of them former monasteries). These students were being trained as future pastors, and had to promise to enter Basel service after their

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<sup>3</sup> Concerning the University of Basel in the sixteenth century, see Burnett, Amy Nelson, *Teaching the Reformation. Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529-1629*, Oxford University Press, 2006, XII, 448 p. For a broader bibliographical note on the University of Basel during its first century, see Crousaz, Karine, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme (ca. 1537-1560)*, Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2012, 608 p., p. 53, n. 96.

<sup>4</sup> For the stipendiary system in Basel, cf. Burnett, *op. cit.*, p. 99-103.

studies. It is important to bear in mind that, after the Reformation, the ecclesiastical career lost most of its appeal among wealthy and powerful families. In order to respond to the need for pastors in Protestant lands, most of the students destined for the pastorate had to be helped financially during their studies. As the Catholic system of ecclesiastical pensions, which gave the possibility to ecclesiastics to leave their office for months or years in order to study, was also destroyed, the Protestant authorities who took over the ecclesiastical goods of the former Catholic Church in their lands, often offered scholarship to students who were willing to become pastors.

The twelve students financed by Basel lived in this city during their studies, and they were not sent abroad. Nevertheless, they encountered foreign students, as the students sent to Basel by other churches and political authorities (such as the Margraviate of Baden), also lived in the same two colleges. According to Amy Nelson Burnett, these closer contacts with foreign students, « retard[ed] somewhat the movement toward provincialization among Basel's clergy ». But it also brought tensions : Lutheran and Zwinglian students sometimes fought quite bitterly, so much so that in 1571, all the foreign students were obliged to live in the same college, and the students financed by Basel were sent in the other one.<sup>5</sup>

In brief, the Basel authorities did not make any efforts to send their students abroad, for they seemed quite satisfied with the education they could offer them in their own university.

## **Zurich**

Zurich's situation was almost the opposite. The city had various Latin and German schools for children and a *Lectorium* for more advanced students.<sup>6</sup> The *Lectorium*

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<sup>5</sup> Burnett, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the schools in Zurich after the Reformation, see, in addition to Anja Goeing's contribution in this volume : Göing, Anja-Silvia, « Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563 : Spezifika einer Gattung », in *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung : Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Herman J. Selderhuis *et alii* (eds), Leiden : Brill, 2007, p. 141-170 ; Göing, Anja-Silvia, « “ In die Fremde schicken ” : Stipendien für Studierende des Zürcher Großmünsterstifts an auswärtigen Hochschulen », in *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsgeschichte der Reformierten in konfessionsvergleichender Perspektive : Schulwesen, Lesekultur und Wissenschaft*, Heinz Schilling and Stefan Ehrenpreis (eds), Berlin : Duncker & Humblot, 2007, p. 29-45 ; Göing, Anja-Silvia, « Die Ausbildung reformierter Prediger in Zürich 1531-1575 », in *Bildung und Konfession : Theologenausbildung*

focused on the teaching of ancient languages and Reformed theology. Each year, Zurich political authorities sponsored various students with scholarships ranging from ten to forty florins, and they regularly financed their more advanced students to study abroad until they could be called to a vacant post of pastor or school teacher (post-reformation Zurich had about 140 such posts to be filled).<sup>7</sup> Studying the *Acta scholastica*, the official reports of the academic authorities in Zurich, Anja Göing discovered that in only 13 years, between 1560 and 1572, 82 students (more than six per year on average) were sent by Zurich to study abroad with a scholarship.<sup>8</sup> This was already in place well before 1560, but since the *Acta scholastica* started only in 1560, we have no precise figures between 1529, when the scholarship regulations first mention the possibility of foreign studies with scholarships,<sup>9</sup> and 1560. It would be possible to reconstruct these figures, albeit less precisely, by a close reading of the correspondence of ecclesiastics in Zurich, such as the famous Bullinger correspondence, which is currently being published.<sup>10</sup>

The Zurich system was very effective. As Karin Maag writes, it « provided the best possible ecclesiastical or professional training at a minimal cost to the city ».<sup>11</sup> Zurich authorities offered a good local education to their students but did not need to pay for the most renowned professors to come to Zurich ; after 1562, it was even forbidden to elect a non-Zurich citizen to a post of professor.<sup>12</sup> They only needed to select their best advanced students and give them the money to study elsewhere,

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*im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung*, Herman J. Selderhuis *et alii* (eds), Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2006, p. 293-310 ; Maag, Karin, « Financing Education : the Zurich Approach, 1550-1620 », in *Reformations Old and New : Essays on the Socio-economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470-1630*, Beat A. Kümin (ed.), Aldershot [etc.] : Scholar Press, 1996, p. 203-216 ; Maag, Karin, *Seminary or University ? : The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620*, Aldershot Hants ; Brookfield Vt. : Scholar Press, 1995, 210 p., chapter V : « Zurich and the Genevan Academy » ; Bächtold, Hans Ulrich, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat : zur Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatswesens in des Jahren 1531 bis 1575*, Bern ; Frankfurt am Main : P. Lang, 1982, 372 p. For references to older works, see Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, *op. cit.*, p. 54-55, n. 101.

<sup>7</sup> Maag, « Financing Education », *art. cit.*, p. 208 and Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

<sup>8</sup> Göing, « In die Fremde schicken », *art. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>9</sup> Maag, « Financing Education », *art. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>10</sup> But to this day the series has only reached the middle of the year 1546, and even if the editors are able to keep the same pace in the future, it will not reach 1560 for another 30 years.

<sup>11</sup> Maag, « Financing Education », *art. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>12</sup> Maag, « Financing Education », *art. cit.*, p. 207.

typically for one or two years. The scholarship regulation of 1560 tells us more about how the scheme worked.<sup>13</sup> The students selected were to be advanced in their studies, well behaved, and trustworthy. They could not decide by themselves where they wanted to go, nor change place without the authorisation of the *Schulherr*, the pastor responsible for school matters. When they stayed abroad, they still had to follow the Zurich schools' regulations. When they came back to Zurich, they had to bring back at least one letter of testimony, written by their professors abroad, assessing their behavior. The students had to submit to examination in Zurich when they came back. The exams for future pastors were divided into two parts. First, they had to pass an exam on the liberal arts and ancient languages; then they had a theology exam.<sup>14</sup> After that, they either continued to study in the *Lectorium* until they got a vacant job, or, more often, they were directly appointed to a new position.

Zurich's *Lectorium* also attracted students from a wider circle than just Zurich's territory. Karin Maag reported that between 1559 and 1620, out of the 529 known students who matriculated in Zurich, 209 came from the canton of Zurich and 320 from outside, mostly from the other cantons of the Swiss Confederacy and allied territories (156 students), a majority coming from the allied territory of Graubünden (64 students).<sup>15</sup>

Tensions regularly arose between the pastors of Zurich and the city political authorities concerning four scholarships destined to foreign students. These scholarships were often used to help students from Graubünden (a confessionally divided territory) to study Reformed theology in Zurich. The magistrates wanted these scholarships to be used for another kind of foreign student: those who came from the canton of Zurich but from outside the city of Zurich, a very narrow notion of who is a foreigner !<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Maag, « Financing Education », *art. cit.*, p. 211-212.

<sup>14</sup> Maag, « Financing Education », *art. cit.*, p. 211 et Göing, « In die Fremde schicken », *art. cit.*, p. 35-36 and 43-44.

<sup>15</sup> Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 136-137.

<sup>16</sup> Bächtold, Hans Ulrich, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat : zur Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatswesens in des Jahren 1531 bis 1575*, Bern ; Frankfurt am Main : P. Lang, 1982, 372 p., p. 217, n. 11.

## Bern

Bern's Academy has so far been much less studied than the Zurich *Lectorium*. This may be due to the fact that at the beginning of the twentieth century, Adolf Fluri published two long and well documented studies on the Bernese school's regulations of the sixteenth century, which may have given the false idea that everything had already been done in this domain.<sup>17</sup> But much remains to be done, and Bern's Academy is now by far the least studied of the five institutions of higher education in sixteenth-century Protestant Switzerland.

Beat Immenhauser published in 2008 an article in which he followed the trajectories of Bernese students in the European universities, based on the published university matriculation lists.<sup>18</sup> He does not tell us how many of the students who matriculated had scholarships, but he does say how many of them he found, after their studies, in the service of the Bernese magistrates, either as school teacher, deacon, pastor, professor or medical doctor. According to Immenhauser's study, of the 216 Bernese students that he found on the university matriculation lists between 1528 and 1600, more than half (119) entered the service of Bern after their studies.<sup>19</sup> The system of higher education in Bern in the sixteenth century seems to have been very similar to the one developed in Zurich. Thanks to the secularised ecclesiastical goods, the civic authorities of Bern financed Latin schools in various cities of their territory, and from 1528 onwards, an Academy in the city of Bern where the liberal arts, Greek, Hebrew, and theology were taught. Bern also had a scholarship scheme, comparable to the one we have seen in Zurich, that helped poor and capable students pay for their studies. Like their Zurich counterparts, the Bernese authorities often sent their more advanced students to study in other academies and universities. To this day, we do not know precisely how many students, selected by the professors and pastors of Bern and paid by the Bernese magistrates, were able to study abroad with travel scholarships. But they seem to

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<sup>17</sup> Fluri, Adolf, « Die bernische Schulordnung von 1548 », *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, XI, Berlin, 1901, p. 159-218 ; Fluri, Adolf, *Die bernische Schulordnung von 1591 und ihre Erläuterungen und Zusätze bis 1616*, Berlin : Hofmann, 1906, 71 p.

<sup>18</sup> Immenhauser, Beat, « Hohe Schule oder Universität ? : zur Pfarrerausbildung in Bern im 16. Jahrhundert », *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde*, 70/2, 2008, p. 1-35.

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<sup>19</sup> Immenhauser, «Hohe Schule oder Universität ? », *art. cit.*, p. 14.

have been approximately as numerous as the Zurich students : about 5 or 6 each year.

The situation changed, however, in 1591, when a new « *Schulordnung* » prescribed that only one student could, from then on, be sent abroad with a scholarship each year.<sup>20</sup>

The time limit on student travel was often decided, as it was in Zurich, by the magistrates and pastors in Bern, and was often when a job became vacant and needed to be filled by a new recruit. The studies abroad were thus probably also used as a means to keep the students patient, while they were waiting for their first job.

### **Lausanne**

Lausanne was part of the Bernese territory from 1536, when Bern conquered the Pays de Vaud against the Duke of Savoy, and when the Bishop fled the town. The first Hebrew and Greek lessons were taught in Lausanne in 1537. From then on, Lausanne Academy took shape progressively during ten years, until 1547, the date of the first academic laws which fully established the institution.<sup>21</sup> The Academy was composed of two distinct parts. The *schola privata*, divided in seven classes, educated children progressively, from the basics of reading and writing to the most complex rules of Greek and Latin grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. The upper level, called the *schola publica*, comprised four professors teaching, respectively, Greek, Hebrew, liberal arts, and theology, at a level comparable to the one achieved in Protestant universities at the same period.

There were students financed by scholarships in Lausanne since 1538. These students were selected by the Lausanne pastors and professors, and then had to go in person to Bern (almost 90 km away), in order to be approved by the magistrates. As in Bern, the entire Lausanne Academy, from its professors' salaries, to the student scholarships through the buildings' repairs and the books for the library, was funded by the Bernese civic authorities who had taken over the ecclesiastical goods after the Reformation. In Lausanne, the scholarships were of two kinds. First, there were twelve privileged bursary students, often just called « *les douze* » (i.e.

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<sup>20</sup> Immenhauser, «Hohe Schule oder Universität ? », *art. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>21</sup> Concerning the Academy of Lausanne, see Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, *op. cit.*

the twelve). When a student was accepted as one of the twelve, all his expenses were paid by the magistrates : he lived in a college under the supervision of the liberal arts professor, and his food, clothes, laundry, medical care, and books were all paid for. Apart from these twelve bursary students, there was another type of students who got scholarships. These students were called the « *extraordinarii* », meaning the ones who got a scholarship but were not part of the twelve. There were as many as 110 such scholarships per year in Lausanne in the 1550s.<sup>22</sup> The scholarships given to the *extraordinarii* were less generous than the ones for the twelve, but nevertheless left them free to dedicate themselves entirely to their studies.

Tensions arose between the pastors and professors of Lausanne and Bern's magistrates regarding the selection of the twelve selected students that were to live in the college. The geographical origin of these students was the problem : the magistrates complained that the pastors and professors presented almost only students from France, and repeated several times that they wanted to give those places, at least in priority, to their own subjects. The reasons for this political preference probably stem from the notion that Bernese subjects would be more faithful to their sovereign and stay longer in its service. Another reason might be the greater willingness of the local population to hear the sermons of pastors who spoke their own Franco-Provençal dialect. This demand concerned only the twelve students, Bern did not pose any geographical conditions regarding the *extraordinarii*, who were mainly French.<sup>23</sup> Other tensions arose when some of the *extraordinarii* asked for the permission to go back to France to promote the Reformation there. The Bernese magistrates ordered the students to remain in their service and reminded the pastors of the dangers that these students would encounter if they went back to France. In 1557, for instance, Bern's small council refused to let go Charles d'Albiac, called du Plessis, who had studied in Lausanne with a scholarship since 1553 and who wanted to go back to Gascony. They wrote to the main pastor of Lausanne, Pierre Viret, to inform him that : « since my lords cannot know what could happen to him, they do not want him, or the other scholarship students, to be put at risk; instead, they want to keep them for

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<sup>22</sup> Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne, op. cit.*, p. 164-180.

<sup>23</sup> Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne, op. cit.*, p. 265-267.



themselves ».<sup>24</sup> The reason given was not a false pretext : in 1553, five former French students of the Lausanne Academy had been arrested in Lyon, prosecuted for heresy and burned.<sup>25</sup>

A theme that recurs regularly in the correspondence of the pastors and professors in Lausanne is the care they took of students sent by other churches and civic authorities, for instance, of the students sent by Zurich, especially when they had been recommended by their colleagues. The extant correspondence of Pierre Viret and of the professor of Greek Theodore Beza are full of letters mentioning the progress and behaviour of German-speaking Swiss students, and we can feel that in the 1550s (before the 1559 crisis) the pastors and professors in Lausanne were proud of what their Academy could offer to such students.<sup>26</sup> Foreign students sent to Lausanne and recommended by other pastors and scholars often lived in the houses of Lausanne professors and pastors. The same was true for the sons of the political elites of Bern and Zurich, who, following the high cultural standards of Renaissance humanism, came to Lausanne to study Ciceronian Latin and Greek, and who could at the same time live in a French environment, without taking the risk to go to Paris. This situation created strong bonds between the teachers and pastors in Lausanne, and the Protestant political and ecclesiastical elites of the Swiss Confederacy.

Only a few times did the magistrates of Bern finance travel scholarships for Lausanne students who wished to study in Basel or in Zurich. At least two cases are documented, but they seem to have been very rare.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, *op. cit.*, p. 298-299. Viret, Pierre, *Epistolae Petri Vireti : The Previously Unedited Letters and a Register of Pierre Viret's Correspondence*, Michael W. Bruening (ed.), Genève : Droz, 2012, p. 380, no. 126.

<sup>25</sup> Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, *op. cit.*, p. 289-296.

<sup>26</sup> *Epistolae Petri Vireti*, *op. cit.*; Bèze, Théodore de, *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, Hippolyte Aubert *et alii* (eds) ; Genève : Droz, 1960 -> ; See also : *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, Aimé-Louis Herminjard (ed.), Genève [etc.] : H. Georg [etc.], 1866-1897, 9 t. and Calvin, Jean, *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss (eds.), Braunschweig/Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke, 1863-1900, 59 vols.

<sup>27</sup> In 1553, Jean Perrin of Lausanne was granted a scholarship from Bern's Council to go and study in Zurich for one year ; his scholarship was renewed for six more months. He was later appointed by Bern's Council as a schoolteacher in Aigle (1556) and as a pastor in Bremgarten (1558) (State Archive of Bern, *Ratsmanuale*, 20 November 1553, 29 October 1554, 17 January 1556, 19 March 1558). Blaise Marcuard studied for three years in Basel at Bern's cost (March 1556-March 1559),

We can thus see that even though the Academies of Bern and Lausanne depended on the same sovereign, the fostering of students' mobility was very different in Bern, where a lot of students were sent to study elsewhere, and in Lausanne, where, on the contrary, many foreign students, mainly French, came to study and received scholarships to remain there.

The Bernese magistrates were so keen to attract foreign students to Lausanne that, in April 1553, they forbade the Lausanne city council to put a municipal tax on foreigners who came there to study, arguing : « it is our will that you do not charge them with any tax, but that you leave them free, as the others who are our scholarship students, so that the ones who are already there do not have a reason to leave, and the others, who are thinking about leaving France, do not get discouraged, which would be a great loss for our School. »<sup>28</sup>

## Geneva

The Geneva Academy was founded in June 1559, thanks to the efforts of John Calvin and Theodore Beza, and achieved immediate success. Its creation can be seen as a kind of swarming from the Lausanne Academy : in 1558/1559, all the professors resigned their positions in Lausanne, due to a conflict with the political and ecclesiastical authorities in Bern ; a few months later, they constituted most of the staff of the newly founded Academy of Geneva.<sup>29</sup> But the Republic of Geneva was under constant threat of the Duke of Savoy. It lacked the financial resources to finance scholarships, even for its own citizens who wanted to study in Geneva or abroad. Only a few times did the city council pay a few florins for travel expenses to Genevan students who went to study elsewhere. Even if the Academy was not financially stable (the magistrates even decided to cut off completely the

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and then he was then called back to Lausanne as a teacher. He became director of the *schola privata* in November 1559. (State Archive of Bern, *Ratsmanuale*, 27 March 1556, 8 April and 18 November 1559)

<sup>28</sup> « [Il] est nostre vouloir que iceulx ne chargez d'aucune imposition, ains les laissez liberés, comme les aultres, noz pensionaires, affin que a ceulx que desja y sont ne soit donnée occasion de se departir, et les aultres qui sont en deliberation de se retirer de France ne soient descouragez, chose qui tomberoit a grand perte pour nostredict College. » State Archive of Bern, *Welschmissivenbücher*, 12 April 1553.

<sup>29</sup> Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, *op. cit.*, p. 101-119.

professors' salaries during the war against the duke of Savoy in 1586<sup>30</sup>) the Genevan authorities exerted much effort to attract foreign students to Geneva. The company of pastors, seeing their Academy mainly as a seminary for pastors, regularly wrote to French churches to encourage them to send students to Geneva with a scholarship, even telling them how much they should give their students for a year's stay, in exchange of the student's promise that he would return to his church in France after his studies and become a minister there.<sup>31</sup> This kind of « marketing » worked very well : Karin Maag has found out that, between 1559 and 1620, at least 53 students came to Geneva with a scholarship funded by a local church in France.<sup>32</sup> The Genevan ministers were happy with this kind of student, but the magistrates had another category of foreign students in mind—a wealthier one—that they wanted to attract to Geneva : noble German students on their tours through the universities and academies of Europe.<sup>33</sup> In order to attract them, the Genevan magistrates financed two professors of law after 1561, and a third one starting in 1584.<sup>34</sup> They even decided to give some money to a horse-riding instructor who could help to attract noble students.<sup>35</sup> And it worked; in the last decade of the sixteenth century, German nobles constituted more than half of the student body in Geneva.<sup>36</sup> The magistrate even closed an eye to the disciplinary problems produced by these young noblemen, who sometimes were Lutherans or even Catholics, which also created tensions with the Genevan Company of Pastors.<sup>37</sup> The pastors, with the notable exception of Theodore Beza, were opposed to the creation of the law professorships and did not include these professors in their deliberating body, the Company of Pastors, even if all the other professors were part of it.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The only lessons which survived during the period where the ones taught by the professors of theology, who were also pastors : Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>31</sup> Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 104, 111.

<sup>32</sup> Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 104-105, 111-115, 122-123.

<sup>33</sup> Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 58-60

<sup>34</sup> Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53.

<sup>35</sup> Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 96-97.

<sup>36</sup> Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>37</sup> Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 98-101

<sup>38</sup> Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

## Why study abroad ?

Why did the Swiss Protestant cities, mostly Bern and Zurich, pay for their students to study in other universities or academies? As we have already seen, this was a way to complete their school system at a lower cost than if they had to hire star professors themselves and, from 1562 onwards, it permitted the Zurich civil authorities to offer their best students the teaching of foreign professors while hiring only Zurich citizens as professors in their own city. Another reason that one would think should be obvious, considering the fact that the majority of the Bernese and Zurich students who got a scholarship to study in a foreign school went to visit an actual university, is that they wanted to get an academic degree that their home institutions could not deliver. But, in fact, very few of the Swiss Protestant students who studied abroad actually earned a degree. Beat Immenhauser found out, looking at the matriculation lists of European universities, that only 6% of the Bernese students who matriculated in post-reformation sixteenth century earned an academic degree.<sup>39</sup>

Bullinger's correspondence offers many testimonies showing that degrees were not considered very important, or even necessarily good, by the Reformed church authorities. The first of these testimonies is the response Bullinger gave in 1540 to Rudolph Gwalther, a promising young student who was studying in Marburg with a colleague, and who had asked Bullinger if they could be sent some money in order to pass the examination for the *magister artium* degree. Here is an extract of Bullinger's very clear answer : « What is the point of paying a lot of money for the title of *magister* ? When you [two] return home and take your functions in the church, nobody will ask if you are masters or servants, but how learned and how good you are. The Marburg School will not refuse to give you letters of testimony regarding your studies and your virtue. What is more, you yourself will be the richest witness, if you act as is required and expected from a learned and good person. »<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Immenhauser, «Hohe Schule oder Universität ? », *art. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>40</sup> « *Quorsum enim attinet multo sumptu gradus magisterii recipere ? Ubi domum redieritis et ecclesiae vices erunt rependendae, nemo rogabit, num sitis magistri an famuli, sed quam docti et boni. Non negabit vobis Marpurgensis schola testimoniales literas de vestro studio et virtute. Imo tu ipse tibi eris testis locupletissimus, si praestes opere, quod a docto et bono requiritur aut expectatur.* » Heinrich Bullinger to [Rudolf Gwalther], [ca. 29 November 1540], Letter n° 1436,

Here we see, already in 1540, what replaced the academic degree for a Reformed student, at least for the student aiming at an ecclesiastical career, and what the 1560 Zurich school regulation considered as absolutely necessary, as we have seen : the letter of testimony.<sup>41</sup> The most important element of this type of letter was how the student behaved while he was abroad. This does not mean, however, as some scholars have suggested, that the intellectual training of the student during the studies abroad was not considered important. But, as Bullinger mentioned in his letter to Gwalther, the knowledge was portable and would remain with the student who would himself be a testimony of how well he studied. Since this knowledge was tested by the Zurich professors when the student came back, it did not need to be examined by his foreign professors first.

So, if not the degrees, what was important in the eyes of the magistrates, professors and pastors who sent students abroad with a scholarship ?

As important as the knowledge to be acquired during these stays was the opportunity for the students to get out of their own land and explore. These two motives (learning and discovery) are exactly the ones mentioned in the Bernese « Schulordnung » of 1548, under the fourth article, dedicated to the money that should be given to the students « who are sent further » (*die man witer schickt*) : « As there are important costs linked to the person who is sent further in order to continue his studies and to discover (*witer zu leren und zu erkunden*), as was earlier the case in Strasburg, now in Zurich and also at the universities, it is appropriate that we should give him a certain amount of money for his living, clothes, books, and for the things that for these reasons he would want or need to buy, that is, for one year, 40 florins. »<sup>42</sup>

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in Bullinger, Heinrich, *Werke*. Abt. 2, *Briefwechsel*, Zwingliverein in Zürich (éd.) ; unter Mitwirkung des Instituts für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte [*et alii*], Zürich : Theologischer Verl., 1973 ->

<sup>41</sup> For general informations on the letters of testimony, see Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, *op. cit.*, p. 349-356.

<sup>42</sup> FLURI, Adolf, « Die bernische Schulordnung von 1548 », in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, XI, Berlin, 1901, p. 159-218, article 4 : « *Die man witer schickt : Diewyl mit denselben, so man etwan fürer schickt, witer zu leren und zu erkunden, als vornach gan Strassburg, ietz gan Zürich und ouch uf die universiteten, träfentlicher costen ufgangen, der kum zu tragen oder ouch zu erlyden, ist angesächen, das man eim söllichen für zerung, kleyder, bücher und was er desshalb wyll oder bedarf zu koufen ein genampte sum, namlich uf ein jar xl guldin geben sölle.* »

A very important goal of a period of studies abroad was to discover the world, so that the students could gain more confidence in themselves. This is confirmed by many sixteenth-century sources. For instance, in 1541 the principal pastor (*antistes*) of the Basel church, Oswald Myconius, wrote to Bullinger, his Zurich counterpart, to argue for a longer period of study for the Zurich students outside of their hometown : « And it is appropriate for students of this age to learn the customs of men, to see and to listen to many and various scholars. You know how valuable that can be. [...] And indeed we do not assert this lightly, but a man who has never left his homeland is a goose, or a loaf of uncooked bread. »<sup>43</sup> The same goal was also clearly expressed by the church of Montpellier, which was financing a student in Geneva in 1584 and asked the pastors there if they thought it best that the young man should return straight to Montpellier or if he should go first to Germany and study for some time in a « good university » like Heidelberg : « so as to travel a bit and to acquire in this way a bit of honest and holy confidence, through seeing and hearing the good and wise individuals who are in these universities »<sup>44</sup>.

### **The impact of confessions in the choice of a foreign university or academy**

What importance did confessional identity have in the choice of a foreign university or academy? The work of Immenhauser on the places where the Bernese students matriculated between 1528 and 1600 reveals that religious confession played a very important role in the choice of a university or academy.

Catholic universities were not an impossible choice, but were only rarely chosen (perhaps with the exception of Paris, which remains to be studied in this context).

The universities of Vienna and Cologne, both very successful in attracting Bernese students during the Middle Ages, attracted none of them after the Reformation.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> « *Et decet hanc aetatem nosse mores hominum, videre et audire doctos multos et varios. Nosti, quam ea res valde prosit [...]. Non profecto temere iactamus : Vir, qui nunquam exivit patriam, anserem esse, item esse panem non coctum.* » Oswald Myconius to Bullinger, 9 May 1541, in *Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel, op. cit.*, n° 1516.

<sup>44</sup> « [...] *afin de voir un peu le pays et s'aquerir par ce moyen quelque honneste et sainte hardiesse en voyant et en oyant ces bon et doctes personnages qui sont ès Universitez de-delà [...].* » *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève*, Archives d'État de Genève (dir.) t. V, p. 295, The church of Montpellier to the company of pastors, 29 September/9 October 1584. Quoted in English translation by Karin Maag, *Seminary or University ?*, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

<sup>45</sup> Immenhauser, «Hohe Schule oder Universität ? », *art. cit.*, p. 21.

The favourite destinations of the Bernese students was then Basel with 138 matriculations.<sup>46</sup> More than 80% of the students who matriculated at a university and later served Bern as pastors or school teacher studied in Basel.<sup>47</sup> The second destination was Heidelberg, with 70 matriculations between 1528 and 1600. Together with Marburg (23 matriculations), Basel and Heidelberg were the three universities that had adopted Reformed faith, like Bern, and they were clearly the ones the Bernese students frequented most during the sixteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Then only came the Lutheran universities of Wittenberg and Tübingen, with about 20 matriculations each during the same period (1528-1600).<sup>49</sup>

It seems likely that Bernese students with a scholarship were even forbidden to go to Wittenberg<sup>50</sup> or Strasbourg between 1547 and 1557. The elimination of the Academy of Strasbourg as a destination for Bernese and Zurich students can be dated precisely between the end of the year 1546 and the beginning of 1547. It shows in an exemplary way how Swiss Reformed students feared to compromise their faith during their studies abroad, even in Protestant lands. Of course, the Schmalkaldic War (1546-1547) may also have negatively affected Strasbourg's ability to attract Swiss students. But it is only a small part of the picture, and cannot account for the whole decade during which students from Reformed Switzerland were actively discouraged from studying in Strasbourg. Thanks to the letters published in Calvin's correspondence, it is possible to retrace the events leading to a banning of Strasbourg as a destination for Zwinglian students. In December 1546, the pastors and professors of Strasbourg sent a letter to the pastors of Zurich concerning two students coming from Zurich, among them Ludwig Lavater (1527-1586), who would later become the *antistes* of Zurich, and a third one from canton Schaffhausen. They explained that these students, living in the house of the pastor Johann Marbach, did not take part in the celebration of the Eucharist in Strasbourg, despite the fact that the city's pastors told them many times that their participation was important and that they did not risk compromising their faith, as Strasbourg was united theologically with Zurich. In this long letter, describing all their discussions with the three Swiss students, the pastors of Strasbourg asked their

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<sup>46</sup> Immenhauser, «Hohe Schule oder Universität ? », *art. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>48</sup> Immenhauser, «Hohe Schule oder Universität ? », *art. cit.*, p. 18-20.

<sup>49</sup> Immenhauser, «Hohe Schule oder Universität ? », *art. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>50</sup> Immenhauser, «Hohe Schule oder Universität ? », *art. cit.*, p. 14.

Zurich colleagues to help them convince the students to take the Eucharist with the rest of the Strasbourg church.<sup>51</sup> The letter is a very interesting one, for it shows that in the middle of the 1540s foreign students studying in Strasbourg were expected to take part in the Eucharist, but that there was still a certain grey area in this matter. This letter recalls how the three Swiss students were summoned by the Strasbourg pastors and told that no one in the church could abstain from the sacrament of the Eucharist without being excommunicated. Knowing that there were some divergences between the Bucerians and the Zwinglians on the interpretation of the Eucharist, the pastors told the students that they could take communion with the church of Strasbourg, interpreting it according to the Basel confession (known today as the First Helvetic Confession (1536), to which Bucer and Capito contributed, along with Bullinger and other Swiss theologians), or even take it simply thinking about the words of Saint Paul «*panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Domini, calix quo gratias agimus est communicatio sanguinis eius*»,<sup>52</sup> without trying to judge the controversy of their precise meaning. Finally, the pastors explained to the three students that Strasbourg's school regulations required students who wanted to benefit from the school's teaching also to be members of the church. This, the pastors told the students, was similar to the practice in Zurich, where, according to their understanding, the magistrates did not tolerate a citizen, or at least a member of the council, who did not want to take communion.<sup>53</sup> The pastors' discourse seems to leave no room for compromise with the students if they decided not to take part in the Eucharist. Three days later, however, rumors reached the pastors of Strasbourg that the Swiss students were

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<sup>51</sup> [Martin Bucer, in the name of] the pastors of Strasbourg (Caspar Hedio, Peter Martyr Vermigli and Martin Bucer) to the pastors of Zurich, Strasbourg, 6 December 1546, in *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia, op. cit.*, vol. XII, n° 860 (= CO, ep. n° 860).

<sup>52</sup> These words are a paraphrase of 1 Co 10,16, which are, in the version of Erasmus' New Testament: «*Poculum benedictionis, cui benedicimus, nonne communicatio sanguinis Christi est? Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est?*»

<sup>53</sup> «*Legem scholae nostrae esse ut qui eius uti beneficio velit uti debere et ecclesiae: christianam enim scholam nos instituisse, quae nihil quam quaedam iuventutis christianae et literariae ecclesia esset. Nos denique pridem audivisse, Tiguri nec in civium quidem societate tolerari, aut saltem in ordine senatorio, qui mensa Domini nunquam communicarent et prae se ferrent, id se facere ideo quod iudicarent coenam Domini apud vos non recte administrari.*» CO, ep. n° 860, col. 439-440.



saying that they had be threatened with expulsion from the school if they did not take communion in Strasbourg. The three students were summoned again by Bucer. The students denied having said that they had been directly threatened with expulsion, but they repeated the arguments of the Strasbourg pastors that the school's regulations required them to receive communion and that Zurich did not tolerate citizens who did not take the Eucharist. When they indicated that this made them fear that they were going to be expelled if they continued to abstain from communion, Bucer reassured them. He explained that the pastors of Strasbourg did not want to rush things, and that they had only used these arguments in the hope of changing the minds of the Swiss students. Having reported these exchanges in his letter, Bucer asked the Zurich ministers to intervene with their students.

The response, written one month later by Bullinger in the name of the Zurich pastors, is a very harsh one, and not the one the pastors of Strasbourg were hoping for.<sup>54</sup> Bullinger first explains that the studies of the two young Zurich students were being paid for by their parents, and not by the Zurich authorities. Nevertheless, before their departure abroad, the ministers of Zurich advised the students, as their pastors and teachers, to remain loyal to their faith and not compromise it, adding to the pressure of their parents who had said, according to Bullinger, that if their sons diverged from the faith in which they had been brought up, they would have to find another home and new parents when they came back.<sup>55</sup> In contradiction of the Strasbourg pastors, who claimed that the students did not understand what they were doing or the consequences of their decision, Bullinger insisted that the students were old enough to grasp the theological subtleties concerning the Eucharist, and that if they refused to take it in Strasbourg, it was because they recognized that the doctrine in the Alsatian city and the one in Zurich were different on that matter.<sup>56</sup> Bullinger explained that he did not want to force the young students to act against their consciences, adding that no stranger was forced in

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<sup>54</sup> The pastors of Zurich to the pastors of Strasbourg, Zurich, 10 January 1547, in *Ioannis Calvinii opera quae supersunt omnia, op. cit.*, vol. XII, n° 872 (= CO, ep. n° 872).

<sup>55</sup> CO, ep. n° 872, col. 462.

<sup>56</sup> « *Aut cur nos iuberemus illos contra animi sententiam et propriam conscientiam facere? Habent isti iustae aetatis annos, utuntur ratione sana, intelligunt quid utrobique doceatur publice.* » CO, ep. n° 872, col. 463.

Zurich to take the Eucharist against his will.<sup>57</sup> What is more, he reproached implicitly the pastors for acting hypocritically, when they asked the Swiss to take the Eucharist in Strasbourg while thinking only about the words of Saint Paul, and he attacked Bucer violently on his own inconsistencies on the question : « [You say:] ‘besides, we don’t require anything else from them but the Pauline confession : *Panis quem frangimus nonne est etc.*’. But listen, brothers, our controversy does not stem from Paul’s words, but from the meaning of Paul’s words. And a faithful participation in the sacraments requires the truth and a pure confession; it repels dissimulation. Bucer’s interpretation and our interpretation of this passage of Paul are not the same; we do not have the same opinion. What is more, we would very well agree with Bucer, if he himself would not disagree with himself. »<sup>58</sup>

The point of the letter is clear : either the pastors and professors in Strasbourg leave the Swiss students free not to take part in their celebration of the Eucharist, or Zurich will call them back immediately and no longer send anyone to Strasbourg.<sup>59</sup>

Around the same time, all the students financed by Bern were also called back from Strasbourg and sent first to Zurich and then to Lausanne.<sup>60</sup> The Alsatian city was then carefully avoided by the Zwinglian students. This conflict between Strasbourg and Zurich in 1546/1547 reminds us in an exemplary way how important and

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<sup>57</sup> « *Nec quenquam ex hospitibus unquam compulimus contra conscientiam et fidei suae professionem communicare nobiscum, sua sponte vero accedentem nullum unquam repulimus.* » CO, ep. n° 872, col. 465.

<sup>58</sup> « *Caeterum nihil ab illis requiritur quam confessio paulina : Panis quem frangimus nonne est etc. Verum audite, fratres, non de verbis Pauli, sed de sensu verborum Pauli est nobis controversia. Et fidelis sacramentorum perceptio requirit veritatem et ingenuam eandemque confessionem, simulationem repellit. Non idem est D. Bucero et nobis de eo Pauli loco iudicium, non eadem sententia : imo conveniret nobis egregie cum Bucero, si ipse a semetipso non dissentiret.* » CO, ep. n° 872, col. 463.

<sup>59</sup> « *Permittite itaque, rogamus, iuvenibus nostris, ut sua fide apud vos tranquille fruantur, et ne adigantur facere quod cum ipsorum conscientia et fide pugnat. Placet enim alioqui nobis schola vestra, placet disciplina, et amamus vos atque vestros, cupimusque nostros vobiscum versari ad tempus. Id quod non tantum de duobus illis nostris dictum volumus intelligi, sed de caeteris quoque quos Deo volente posthac missuri sumus. Caeterum si putaveritis hanc nostram postulationem tendere ad insignem ecclesiae vestrae offensionem aut labefactionem, non tantum nullos porro mittemus, sed et illos duos, qui iam apud vos agunt, non gravabuntur revocare parentes ipsorum. Aliter agere non possumus, fratres.* » CO, ep. n° 872, col. 465.

<sup>60</sup> Crousaz, *L’Académie de Lausanne, op. cit.*, p. 272.

sensitive the confessional question was for some students, their parents and the religious and political authorities, when it came to choosing a foreign university or academy to pursue their studies.

As we have seen in this chapter, it is important to include, as much as possible, universities *and* academies when we want to do research on student mobility in the early modern period.<sup>61</sup> If we leave academies out of our studies, an important part of the educational landscape, at least for Protestant countries, disappears from our sight.

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<sup>61</sup>For instance, Beat Immenhauser published a graph representing the number of Bernese students who matriculated in European universities between 1528 and 1600 (« Grafik 1. Immatrikulationen von bernischen Universitätsbesuchern an europäischen Universitäten (1528-1600) », in Immenhauser, «Hohe Schule oder Universität ? », *art. cit.*, p. 15). But he did not take academies into account in this graph, leaving us with the impression that there were relatively few Bernese students studying outside of Bern between 1546 and 1560 (going down from 17 in 1546-1550 to 10 for the period 1556-1560), but that there was a sudden explosion of such students in the period 1561-1565 (42 matriculations found by Immenhauser). This is a mistaken impression, however, for during the period between 1545 and 1559 Lausanne Academy was flourishing and attracted dozens of students from Bern each year. In 1559, the Academy went through its worst crisis, losing all its faculty; this decisive fact explains why there was such a sudden increase of Bernese students in universities at this time.

To see the graph : [http://www.bezg.ch/img/publikation/08\\_2/immenhauser.pdf](http://www.bezg.ch/img/publikation/08_2/immenhauser.pdf)