

sitaires, surtout des théologiens, a été telle qu'on a pu les comparer à des aumôniers militaires⁶¹, ce que confirme bien la phrase de Bèze dans son discours d'inauguration de l'Académie de Genève: «Rappelez-vous toujours que vous aurez, devant le chef suprême, à rendre compte de votre service dans cette sainte milice»⁶².

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The Lausanne Academy and the origin of the reformed academy model

This paper will, first, look at the birth of the Reformed academy model and, second, consider the place of religion in Lausanne Academy's curriculum. It is primarily based on my study of the origins and development of Lausanne Academy¹. My reconsideration of the evidence shows that the traditional explanations of the origins of the Reformed Academy model need to be revised to consider the crucial role of the Lausanne Academy. Influenced by diverse educational models, including the Strasbourg Gymnasium, the trilingual colleges, and Renaissance humanism, the Lausanne Academy invented a new model of Reformed education that would be copied in Geneva and around the Reformed world. Moreover, my work shows that the Lausanne Academy was far more than an institution for training Reformed pastors. With deep roots in the ideals of the Renaissance, the Academy developed a classically humanist curriculum.

Until very recently, the question of the genesis of the Reformed academy model was resolved in one of two ways.

First, Swiss historians, except for the Genevan historians, followed the theory developed in the 1970s by Ulrich Im Hof, Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Bern. According to Im Hof, the model of Reformed institutions of higher education (in French «Hautes École» or in German «Hohen Schulen») was created in Zurich with the Prophezey, an institution dedicated to the study of biblical exegesis developed by Zwingli and his colleagues starting in 1525. This model was then adopted in Bern in 1528, before being implemented in Lausanne in 1537, one year after the Bernese conquered this city and the Pays de Vaud. From there, it was transmitted to Geneva in 1559, when the Genevan Academy was founded².

¹ K. Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme (ca. 1537-1560)*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2012. I thank Michael W. Bruening (Missouri University of Science and Technology) who read and emended the manuscript of this article with great care.

² Cf. U. Im Hof, *Die Entstehung der reformierten Hohen Schule, Zürich (1525) – Bern (1528) – Lausanne (1537) – Genf (1559)*, in P. Baumgart, N. Hammerstein (hrsg.), *Beiträge zu Problemen Deutscher Universitätsgründungen der Frühen Neuzeit*, Nendeln, KTO Press, 1978,

⁶¹ F. Laplanche, *Réseaux intellectuels et options confessionnelles entre 1550 et 1620*, in L. Giard, L. de Vaucelles (éd.), *Les jésuites à l'âge baroque: 1540-1640*, Grenoble, Millon, 1996, p. 94.

⁶² *Discours du Recteur Th. de Bèze*, cité ci-dessus note 30, p. 25.

Second, the other historians, especially those who have studied the Genevan Academy, presented a different version of the birth of the Reformed academy model. According to them, the model was invented by Calvin for Geneva. The Reformer essentially based his ideas on his Strasbourg experience and took the broad outlines of the gymnasium created by Johannes Sturm.

In summary, historians posited either a Strasbourg-Geneva line or a transmission of the model from Zurich to Bern, from Bern to Lausanne, and finally from Lausanne to Geneva.

However, when one looks closely at the history of these institutions and at their structures, particularly at the curricula they offered, one realizes that neither of the two explanations is sufficient. Im Hof's theory does not work because the curriculum in Lausanne was very different from Zurich's Prophezey, which was based on biblical exegesis. Likewise, the Genevan theory, according to which Calvin created the Academy using Strasbourg as his model presents as many difficulties. The Genevan structure, with a lower level divided into seven progressive classes and an upper level with courses divided among the four chairs of Greek, Hebrew, Liberal Arts and Theology, is quite different from the structure of Strasbourg. Above all, the Strasbourg-Geneva theory completely ignores the fact that the Genevan curriculum is almost identical to that of Lausanne, which also comprised seven classes at the lower level, and the same four chairs at the higher level. It also does not take into account the fact that in 1559, the Genevan Academy was founded with professors who, for the most part, had been teaching for years in Lausanne, such as Geneva's first rector, Theodore Beza, who had been the Greek professor in Lausanne for ten years.

A close comparison of the curricula of Lausanne, Geneva, Zurich, and Strasbourg, and of other institutions of higher learning during the sixteenth century can only lead to the conclusion that the Academy of Geneva was the sister, or more precisely the daughter, of the Academy of Lausanne, where a new academic model, different from those in Strasbourg and Zurich, had been created.

We are now going to look more closely at the way this new model of Reformed academies was born in Lausanne and examine its sources. The first point we have to bear in mind if we want to clarify this question is that the Academy of Lausanne was not created in 1537, as has been written many times, but took shape only progressively during the 1540s, until its firm establishment in 1547. This point is fundamental: if we do not take it into

pp. 243-262; Id., *Die reformierte Hobe Schule zu Bern, vom Gründungsjahr 1528 bis in die zweite Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *450 Jahre Berner Reformation: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation und zu Niklaus Manuel*, Bern, Verlag des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, 1981, pp. 194-224; Id., *La Haute École de Lausanne dans le cadre du développement suisse*, in «Revue historique vaudoise», 96, 1988, pp. 41-52.

account, we will fail to see the influence on Lausanne of institutions which were born after 1537, for instance the famous Gymnasium of Strasbourg, created in 1538.

There exists no official date for the creation of the Lausanne Academy, as one can find for Geneva Academy, inaugurated solemnly on 5 June 1559³. The first classes of Hebrew and Greek were taught in Lausanne during summer 1537 by Jean Adoutot and Conrad Gessner, respectively. However, no element in the primary sources can make us think that there was at this date a true institution of higher education in Lausanne. Actually, there is no mention of an institution of this type in Lausanne before 1540, either with the names of «académie», «gymnase», «collège», or their Latin and German equivalents. The sources only mention «teaching» (*cours*) taught by «lecturers» (in French *liseurs*, in Latin *lectores*) but no *institution* of higher education. The nuance is significant: if we did not take it into account, we could say that the Geneva Academy was founded already in 1538, instead of 1559, because Calvin, Farel, and two other *lecteurs* taught lessons in biblical exegesis, Greek, and Hebrew at the beginning of this year⁴.

The situation completely changed in Lausanne during the decade of the 1540s. In October 1540, the Bernese civil authorities decided to establish an academic structure in Lausanne and to create a college for twelve bursary students, supervised by a new professor, who had not yet been found⁵. It was only in 1542, after two years of searching, that a professor of liberal arts was appointed in the person of the Italian humanist Celio Secondo Curione, a specialist of Ciceronian rhetoric who had fled Italy for his religious beliefs. In 1546, a fourth chair, the one of theology, was added to the structure of higher education, and was filled the following year by the Hellenist Jean Ribit, after the Council of Bern refused to confirm the nomination to this position of the Reformer Guillaume Farel, who had been proposed by the pastors and professors of Lausanne⁶.

The lower level, that would soon become known as the *schola privata*, received a major boost in 1545 with the appointment as director of the great French pedagogue Maturin Cordier.

Starting at this date and for two years (1545-1547), the professors and pastors of Lausanne (including Pierre Viret), and at the end of the period the pastor of Bern Simon Sulzer, carefully thought about the best structures to be

³ On the Genevan Academy, see K. Maag, *Seminary or University?: The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620*, Aldershot Hants-Brookfield Vt., Scolar Press, 1995, and Ch. Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, 1. *L'Académie de Calvin 1559-1798*, Genève, Georg, 1900.

⁴ Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., pp. 61-62.

⁵ Epistle of the Avoyer and Council of Bern to the bailiff of Lausanne, 30 October 1540, edited in Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., pp. 449-450.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 219, 228-229.

given to the nascent Academy. The results of these reflections were condensed in the academic laws of 1547, the famous *Leges scholae lausannensis*, which carefully described, year by year and chair by chair, the authors and works to be studied as well as the textbooks and the pedagogical principles to be followed⁷. It is these academic laws that actually mark the birth of the model of the Reformed academies, destined for a great success.

The professors and pastors in Lausanne drew on all the positive pedagogical experiences they knew of. These influences were numerous: the authors of the *Leges* did not follow an existing model, even if some of the contemporary institutions played a major role.

Fundamentally, the new kind of education promoted by the humanists, already important in Italy during the fifteenth-century, which gained progressive strength north of the Alps from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, strongly influenced the pedagogical model developed in Lausanne. It could have been handed down directly by persons such as Curione, but it was also already well known in Switzerland through programmatic texts by Italian humanists which had been printed in the Swiss Confederacy⁸, or by works by northern humanists like Erasmus.

The influence of the Sturmian model is also undeniable. A text that we could consider as a precursor of the *Leges scholae lausannensis*, written in 1546 by Curione and published under the title *Synopsis of the Method to Teach the Letters* (in Latin: *Synopsis de ratione docendi grammaticam*)⁹ followed very closely Sturm's *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis liber*¹⁰, published in 1538 to promote the model he had just created in Strasbourg. Curione's text had never been applied in Lausanne, but it shows without any doubt that the system of Strasbourg was known and respected in Lausanne at the time of the writing of the *Leges*.

⁷ For an edition and translation of the *Leges scholae lausannensis*, see Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., pp. 481-501.

⁸ Cf. for example the following two anthologies: *De ratione studii puerilis, deque vita iuventutis instituenda, ac moribus studiiisque corrigendis, opuscula diversorum autorum perquam erudita, quae versa pagella enumerantur* [= texts by Juan Luis Vives, Rudolf Agricola, Erasmus, Melancthon, Christoph Hegendoif, Othon Brunfels, etc.], Basel, Balthasar Lasius, 1539, [17] f., 432 p., [2] f. et Lucius Vitruvius Roscius, *De docendi studentique modo, ac de claris puerorum moribus, libellus plane aureus* [...]. *Cui adiecimus etiam alios eiusdem argumenti libellos aliquot, nunc primum summa diligentia in studiosorum gratiam editos*, Basel, [Robert Winter], [1541], [16], 598, [2] p. This second anthology notably includes the famous *De ingenuis moribus ac liberalibus studiis* by Pier Paolo Vergerio.

⁹ Celio Secondo Curione, *De literis, doctrinaque puerili, libri quinque; his accessit initio Synopsis de ratione docendi grammaticam*, Basel, Johannes Oporinus, 1546, 203, [5] p. The Latin text and a French translation of the *Synopsis* are published in Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., pp. 466-479.

¹⁰ Johann Sturm, *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis liber = De la bonne manière d'ouvrir des écoles de lettres*, [fac-similé de l'édition de Strasbourg, Wendelin Rihel, 1538], G. Lagarrigue (trad.), M. Arnold (postface), Strasbourg, Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2007.

Another type of institution that influenced the creation of Lausanne Academy were the humanist trilingual colleges (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin), such as the ones born in Paris and in Louvain. The professors in Lausanne themselves sometimes used the expression *Academia trilinguis* to name their institution, and it is true that Lausanne Academy constituted technically a trilingual school to which a chair of theology had been added. The Bernese councilors who financed the Academy using secularized ecclesiastical goods were also aware of this link with the trilingual college of Paris, which would later be known as the «Collège de France». The civil authorities of Bern's Republic affirmed in a letter sent in 1553 to the King of France Henry II that they had established in Lausanne «a college of the three languages, at the imitation of the college built by your late father of good memory [Francis I]»¹¹. Even though they wrote this letter in defense of six former students of Lausanne Academy who were imprisoned in France, accused of propagating the Protestant doctrines, and even if it was in their interest to deconfessionalize the Academy, this quotation shows that Bern's councilors valued the trilingual «Collège royal» of Paris as a model for their institution in Lausanne.

Concerning the biblical exegesis, we can not exclude the possibility of a role played by the Zurich model of the Prophezey, but it is harder to demonstrate a direct or conscious link.

More broadly, the influence of the universities of this time, especially the model of the University of Paris, where almost all of the Lausanne professors had studied, is undeniable. The use of academic disputations was thus adopted in Lausanne for exercises in the liberal arts and in theology. The professors and pastors in Lausanne claimed that they had removed from these disputations the aggressiveness and the «sophistry» that many humanists criticized in the traditional universities¹².

A major difference between the Academy of Lausanne and a *stricto sensu* university, was that Lausanne Academy, which, for obvious confessional reasons, could not get a privilege from either the pope or the emperor, did not have the possibility to grant academic titles. The rector of the Academy did, however, grant letters of testimony (*testimonium vitae et doctrinae*) which described the courses students had been following and the way they had behaved during their stay in Lausanne¹³. This impossibility to grant academic titles is probably the reason why a real curriculum in law or medicine was not implemented in Lausanne

¹¹ «[...] ung College des trois langues, à l'imitation du College par feu de bonne memoire vostre pere erigé». Letter from the Avoyer and Council of Bern to King Henry II of France, 18 March 1553, Archives de l'État de Berne, Welschmissivenbücher.

¹² See on this subject the long letter from Pierre Viret to Rudolph Gwalther of 23 July 1548, edited by M.W. Bruening, in *Epistolae Petri Vireti: The Previously Unedited Letters and a Register of Pierre Viret's Correspondence*, Genève, Droz, 2012, n° 23, especially pp. 113-114.

¹³ On the letters of testimony see Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., pp. 349-356 and pp. 502-505.

during the sixteenth century: unlike the studies in liberal arts or in Protestant theology, a doctoral degree remained important for the people who wanted to demonstrate their capacities in law or medicine, even in Protestant lands.

The vocabulary used by contemporaries to describe the Lausanne Academy and other Reformed academies (*academia*, *gymnasium* or *schola publica*) is not by itself very useful when trying to distinguish these institutions from *stricto sensu* universities. Humanists also designated the latter with the same terms, wanting to avoid the expressions *studium generale* or *universitas*, which they held as lacking classical precedent.

For a long time, historians claimed that the Lausanne Academy originally had the unique goal of training future pastors. This assertion is much too reductive. If one analyses the academic laws and looks at the students who frequented the institution in the sixteenth century, it becomes evident that the curriculum aimed more broadly at training young people in the humanistic culture, with a thorough knowledge in Latin and Greek languages and literatures, and at conveying to them the ethical values of the classics and of Christianity¹⁴. The pastor of Lausanne Pierre Viret, one of the main actors of the development of the Academy, affirms for his part in a book published in 1545 that a good education allows men to become «learned, wise and virtuous, as much for administering the Church as the State»¹⁵.

The general goal aimed at by the professors in Lausanne was summarized by the expression *pietas literata*. It was for instance clearly expressed by Curione in his *Synopsis*. Under the heading «the goal of studying», the liberal arts professor in Lausanne stated: «The goal of studying must be a learned piety, or to say it more clearly: learning and wisdom linked with piety and religion»¹⁶. The important point was, as Maturin Cordier reminded his former students in the dedication letter of a treatise, to join during all one's life the study of true piety (*verae pietatis studium*) with the study of the good letters (*cum istis humanioribus literis*)¹⁷.

This ideal of «learned piety» has been given tangible form in the *Leges scholae lausannensis*. The *schola privata*, designed for the youngest, brings the

¹⁴ On these questions see Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., chapters 5 and 6 («Étudiants» and «Formation»).

¹⁵ P. Viret, *Dialogues du désordre qui est à présent au monde, et des causes d'iceluy, et du moyen pour y remédier*, Genève, [Jean Girard], 1545, p. 902: «[...] hommes savans, sages et vertueux, tant pour regir l'Eglise, que la chose publique».

¹⁶ Cf. Curione, *Synopsis de ratione docendi grammaticam*, cit.: «Finis studiorum debet esse pietatem literata, seu eruditio atque sapientia cum pietate et religione coniuncta».

¹⁷ Maturin Cordier, dedicatory letter to the *studiosis pueris adolescentibusque scholae Lausannensis* dated 6 April 1558, in *Rudimenta Grammaticae de partium orationis declinatu*, [Genève], Henri [II] Estienne 1566 (1558¹), f. 3v: «Valete studiosi adolescentes: et verae pietatis studium, (quemadmodum vos saepissime admonui) cum istis humanioribus literis omni aetate vestra memineritis coniungere. Iterum valete animae meae charissimae. Gratia et pax Domini Iesu sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen».

pupils, starting at age 6 or 7, progressively from the basics of reading and writing to a perfect command, both written and oral, of the Latin language (with Cicero as the stylistic model) and to very good basis in Greek, ancient history, rhetoric, and dialectic. At the upper level, that of the *schola publica*, the professors of Greek and liberal arts enabled the students to deepen these subjects, while adding in the liberal arts sequence studies of mathematics, physics, and geography. The professors of Hebrew and theology offered for their part new disciplines to the students.

In the last part of this article, we will look at the place taken by religion in the curriculum taught at Lausanne Academy during the sixteenth century¹⁸.

At the *schola privata* level, the only aspects with a confessional connection were the reading of the *New Testament* in French in the sixth grade, the study of the catechism (of Calvin) in the fourth grade, and the singing of the psalms at the daily gatherings (for half an hour) of all the pupils. Religious training also appeared in the seventh grade (the youngest pupils), with the «basics of religion» (*religionis crepundia*) which were in all likelihood formed by learning the three fundamental texts of Christianity: the Ten Commandments, the Credo, and the Lord's Prayer. What is more, all the pupils of the *schola privata* had to attend the sermon (an injunction that is not specified in the school regulations for the students of the *schola publica*).

However, if we look at the whole curriculum at the *schola privata*, the reading of the authors of pagan antiquity in original languages, both Latin and Greek, clearly took the lion's share. The works and ancient authors to be studied in their original languages were listed in the following order, with an increasing difficulty year after year: the *Distichs* of Cato, a selection of Letters by Cicero and the *De amicitia* by the same author, plays by Terence, Ovid (not the famous *Metamorphoses* or the *Ars amatoria*, but the more sober *Tristia* or the *Epistulae ex Ponto*), Virgil's *Aeneid*, the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* by Julius Caesar, the *Dialogues of the Dead* by Lucian, Aesop's Fables, the *Tablet of Cebes*, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* or Cicero's *De partitionibus oratoriae*, Herodian, Xenophon or Plutarch (the *Parallel Lives* or the *Moralia*).

At the *schola publica* level, only the theology courses were clearly situated on the Protestant side. The core of this teaching was composed by an exegesis of books taken from the New or the Old Testaments, and the interpretation was, without doubt, Protestant. To deepen the points seen during the lessons, the students were sent to dogmatic works, and we know that Jean Ribit, theology professor between 1547 and 1559, used the books composed by Calvin (*Institutio religionis christianae*) and Melancthon (*Loci communes*)¹⁹.

¹⁸ For a more detailed presentation of the curriculum, see Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., chapter 6 «Formation».

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 395-402.

However, the *Leges scholae lausannensis* prescribed, and we know that Ribit wanted to comply with this requirement, that the professor should also bring his students' attention towards divergent interpretations, and do it in a «humble and respectful manner» (*modeste reverenterque*)²⁰.

The *Leges scholae lausannensis* required the Greek professor to teach two hours daily. During the first, he had to comment alternatively on ancient poets (Homer, Sophocles, Pindar and Euripides) and orators (Demosthenes and Isocrates) so that students could learn examples of Greek works in verse and in prose. In the second lesson, he had to teach ancient treatises of moral philosophy (the *Nicomachean Ethics* or the *Politics* of Aristotle, or some unspecified dialogues of Plato). According to a letter written by two students who attended the Greek lessons at the *schola publica* in 1557, this teaching program, theoretically composed only of ancient pagan works, had been slightly modified by Theodore Beza who had also introduced a commentary on the New Testament in Greek, alternating with the *Nicomachean Ethics*. In addition, among the Greek authors in prose, Beza added the historian Herodotus who was not mentioned in the syllabus²¹.

The teaching of the liberal arts professor did not have a confessional orientation either: the works he commented on, which related to the study of mathematics, physics, astronomy, rhetoric and dialectics, already appeared in the teaching of late medieval universities and continued to be studied in the Catholic world during the Renaissance. A field recently added in the curriculum, geography, was taught in Lausanne following the successful handbook of Heinrich Glarean, a Swiss humanist who remained faithful to the Catholic faith.

The importance given to the learning of Hebrew and to the study of the Old Testament in this language is admittedly more frequent in the Protestant lands, but it does not draw a clear line between the two confessional camps: the humanist trilingual colleges of Louvain and Paris, as well as the teaching given in the best Jesuit schools, demonstrate the significance of these studies in Catholic schools as well.

Apart from the theological training, the teaching in Lausanne during the sixteenth century was thus not confessionally based. An important part of the curriculum, the one that was dedicated to the liberal arts and to the ancient pagan authors, could be found in various degrees in all of Europe during the Renaissance and can be considered as supraconfessional.

²⁰ Cf. *Leges scholae lausannensis*, in Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., pp. 496-497 and J. Ribit, *Studiorum ratio*, in L. Junod, H. Meylan (éds.), *L'Académie de Lausanne au XVI^e siècle. Leges Scholae Lausannensis 1547, lettres et documents inédits*, Lausanne, F. Rouge, 1947, pp. 43-48.

²¹ Letter from Diethelm Blaurer and Gerwig Blaurer to Ambrosius Blaurer, Lausanne, 19 November 1557, edited in Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., pp. 506-507.

It is even possible to go further and to note that a Catholic student had theoretically the right to study in Lausanne, and there is no doubt that some students coming from Catholic territories, for instance from Valais, benefited from the training possibilities available in Lausanne during the sixteenth century²².

Unlike several other universities and academies at this time, the oath that the students had to take in front of the rector of Lausanne, when they wanted to have their name put on the matriculation lists, included no confessional aspect. The students neither promised to respect Reformed doctrines nor to reject Catholicism and other confessions. They only had to vow, much more vaguely: «piety towards God and fidelity towards the magnificent Republic of Bern and towards the pious authorities, obedience towards just orders, zeal for their studies, benevolence towards the school and docility towards the teachers» («pietatem erga Dominum, fidem erga Magnificam Rempublicam Bernensem et erga pientissimum magistratum, in aequis praeceptis obedientiam, diligentiam in studiis, favorem erga scholam, obsequentiam erga praeceptores promittunt») ²³.

This oath could obviously exclude no one on the basis of his confession. By comparison – and herein lies the main difference between the academic laws of Lausanne and Geneva – the Genevan Academy made students take a very different oath from its foundation in 1559. Not only did the student have to confirm that he followed the Church of Geneva's doctrine and discipline, but also, with the goal to «better specify and close the door to any subterfuge», the Genevan oath described, on several densely filled pages, all the theological doctrines to be rejected, from Servetus's antitrinitarism to Catholicism, through Anabaptism and many other doctrines fought by Calvin²⁴. This oath was replaced in 1584 by a much shorter text, in which the students still had to promise they were not Catholics and were following none of the theological ideas condemned in Geneva²⁵.

Why did the oath in Lausanne contain no article that excluded the Catholic students? The meticulous way in which the Bernese government supervised every administrative detail indicates that it could not have been an oversight.

This lack of confessional commitment corresponded, on the contrary, to the will of the sovereign, but with what motivation? To answer this question,

²² Cf. Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., pp. 323-325.

²³ *Leges scholae lausannensis*, in Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme*, cit., pp. 500-501.

²⁴ Sven et Suzanne Stelling-Michaud (éds.), *Le livre du recteur de l'Académie de Genève. 1559-1878*, 6 voll., Genève, Droz, 1959-1980, vol. 1, pp. 74-77.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 66. «[...] Postremo, cum verus Dei cultus si omnium studiorum et actionum humanarum norma et regula, promitto et juro me, abjuratis papisticis omnibus superstitionibus, itidemque damnatis omnibus manifestis haeresibus, ex Dei verbo pie victurum. Ita me bene Deus amet».

it is important to bear in mind that confessional boundaries were not entirely fixed in the middle of the sixteenth century. In Switzerland, if some of the confederate cantons were clearly on one or the other side (Bern, Zurich, and Basel on the Protestant side, and the bloc of the «five cantons» Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne and Zug on the Catholic side), other regions and allied territories of the Confederacy could possibly switch sides. This is the case of the Valais, where an important part of the elite was leaned towards the Reformation²⁶. In this context, Protestant schools very soon were perceived to be a threat by the Catholic authorities of Valais, who, in 1536 and 1545, ordered their subjects to pull their children out of such schools²⁷. The ban on Protestant schools does not seem to have been respected by the parents. The attractiveness of the schooling accessible in the cities of Basel, Bern, Strasbourg and Lausanne remained considerable, probably because, before the arrival of the Jesuit schools, they offered the best education according to the cultural standards of humanism sought after by the elite.

The attendance of Protestant schools by students from Catholic territories was considered by the Bernese political authorities as a major means of spreading the Reformation. This is probably the reason for the lack of a confessional oath at the Lausanne Academy during the sixteenth century. Such an oath would have compelled young people coming from Catholic regions to openly oppose the religion practiced at home and would have deterred most of them from coming to study in Lausanne. To abolish this grey area would not have served the Protestant cause; this was at least what the Bernese seem to have judged when they adopted the academic laws for Lausanne in 1547.

To conclude this second part, let us note that confessional boundaries were more permeable in the middle of the sixteenth century than has sometimes been said. In the case of Lausanne Academy, this permeability was purposefully kept in order to promote the growth of the Protestant camp. While the professors necessarily had to be Protestant and to respect the conclusions of the 1528 Bern Disputation, which turned the canton Reformed, far greater flexibility seems to have been admitted concerning the faith of the students²⁸.

In 1547, the Lausanne Academy established a new model for institutions of higher learning, a model that would influence directly or indirectly all the

²⁶ Cf. C. Schnyder, *Reformation und Demokratie im Wallis (1524-1613)*, Mainz, P. von Zabern, 2002.

²⁷ *Die Walliser Landrats-Abschiede seit dem Jahre 1500*, hrsg. von der Regierung des Kantons Wallis, 3, 1529-1547, B. Truffer (bearb. von), A. Gattlen (unter Mitarb. von), Sitten, Staatsarchiv, 1973, pp. 125, 324, 328.

²⁸ A comparable gray area was claimed at the same time by Zurich pastors who insisted that the Zurich students who went to study in Strasbourg should not be forced to take the eucharist in this city, because of the doctrinal differences between Bucerians and Zwinglians concerning this sacrament. On this question, see K. Crousaz, *Schemes for Students' Mobility in Protestant Switzerland during the Sixteenth Century*, in M. Feingold, A.-S. Goeing, G. Parry (eds.), *A History of Premodern Universities* [working title], (to be published in 2019).

future Calvinist academies created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Lausanne model itself depended on various and supraconfessional pedagogical influences. Among these influences, the ones linked with the humanist movement clearly dominated in the writing of the academic laws, which gave the first place to Latin and Greek ancient pagan works²⁹. However, traditional universities' disciplines and teaching methods were maintained in the Reformed academies' model, particularly the use of academic disputations.

Much work still needs to be done in order to document how the Lausanne model spread in time and space after the creation of Geneva Academy in 1559. Some specific studies exist, for instance for the Protestant college of Pińczów in Poland, whose regulations were written by a former French student of Lausanne Academy³⁰, or for the three first American colleges (Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale)³¹.

Ideally, the various academic laws should be carefully analysed and compared, in order to shed light on the way the model evolved chronologically and geographically. The manner in which these regulations were able to spread should also be studied. Did they circulate in written form, either manuscript or printed? Who were the people who played a role in their writing? Where did they study or teach before writing them? These are some of the questions that future works on Protestant academies should try to answer.

Moreover, as we have seen in this article, it should not be forgotten that sixteenth century Protestant professors and pastors were paying close attention to the curricula offered in Catholic schools of higher education. In order to understand the birth and the development of Reformed academies it is thus necessary to consider also what was happening simultaneously in the Catholic world.

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²⁹ This was the case in Lausanne during the entire sixteenth century but changed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The new academic laws adopted in 1616, a testimony of the Protestant orthodoxy of the era, removed all the ancient pagan Greek authors: poets, orators, and philosophers as well (including Aristotle). On this seventeenth century reform of the Academy, see H. Vuilleumier, *Histoire de l'Église réformée du Pays de Vaud sous le régime bernois*, 4 t., Lausanne, éd. la Concorde, 1927-1933, t. 2: *L'Orthodoxie confessionnelle*, pp. 116-120.

³⁰ This study, written in Polish, remains unfortunately difficult to access: S. Kot, *Pierwsza szkoła protestancka w Polsce. Z historii wpływów francuskich na kulturę polską*, in «Reformacja w Polsce», 1, 1921, pp. 15-34 (digitized on the website «Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa - Bibliothèque numérique de la Grande Pologne», <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication?id=78329>).

³¹ J. Herbst, *The First Three American Colleges: Schools of the Reformation*, in «Perspectives in American History», VIII, 1974, pp. 7-52.