Church and State: Sixteenth Century Higher Education in Zurich and Its Ties to the City-State Government

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In the early modern period, the aim of institutions of higher learning to integrate into a larger whole, such as the state, a church, or the international intellectual world, was an important condition for the development of knowledge and intellectual behavior in Europe.

The focus of this study is Zurich, a politically separate part of the Holy Roman Empire in the tradition of the free imperial cities with a strong bourgeoisie, which was at the same time a full member of the Old Swiss Confederation. Both political connections impacted the direction and development of cultural exchange in Zurich. But other ties had even greater impact, particularly Zurich's connection with religious and intellectual worlds across political borders, most importantly its membership in the reformed church that Huldrych Zwingli and later Jean Calvin had helped shape. The Zurich *lectorium*, an institute of higher education that Zwingli helped found between 1523 and 1525, participated in this multiconnected environment: its employees and members—teachers, administrators, and students—were outward looking, and nurtured cultural exchanges with members of institutions of higher learning across Europe, whether traditional universities or newly founded *gymnasia* and *gymnasia illustria*.[1] These ties of

[1] The derivation of the precise name of this school as "lectorium" is extensively treated in my article: Anja-Silvia Goeing, "Die Ausbildung reformierter Prediger in Zürich, 1531–1575: Vorstellung eines pädagogischen Projekts," in *Bildung und Konfession. Theologenausbildung im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung*, ed. Herman J.

cultural integration, both strong and weak, with the city-state, the confederation, the Empire, the church, and the intellectual world, led Zurich's intellectuals to develop a recognizably international but independent way of understanding the world around them. This approach would ultimately shape the life of Zurich's inhabitants by fostering specific scholarly behaviors, such as collecting, storing, organizing, and using all parts of collectable knowledge, from letters of the reformers to historical weather conditions to the later city administration records.

In this essay, I want to argue that despite the many commonalities that they shared with other cities with higher education institutions, whether in the Swiss Confederacy and allied territories, or in the Holy Roman Empire, the Zurich *lectorium* engaged differently with its city government. In the absence of a higher authority, such as an emperor or prince, in the second half of the sixteenth century the school organization depended on a tight collaboration between the city mayor and other government officials and the professors, led by the elected administrative director of the *lectorium*. The school authority, working closely with the Zurich Antistes, the first minister of Zurich, did not conflict with state authority, because each party acknowledged their different roles in the negotiations that determined the scheduled working process of the school year, and ensured the future development of the Zurich *lectorium*. The *lectorium*'s relationship

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Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt (Mainz: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 295–97, with reference to the functional components of an academy, a theological seminary, a "Hohe Schule," and a gymnasium. In addition, Josias

Simmler called the *lectorium* in 1576 and 1577 a school, and he explicitly mentioned that it was not a "Hohe Schule" (academy), as he called the University of Basel (academia in the Latin version of his book). Simmler, *Regiment Gemeiner loblicher Eydgnoschafft* (Zurich, 1576), 166r; Simmler, *De Republica Helvetiorum Libri duo* (Zurich, 1577), 151v. The name "Carolinum" that is often mentioned in secondary literature today has its roots in the seventeenth century.

with the city council was conditioned by its relationship with the church. After thorough discussion among themselves and with the Antistes, the professors made most of the decisions which set the *lectorium*'s yearly routines. These were then confirmed by the city mayor and other officials, and in important cases, by the entire Zurich council. The professors thus exercised authority over the school while being connected to city politics.

The minutes of the *lectorium* meetings show that the school's teaching process was not affected by the whims of the ruling secular authorities, as happened in contemporary Wittenberg, for example.[2] Wittenberg was one of many important cities where the Reformation and higher education developed very early through negotiations with a secular ruler. In the free imperial city of Strasbourg, as in other independent cities of the Holy Roman Empire such as Magdeburg, the city council tightly monitored curriculum development in its established institution of higher education, the Strasbourg academy.[3] Nor was the situation in Zurich comparable with the government conditions in Geneva, where at first Calvin exercised oversight over both church and city council, but later, in the time of Theodore Beza, a slight difference between the aims of church and city council enabled the broader discipline and curriculum development of the

[2] For Wittenberg, see the valuable overview in Heinz Scheible, "Die Philosophische Fakultät der Universität Wittenberg von der Gründung bis zur Vertreibung der Philippisten," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History* 98 (2007): 7–44.

[3] See the detailed analysis in Anton Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und Freie Reichsstadt: Gymnasium und Akademie in Strassburg 1538–1621* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 140–42. For important power struggles between the magistrate and gymnasium in Magdeburg see Carsten Nahrendorf, *Humanismus in Magdeburg: Das Altstädtische Gymnasium von Seiner Gründung bis zur Zerstörung der Stadt (1524–1631)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 35–59.

Genevan academy.[4] Rather, the situation in Zurich reflected the institution's successful integration into city politics, for the curriculum was driven by the institution itself.

What Was the Zurich *Lectorium*?

After the Zwinglian Reformation in Zurich in 1519, the 1520s were marked by an escalating religious conflict between the Catholic cantons and Zurich, which only ended with the Second Territorial Peace of 1531. By then Zurich had implemented a series of reforms, including the abolition of the mass and the appropriation of monastic property. In the 1530s and 1540s, it turned to radically rebuilding the political and religious structures of the canton, including its system of education.[5]

These developments can be followed in detail through the writings, sermons, and letters of Heinrich Bullinger, who, alongside Conrad Gessner, was one of Zurich's most active writers.[6] As the unofficial head of the church, Bullinger applied close readings of the Bible to his advice

[4] See the Anja-Silvia Goeing, "The Genevan Academy: Scrutinizing European Connections in the Time of Theodore Beza," in *Geneva: A Companion*, ed. Jon Balserak (Leiden: Brill, 2021, forthcoming).

[5] For further literature on the Zurich *lectorium* of the sixteenth century see the bibliography in Anja-Silvia Goeing: *Storing, Archiving, Organizing: The Changing Dynamics of Scholarly Information Management in Post-Reformation Zurich*, Library of the Written Word (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

[6] See the methodical editions of all of Heinrich Bullinger's works and letter exchanges in progress in Heinrich Bullinger, *Werke* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972–).

for the city council on important political decisions and actions.[7] He was also very active in organizing meetings within the greater Reformed church, outside the regions of the Augsburg Confession (1530).[8]

Bullinger's efforts finally bore fruit in the Confessio Helvetica Posterior, which he wrote in 1562 and published in 1566 in Latin, German, and French. As his preface pointed out, Zurich, Geneva, Berne, Basel, Scotland, Hungary, and parts of Poland all followed the new creed.[9] The *lectorium* played a central role in drafting this confession, which derived mainly from the new translation and interpretation of the Bible by a collaborative group of professors, called together by Huldrych Zwingli in 1523. They founded the *lectorium* in 1525, and Bullinger enhanced it after 1531.

Scholarship and teaching developed to support the city's religious activity. As its major creation, the *lectorium* is therefore an ideal vehicle through which to examine the development of the Zwinglian Reformation because it was where the most sophisticated scholars of Zurich taught, reflected, and met each other. It is important to recognize the extent of the church's

[7] On Bullinger's petitions to the small council, see Hans Ulrich Bächtold,, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat: Zur Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatswesens in den Jahren 1531 bis 1575*, Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte vol. 12 (Berne: Lang, 1982); André Holenstein, "Reformatorischer Auftrag und Tagespolitik bei Heinrich Bullinger," in *Heinrich Bullinger: Life—Thought—Influence*, ed. Emidio Campi and Peter Opitz, Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte vol. 24 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2008), 177–232.

[8] More information in Bruce Gordon, *Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation*: *The Synod in Zurich, 1532–1580*, Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte vol. 16 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1992); and Thomas Maissen, "Religiöses Patt und konfessionelle Allianzen: Dynamiken und Stagnation in der Eidgenossenschaft von 1531 bis 1618," in *Die schweizerische Reformation: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Emidio Campi and Amy Nelson Burnett (Zürich: TVZ, 2017), 595–624.

[9] Heinrich Bullinger, *Confessio et expositio simplex orthodoxae fidei* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1566), preface.

responsibilities in Zurich. Church officials concerned themselves not only with the new contents and forms of Protestant education and scholarship at this advanced level, but also with reforming the elementary and Latin schools. The two medieval Latin schools founded by monasteries, suppressed by the Zwinglian reform in 1523, were now directly integrated into the new school management of the *lectorium*.[10]

Together with the city council, Zwingli established an elementary learning institution at the secularized Grossmünster Stift, the "Prophezei," using vacant canonries to hire scholars with distinct language specialties (Greek, Hebrew, Latin), who both taught and contributed to the first Zurich Bible translation.[11] In contrast to a secular school, teachers at the Prophezei methodically translated the whole Bible, chapter by chapter, sentence by sentence, compared the Vulgate with

[10] Ulrich Ernst, Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens bis gegen das Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts (Zurich: Bleuler-Hausheer, 1879 [diss., University of Zurich, 1879]), 8 and 14 about the medieval Latin schools; and more information about the school regulations in Goeing, *Storing, Archiving, Organizing*, 69–136.

[11] Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 56; and Hans Nabholz, "Zürichs Höhere Schulen von der Reformation bis zur Gründung der Universität, 1525–1833," in *Die Universität Zürich, 1833–1933 und ihre Vorläufer: Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier*, ed. Ernst Gagliardi, Hans Nabholz, and Jean Strohl, Die Zürcherischen Schulen seit der Regeneration der 1830er Jahre 3 (Zurich: Verlag der Erziehungsdirektion, 1938), 3–164. See also the writings of Fritz Büsser, "Die Kirchlichen Institutionen im Reformierten Zürich des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich. Zum 500: Geburtag des Reformators Huldrych Zwingli*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 31, ed. Büsser (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 217–30. Fritz Büsser, "Reformierte Erziehung in Theorie und Praxis," in *Wurzeln der Reformation*, 199–216. Fritz Büsser, "Théorie et pratique de l'éducation sous le Réforme à Zurich," in *La Réforme et l'éducation*, ed. Jean Boisset (Toulouse: Privat, 1974), 153–69. Fritz Büsser, "'Schola Tigurina,' Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550," in *Schola Tigurina, Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550; Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 25. Mai bis 10. Juli 1999 in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Bächtold (Zurich,: Pano, 1999), 7–15.

Hebrew and Greek texts, and provided a German translation. The daily meetings were open to all Zurich citizens, men, women, and children. They usually met in the Grossmünster, the main church of Zurich, where Zwingli ministered as people's priest (Leutpriester) from 1518.[12]

After Zwingli's death, the meetings remained "in publico" under Bullinger from 1532, and from 1537 under the rhetoric professor Hans-Jakob Amman. However, the first Bible translations had already been published, so the emphasis shifted from research into the Biblical text to teaching the younger (and youngest) generation. Bullinger thus achieved Zwingli's aim of educating the new generation of ministers by appropriating the canon funds of the Grossmünster Stift.

The old church foundation of the Grossmünster Stift, a richly endowed major city church in the heart of Zurich with ministerial functions and a canon chapter, thus provided financial support for the two Latin schools, the Grossmünster or upper school and, in part, the Fraumünster or lower school, partly for the Alumnat or Collegium at the Fraumünster School (a boarding facility for fifteen students), and the entire income of the *lectorium*, the advanced school for higher education.

This explains why, despite the city's general appropriation of Catholic Church property after 1525, the Grossmünster Stift managed to retain its financial independence. From 1525, the church developed a complex set of educational institutions aided by the city council and by internal reform of the church itself.[13] As Hans-Ulrich Bächtold and André Holenstein have pointed out, there was a major controversy over the fate of the Grossmünster Stift in 1532 when the city council threatened to appropriate it. Heinrich Bullinger, who had the right to deliver

[12] Christian Moser, "Zwingli, Huldrych," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10447.php (accessed 4 May 2020).

[13] Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 124–42 (Economy).

petitions to the city council, which made him a sort of intermediary authority between the school and the councilors, intervened.[14] His petition to the city council in that year helped to preserve the financial independence of the Stift. His request included all of the statements made in the council between 1523 and 1531 about keeping the Grossmünster Stift as an independent learning institution.[15] This would ensure the school's financial security for centuries to come. From 1532, the financial sources for the Fraumünster School, and from 1538 the Alumnat, were derived from the Grossmünster Stift. But the accounts were kept separately, and a joint committee ensured the coordination of curriculum planning.[16]

As in Berne, where the institute of education opened in 1528, but in contrast to the then-Bernese province of Lausanne, where a Protestant academy opened in 1537, education in Zurich was primarily theological.[17] It centered first on translating the Bible, then on understanding the original Biblical text, and finally on the loci of the most important Reformed beliefs.

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[14] Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat*; Holenstein, "Reformatorischer Auftrag und Tagespolitik bei Heinrich Bullinger."

[15] Bächtold, "Bullinger und die Krise der Zürcher Reformation im Jahre 1532," in *Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag*, 2 vols., ed. U. Gäbler and E. Herkenrath, Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte, 7–8 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 1:269–89; Holenstein, "Reformatorischer Auftrag und Tagespolitik bei Heinrich Bullinger."

[16] Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 124–42.

[17] For the foundation of the institute of higher education in Berne see Ulrich Im Hof, "Die Gründung der Hohen Schule zu Bern 1528," in *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 40 (1978): 249–59. For the foundation of the Academy of Lausanne see Karine Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et réforme (ca. 1537–1560)*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance vol. 41 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Other branches of knowledge were taught in Zurich.[18] The basis of the school curriculum was command of the Latin language. Ancient Greek, both the Greek of ancient comedy and tragedy, and the Greek of the Bible, was the second language taught. Originally, Hebrew also played a central role in Zurich, though later it became marginalized. The city physician Conrad Gessner taught Aristotelian ethics and natural philosophy from 1541, then from 1563 restricted his teaching to natural philosophy. Until a major reform of 1609, these remained the core disciplines taught at the Zurich *lectorium*.[19] In contrast to the academy established in Geneva in 1559, the Zurich *lectorium* remained a preparatory institution for university studies and a theological seminary, and did not move towards legal studies, as did Geneva's institution of higher learning.

The distinctive scholarly method by which knowledge was accumulated and organized in Zurich was particularly important. It was based on the culture of collecting, highly valued in Zurich scholarly circles, which produced various kinds of *Wunderkammern*, some of which found their way into print. This knowledge was ordered not in accordance with new methods, such as the taxonomies of Peter Ramus and his followers, but rather by mixed humanist "loci" (setting aside a range of key words) combined with library catalogs. At the reorganization of the *lectorium* in 1559, the professors publicised their culturally prestigious method of teaching in several textbooks that synthesized the most important methods.

The methodology taught at the *lectorium* led to two major scientific discoveries in the second half of the sixteenth century, which proved important for the Zurich city-state. On the one hand, the learned method made possible more systematic approaches to administration, which

[18] See Goeing, *Storing, Archiving, Organizing*, 203–75.

[19] The reform of 1609 led to the *lectorium* forming two *collegia* instead of one; E II 459, 85av (1609), Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich/Public Record Office of the Canton of Zurich (hereafter StAZ).

scholars then adapted for the city council and its archives. Second, Zurich developed a comparative research methodology that shed new light on the Bible and its possible interpretation. Using these, Zurich fostered both its cultural and political development.

As this short overview shows, the *lectorium* played an integrating role in the Zurich city-state. However, the structures of dependency and independence that shaped the connections between the school and the city government differed from other environments of higher education in the Holy Roman Empire and its allied territories. This was because Zurich, like other cities in the Swiss Confederacy, recognized no intermediate authorities, and considered itself only notionally subordinate to the emperor. There was no prince to order church visitations that demanded higher educational institutions, as John George, Prince-Elector of Brandenburg, ordered in 1573 for his resident city of Berlin. This led to the establishment of the Berlin Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster in 1574, then the principal institution of higher education in that city.[20]

Zurich's government consisted of an elected city council, divided into large and small chambers, and various officers, including the elected Burgermeister. Unlike in imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire, Zurich's council consisted of representatives elected by the Zurich guilds and the Constaffel, the Zurich landowners.[21] By contrast, at Nuremberg, one of the most

[20] Agnes Winter, *Das Gelehrtenschulwesen der Residenzstadt Berlin in der Zeit von Konfessionalisierung, Pietismus und Frühaufklärung (1574–1740)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2008), 93.

[21] Groundbreaking is the work of Werner Schnyder, *Die Zürcher Ratslisten, 1225–1798* (Zurich: Kommissionsverlag Berichthaus Zürich, 1962). The lists were online researchable at http://www.histoire-recherche.ch/rat_famlist.php (accessed 16 Mar. 2018, they have been taken down later), and an Excel excerpt with

important imperial cities, the council consisted of thirty-four members from patrician families, with only eight members of the guilds invited on very rare occasions. Where nobility ruled in Nuremberg in the absence of the emperor, in Zurich, the guilds played a significant and regular part in government. The Zurich school therefore connected patrician families with tradesmen by offering merit-based scholarships (as alternatives to trade apprenticeships) at the Latin schools to boys who demonstrated sufficient intelligence and diligence to become church ministers. The students had to commit themselves to teaching or preaching careers once they had graduated. Representatives of the city government also witnessed and legitimized key moments of the school year. Councilors attended the yearly examinations of the students, and the general *censura*, an evaluation of both the teaching staff and the students of the *lectorium* and Latin schools. Councilors administered the alms scholarships and, separate from the Grossmünster Stift funds, the alumnat (collegium), a boarding place for fifteen students, financed through funds from the former monastery of Kappel in the Zurich Canton.[22] And finally, year-round, the professors deferred to city government officials as the authoritative enforcers of school regulations when students were accused of gross misbehavior, or when professors anticipated problems with students or their parents over their refusal to promote students. Such mutual integration between school and government will be examined throughout this essay.

In 1560, the "Schulherr" became the administrative director of the *lectorium* while also overseeing the administration of the Latin schools and the Alumnat. Until 1564 this

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names, guilds, and dates of entry/exit for the Zurich city council is downloadable on the website of the Zurich Staatsarchiv at https://staatsarchiv.zh.ch/internet/justiz_inneres/sta/de/bestaende/archiv/eledition.html. For more recent literature see Martin Illi, *Die Constaffel: Von Bürgermeister Rudolf Brun bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2003).

[22] Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens*, 126.

administrative director was annually elected by the *lectorium* professors, the church ministers, and the administrator of the Zurich Grossmünster Stift, after which date he served for two years.[23] The *lectorium* minutes, the so-called *acta scholastica*, documented his regular meetings with a group of professors and former administrative directors, in which they discussed all issues concerning the administration of the school.

These *acta scholastica* of the *lectorium* provide a remarkably detailed description of schooling in Zurich. They began in parallel with the new school regulations of 1559/1560 and were kept regularly by the elected administrative director of the *lectorium* until 1804. The weekly or biweekly records include decisions made at meetings of the school superintendents at the Grossmünster Stift. They constitute the memory of a self-governing educational institution, revealing minute control of class instruction, and the extent to which the school regulations controlled everyday communication between teachers and students.

To reach collective decisions, the director assembled the professors and former administrative directors, with the two headmasters of the Latin schools wholly or partly administered by the Stift, and the Fraumünster School. The minutes reveal in detail the decision-making process; normally the city council only became involved when asked to confirm this body's decisions. On rare occasions that concerned issues of public safety the city council directly intervened, taking decisions on its own initiative, even before the issue was discussed in the school director's meeting. In Zurich, the council members mentioned in the minutes as responsible for the school never acted on their own. For the most part, they were required to

[23] "Sexta Maij [1564] ist die gmein Censura Professorum, // Ludimagistri et Adiutorum uff der sulenn gehalten und // ist arg angesehen daß ein schulherr fürhin solle daß // ampt zwei iar versehen und bin ich [Josias Simmler] also uff dass iar bestätet," E II 458, 71v, 13 StAZ.

confirm the professors' decisions about the administration of the school.[24] There is no case documented in Zurich between 1560 and 1580 in which the professors' decisions were not accepted or in which the city council reached a different decision from the commission of professors. Likewise, there are very few cases where the city council issued its own decision on matters that were not first discussed by the commission. One of these decisions was a 1563 order against nightly disturbances by students.[25]

Other institutions of higher education also kept minutes. But their content varied according to their forms of governance, and differed from those in Zurich. We can see this in the examples of the minutes kept by the school superintendents of the *Academia Norica* in Nuremberg-Altdorf, and the rector's books of the University of Heidelberg, to name just two of many comparable institutions.[26]

The school in Altdorf was an academy, or *semiuniversita*s, a kind of enhanced

[24] For example, "Dises ward glich des selbigen tags den abent // den schulherren von den rädten fürgetragen, und darnach den 18 Maij [1563] von einem Eersammen radt // allentlichen bestätiget //," E II 458, Acta Scholastica, 37v, StAZ.

[25] E II 458, 42v, StAZ.

[26] For the comparison, I relied on Jürgen Miethke, ed., *Libri Actorum Universitatis Heidelbergensis/Die Amtsbücher der Universität Heidelberg*, Ser. A, *Die Rektorbücher der Universität Heidelberg/Acta Universitatis Heidelbergensis*, vol. 1 (1386–1410) (zugleich das erste Amtsbuch der Juristischen Fakultät), with Heiner Lutzmann and Hermann Weisert (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986–1999). For the following comparison, I used Wolfgang Mährle, *Academia Norica: Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf (1575–1623)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000), 116–24, 146–85.

gymnasium given broader privileges by the emperor.[27] In contrast to universities founded in the Middle Ages, such as Heidelberg or Paris, which enjoyed privileges independent of the surrounding city, the privileges of the *semiuniversitas* were given to the city to enhance its existing civic institution. The Zurich *lectorium* did not have, nor did it need, privileges given by the Empire to the city council; thus the role of the Zurich city council in supporting the *lectorium* was negotiable from the start.

The superintendents, or *scholarcha*, of the Academia Norica in Altdorf did not begin holding regular meetings until 1582/1583—after the far-reaching school reform of 1581 and the awarding of "semiuniversity" status to the institution in 1579.[28] Unfortunately, minutes were not kept until 1590.[29] The documents addressed a similar range of topics to those in Zurich, concentrating on discussions about teaching and student scholarships; however, they have a different character because the school superintendents were elected city council members. As a result, these officials were not part of the teaching staff and, as outsiders, exercised a controlling rather than a participatory function. The relative freedom of the Zurich school administration to make decisions on matters of schooling independent of the city council is one of the few practices that were comparable, but not identical, to those at the Altdorf Academy.

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[27] The Strasbourg Academy received this partial privilege in 1566 from the emperor; see also Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt*, 11. The Academy in Nuremberg-Altdorf received an equal privilege in November or December 1579. Cf. Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 71–76.

[28] There were meetings of a defined group of school administrators, the collegium of scholarchs, every two to three weeks between 1582/1583 and 1593, and the minutes of these meetings were preserved. The school administrators were not teachers but rather members of the city council. The meetings were slowly phased out after 1593, ceased completely by 1599, and were reactivated after 1620. See Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 71–77; 151–54.

[29] Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 178.

Unlike the Zurich minutes, the rectorial books of the University of Heidelberg are not primarily concerned with the curriculum and student scholarships. There was no link between the university and any city school system, and the minutes even give the impression that the city and university governments competed for benefits from the pope and emperor on those occasions when they or their representatives visited.

The books served more to collect documents and jurisdictional instruments at the institutional level. The pope had granted the University of Heidelberg autonomous jurisdiction in 1386.[30] The university therefore administered its own justice, while the city schools fell under the city's jurisdiction. The university's administration therefore focused on documenting their own authority. During the first half of the fifteenth century, this legal autonomy provoked several conflicts with citizens, sometimes resulting in sharp criticism of "wearers of the tonsure and robe."[31] Heidelberg's academic self-administration, predominantly by its professors, resembled

[30] See Jürgen Miethke, "Päpstliche Universitätsgründungsprivilegien und der Begriff eines studium generale im Römisch-Deutschen Reich des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Studieren an mittelalterlichen Universitäten: Chancen und Risiken. Gesammelte Aufsätze von Jürgen Miethke*, ed. Jürgen Miethke (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1–12, who discusses the privileges given to the University of Heidelberg by Pope Urban VI in 1386 modeled on the University of Paris. The foundation of the university needed the agreement of all three count palatines. They granted their agreement on 26 June 1386 (ibid., 3).

[31] Universities emerged in cities beginning in the twelfth century, but as holders of regal or papal privileges they existed outside of city law. As a result, much of the rector's work went to judicial matters. The rector books—minutes of the University of Heidelberg kept from its founding in 1385—record these issues. There was a permanent conflict with the powerful city government and the citizens, documented from month to month. One particularly memorable event in Heidelberg was the struggle between the church/university scholars and the citizens of Heidelberg from 11 June to 2 July 1406. This conflict began between two students and one citizen without any apparent reason and escalated on the second day when the citizens rallied behind the battle cry: "Death to the

the situation in Zurich. At Heidelberg, in accordance with their statutes, the professors elected the rector at regular intervals from their ranks.

Despite the similarities between Heidelberg and Zurich, the configuration of power in Zurich was somewhat different. The Zurich *lectorium* was run by the professors together with the ministers of the Grossmünster Stift and the head of the church.[32] In the *Acta Scholastica*, the professors recorded rules for awarding scholarships and occasionally addressed the financial management of individual houses belonging to the school.[33] Also, they were financially responsible for the city's two Latin schools, partly for the Fraumünster School, and entirely for the Grossmünster School. This dual responsibility ensured a consistent policy for school education, one that linked student education at the *lectorium* to that at the Latin schools.

The following discussion assesses the extent to which the *lectorium* sought the involvement of the city government, or remained independent of it, and the nature of their relationship, by examining the routine matters that the elected administrative director asked the council to decide during the school year. The evidence suggests that all administrative directors perceived the mayor and city treasurer as silent partners, limited to giving official status to the *lectorium*'s events by their attendance. This did not preclude the head of the *lectorium* from

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scholars, they should all be killed, the tonsured, shaved and wearers of robes!" ("Moriantur scolares, interficiantur omnes tonsurati et rasi et longas tunicas deferentes.") Cf. Miethke, ed., *Libri Actorum Universitatis Heidelbergensis*/Die Amtsbücher der Universität Heidelberg, 414, 416ff. After this ferocious verbal attack, the scholars barricaded themselves behind their walls and ceased their lectures until the king would hear them.

[32] However, the *Acta Scholastica* provide only a partial view of the professors' involvement in the administration of money at the Grossmünster Stift, because the financial management of the Grossmünster appeared in the foundation documents under "G."

[33] For the so-called "Provisorey" at the cloister of the Fraumünster church, Johann Jacob Friess described in 1578 his decision and its rationale based on documented decisions of the year 1566 (E II 458, 229v-46, StAZ).

sometimes handing over authority to the mayor and council to discipline students deemed guilty of grave misconduct.

As we have seen, the Zurich records show that city officials were present at the yearly *censura* that included student exams, an evaluation of the teaching staff, and the election of the new academic director of the *lectorium*. This prestigious event, usually running over a couple of days in late April or early May, depending on the date of Easter, signaled the end of one academic year and the beginning of the next. The records examined from 1560 to 1585 used unchanging formulaic language to memorialize the presence of the city officials: "in bysin" or "praesentibus" city mayor (name) and treasurer (name). The formula suggests that the city officials were only passively present, to ornament and witness the event. One rather typical entry of this kind, from 9 April 1570, reads:

> Documents of the Elected Administrative Directors; administrating, Caspar Wolf the doctor of pharmacology. 1570
>
> In the year 1570, on the ninth day of April, after the general censure of all professors, schoolmasters, provisors and collaborators [assistant teachers], in presence of Mr Mayor von Cham and Mr treasurer Äscher, out of necessity, Doctor Keller who was the administrative director until then asked milords the [teaching] representatives to divest him of the office and to appoint someone else. Hereupon, Doctor Caspar Wolff was elected the prospective administrative director.[34]

[34] "Acta der Schulherren. // By verwaltung Caspar Wolffen der // Artzneyen Doctor. // 1570.

Anno 1570. Uff den 9 Tag Aprellens, nach dem die general // censur aller professoren schulmeisteren, Provisoren und Colla=// boratoren, in bysin herren Burgermeisters von Chaam, und // herren Seckelmeister Äschers, der notdurfft nach gehalten, hatt her doctor keller, der byßher schulherr gewäßen, min herren die verordneten gebätten, ime nun fürhin das ampt // abzunemmen, und mitt einem anderen zeversächen. Uff das // unnd doctor Caspar Wolff zu einem angenden Schulherr // erwelt. //" E II 458, 118ar, StAZ.

This document records the moment when the old director retired from office and the new one was elected. On this occasion the process of election is not described, and the people electing the new director are only called the group of representatives, or as stated elsewhere, "teaching representatives" ("Verordnete zur Lehr"). Administrative Director Johann Jacob Friess named all the teaching representatives at the beginning of his tenure in April 1578.[35] The list contains the names of the Zurich ministers (including the Antistes), professors, ministers, and administrative staff at the Grossmunster Stift, followed by the school masters and teaching assistants at the two Latin schools. When on 22 May 1578, Friess called for a meeting of the "Verordnete zur Lehr," most of them appeared to decide school issues. Neither the mayor, the treasurer, nor other city officials attended. Teaching staff and church officials led by the Administrative Director of the *lectorium* clearly controlled the day-to-day administration of the *lectorium*.

City officials played a larger role in the administration of a small number of alms scholarships. Responsibility for distributing scholarship money from the city alms to poor students fell on the obman, like the mayor and treasurer an elected city official. Usually the professors would select at the yearly *censura* those students they wanted to appoint to vacant alms scholarships. They then forwarded their names to the obman, who would then administer the charity. These charitable awards were worth far less than the Grossmünster Stift or Fraumünster Collegium scholarships: aid for the poor was not intended to lead to church employment after graduation, but it could lead to advanced craft apprenticeships. Intelligence and diligence were not the main selection criteria, but the poverty of the student's family, and the alms were mostly paid in daily rations of food. Sometimes the professors asked for warm coats or books for the alms students, and the obman was the final source of authority for such extras.

[35] E II 458, 194v-12, StAZ.

Also, the alms scholarships were not designed to further study abroad. Students with Stift or Collegium scholarships were sent to study at one or two foreign universities for between one and three years as part of their training for the ministry.[36]

The early records show that many students with alms scholarships would later be promoted to Grossmünster or Fraumünster scholarships. These larger scholarships would then integrate the students into the career path of the church, either to minister in a Zurich cantonal parish, or to teach in one of the Zurich schools. For example, the Zurich school records show that the alms student and then Stift student Jacob Keretz (1542–91 or 1599), was paid to spend a year at the University of Marburg before coming home for his final exams.[37] A souvenir from his time in Marburg is extant: the portrait that Keretz had made for the *album amicorum* of one of his

[36] See literature in Goeing, *Storing, Archiving, Organizing*, 224; also Anja-Silvia Goeing, "'In die Fremde schicken': Stipendien für Studierende des Zürcher Grossmünsterstifts an ausw.rtige Hochschulen," in *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsgeschichte der Reformierten in konfessionsvergleichender Perspektive: Schulwesen, Lesekultur und Wissenschaft*, ed. Heinz Schilling and Stefan Ehrenpreis, Beiheft der Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung vol. 38 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2007), 29–46; Karin Maag, "Financing Education, the Zurich Approach, 1550–1620," in *Reformations Old and New, Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c. 1470–1630*, ed. Beat A. Kümin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 203–16. For details about Swiss students at the University of Heidelberg see Charles D. Gunnoe Jr., "Swiss Students and Faculty at the University of Heidelberg, 1518–1622," in *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[37] E II 458, f. 17r (14 Mar. 1561); 19v; 30r; 32r (23 May 1562) taken over into the Fraumünster Collegium scholarship; 36v; 80v (15 July 1566) asked to come home from Marburg; 83r: 15 Oct. 1566: Exam in linguis et artibus and theology exam. All StAZ.

university friends, probably the Zurich student Rudolf Leeman.[38] [Figure 1] On the verso of the picture, Keretz copied sixteen rows of Latin text from Ovid, "De Arte Amandi," followed by six rows of Greek text from Isocrates' letter to the young Demonicus, son of his friend Hipponicus, before adding his name and date "Jacobus Keretz scribebat 1566. 31 Julij." [Figure 2] Keretz was the son of Heinrich Keretz, a poor "räbman" (hard-working field worker). Through scholarship and education Jacobus advanced his social status and in 1567 became parish minister at Weiach in the Canton of Zurich, just after his final exam in October 1566. In 1576, he became minister in Altstätten, a town very close to Zurich, in the same Canton.[39]

On 22 March 1580, administrative director Johann Jacob Friess noted his decision to end these integrated career paths.[40] At a meeting with the professors, it was agreed that boys receiving the alms scholarship should not be eligible for a church scholarship, since poverty was the major qualification for the alms scholarship, not intelligence. Friess was determined to reserve the more prestigious scholarships for the sons of the well-to-do, since he argued that allowing poor students to be promoted to a Stift or Collegium scholarship would reduce opportunities for boys whose parents had paid for their education, often at great expense. Friess

[38] Anon., Jacobus Keretz, Tigurinus (1566), gouache, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Graphische Sammlung, https://www.graphikportal.org/document/gpo00138955 (accessed 4 May 2020).

[39] Gustav Sulzberger, *Biographisches Verzeichniss Der Geistlichen Aller Evangelischen Gemeinden Des Kantons Thurgau von Der Frühesten Zeit Bis Auf Die Gegenwart* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1863), 139. The Marriage Register of the Canton Zurich shows that a Jacob Keretz (probably him) married in the Grossmünster Zurich first on 11 Feb. 1568 a Magdalena Breitenstein, then on 18 May 1586 a Verena Hauser. TAI 1.735 (part 2); VIII.C. 1., EDB 256 and TAI 1.735 (part 2) ; VIII.C. 1., EDB 2011; all at City Archive of Zurich (Stadtarchiv Zürich, hereafter, StadtAZH).

[40] E II 458, f. 303v-195–304v-197, StAZ.

described the move from one scholarship to another as a misuse (Missbrauch) and disorder (Unordnung).

This change seems all the more dramatic since Friess usually administered the *lectorium* according to the rules established in 1559 and subsequently amended. Friess thus excluded poorer social groups from the ecclesiastical career for which Huldrych Zwingli and the city council had previously created a special place in the course of the Reformation, by means of almsgiving. Previous administrative directors had provided the opportunity for poor children to advance their careers in the church.

Emphasizing the superiority of Grossmünster and Fraumünster Collegium scholarships over alms scholarships was a marked departure from how the school had previously been run. Friess's innovation may have reflected temporary frustration over recent cases when students wasted their alms scholarships. However, the act underlined professorial control over students' careers and the extent of their authority over the school. Friess used meritocracy as a justification for his decision: the alms scholarship did not have at its core the aim to select the best. He preferred the parents who had money and had made sacrifices. He also reexamined the charity scholarship and separated it from the school system as something alien. This was consistent with Friess's desire to exclude the influence of the city council and mayor in making academic decisions.

Using wealth as a criterion for the training of elites was a common phenomenon in the early modern period that intensified in the eighteenth century: social advancement not only required established family property, but elite status for several generations.[41] This criterion

[41] Compare Winfried Schulze, "Die Ständische Gesellschaft des 16./17. Jahrhunderts als Problem von Statik und Dynamik," in *Ständische Gesellschaft und Soziale Mobilität*, ed. Winfried Schulze, Schriften des

applied to the selection of theological offspring for scholarships in Zurich from 1580. The pastors were now perceived not only as pioneers of social change (the establishment of the denominational church) as in the first decades of the Reformation, but also as established members of the city and country elite. [42]

A similar framework of values conditioned decisions about punishment. The administrative director together with the professors could suspend scholarships for up to three years to punish gross misdemeanors. The guilty student was allowed to return to study but had to sit an examination and demonstrate better behavior. Students whose misbehavior did not merit removal of their scholarship were sent to the city mayor for punishment, up to two days in

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Historischen Kollegs: Kolloquien vol. 12 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988), 1–18; Keith Wrightson, "Zwei Wege zur Erfassung der englischen Sozialstruktur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Ständische Gesellschaft und Soziale Mobilität*, 187–204; Sigrid Jahns, "Der Aufstieg in die juristische Funktionseleite des Alten Reiches," in *Ständische Gesellschaft und Soziale Mobilität*, 353–88. Stefan Brakensiek, "Juristen im frühneuzeitlichen Territorialstaaten: Familiale Strategien sozialen Aufstiegs und Statuserhalts," in *Sozialer Aufstieg: Funktionseliten im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Günther Schulz (Munich: Boldt im Oldenbourg Verlag, 2002), 269–90. For thorough research on the city association of Koblenz in the seventeenth-century Holy Roman Empire based on tax lists and council minutes, see Daniel Heimes, *Sozialstruktur und soziale Mobilität der Koblenzer Bürgerschaft im 17. Jahrhundert* (Trier: Kliomedia, 2007), 201–35.

[42] For the church as a means of social advancement, see Wolfgang Reinhard, "Kirche als Mobilitätskanal der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft," in *Ständische Gesellschaft und Soziale Mobilität*, 333–52. For the pastor's status as a functional elite in the Old Reich see Dieter Scheler, "Patronage und Aufstieg im Niederkirchenwesen," in *Sozialer Aufstieg*: *Funkionseliten im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Günther Schulz. (Munich: Boldt im Oldenbourg Verlag, 2002), 315–36. Compare also Maciej Ptaszynski, "'Prediger seyn mit jhrem Ampte etwas der Welt kützel': Soziale Herkunft, Bildung und theologisches Selbstverständnis der evangelischen Geistlichkeit in den Herzogtümern Pommern," in *Intellektuelle in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Luise Schorn-Schütte (Berlin: Akademie, 2010), 69–104.

prison. The city council thus played an active role in maintaining school discipline but did not have the final say over boys' careers.

Such examples of cooperation between city council and school show the limits of the council's authority; it usually acknowledged professorial control over student careers. But sometimes the mayor was offered more responsibility. In 1563, the administrative director desired the Burgermeister to check that the school was being run according to its regulations and wanted critics to be able to complain to the Burgermeister if this were not the case. In 1578, however, Friess examined the old school records to uncover neglected regulations governing the academic year and reduced the mayor to an even more passive role.

The professors of the Zurich *lectorium* thus enjoyed freedom to administer the school according to their own judgment, calling in the city council only when they felt it necessary. The council's role was representational at major events, administrational when it came to alms scholarships, and disciplinary in cases of student misconduct. Only in the latter instance did the city council play a more active role. But the professors had the last word in matters of the boys' careers. Unlike other parts of the Holy Roman Empire, where cities were losing their autonomous control over policy to more centralized forms of government, Zurich's government remained as strong as in its late medieval heyday. However, the Zurich city council did not exercise full authority over the *lectorium*; rather, it played a more passive role in pedagogical matters, only stepping in (when called) to maintain discipline.

The power of the *lectorium* as an arm of the church within the city of Zurich can be best understood by considering it in the more general context of relations between church and state, particularly in regard to marriage. Though different in character, marriage laws in Calvinist Geneva can be compared to the educational situation in Zurich. In his article "Church, State and

Marriage: Four early Modern Protestant Models," John Witte explains the main differences between the three Protestant approaches towards new marriage laws in sixteenth century Europe.[43] Calvin's approach in Geneva comes closest to the Zwinglian model of church-state interactions in Zurich. Witte calls it a covenantal marriage, applying a term coined by Robert M. Kingdon.[44] Marriage, according to this model, "was not a sacramental institution of the church, but a covenantal association of the entire community, modelled on the covenant relationship between Yahweh and ancient Israel."[45]

Witte explains the different roles of church and magistrate by describing how the minister, "holding God's spiritual power of the Word, blessed the couple and admonished them in their spiritual duties during the mandatory church wedding liturgy." The magistrate, on the other hand, "holding God's temporal power of the sword, registered the couple and protected them in their person and property after the compulsory state licensing and registration of the marriage." Thus, "God's moral law for the covenant of marriage set out two tracks of marital norms, Calvin taught—civil norms, which are common to all persons, and spiritual norms, which are distinctly Christian. . . . It was the church's responsibility to teach aspirational spiritual norms for marriage and family life. It was the state's responsibility to enforce mandatory civil norms."

[43] John Witte Jr., "Church, State and Marriage: Four Early Modern Protestant Models," *Oxford Journal of Law and Religion* 1 (2012): 151-68.

[44] Robert M. Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Walter Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1942); Cornelia Seeger, *Nullité de mariage divorce et séparation de corps a Genève, au temps de Calvin: Fondements doctrinaux, loi et jurisprudence* (Lausanne: Méta-Editions, 1989); John Witte Jr. and Robert M. Kingdon, *Sex, Marriage, and Family in John Calvin's Geneva*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2005–13).

[45] Witte, "Church, State and Marriage," 157.

Witte then states that the church consistory and the city council in Geneva in the sixteenth century represented both aspects of the marriage process, not only when the couple were about to be married, but also if they experienced problems later on: "the consistory was the court of first instance and would call parties to their higher spiritual duties, backing their recommendations with threats of spiritual discipline. If such spiritual counsel and discipline failed, the parties were referred to the city council to compel them, using civil and criminal sanctions, to honour at least their basic civil duties for marriage."

Witte compares this Calvinist covenantal model with the Lutheran model of state authority and the Anglican "commonwealth model" that "embraced the sacramental, social and covenantal models inherited from the Continent but went beyond them" by fostering the family as a unit and calling the marital household "a little commonwealth," in direct relation to the state, the commonwealth of England. The English Crown had the supreme leadership, Parliament the legal direction.[46]

Calvin's approach divided the marriage law into a spiritual part belonging to the church and a civil part that was inherent to civil society. By analogy, the Zurich *lectorium*, as a training place for the intellect, belonged almost entirely to the spiritual part of Godly society, but the presence of the civil authorities was considered necessary as part of the covenant between God and civil society. Recognizing this compact, the city council did not exercise greater control over the *lectorium*, even though it would have had the full civil authority to do so.

List of Captions:

Figure 1: Anon., Jacobus Keretz, Tigurinus (1566), gouache, recto, Zurich,

[46] Ibid., 158–59.

Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Graphische Sammlung, https://www.graphikportal.org/document/gpo00138955 (accessed 4 May 2020).

Figure 2: Anon., Jacobus Keretz, Tigurinus (1566), gouache, verso, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Graphische Sammlung, https://www.graphikportal.org/document/gpo00138955 (accessed 4 May 2020).