

## *Faculty Recruitment and Retention in the Early Modern Era*

*The Zurich Lectorium, c. 1560–1610*

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In her book *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and Their Message in Basel*, Amy Nelson Burnett declares that the hiring of university faculty at Basel between roughly 1530 and 1630 was driven by »a mixture of parochialism, parsimony, and political influence.«<sup>1</sup> One example she offers is the difficulty the university and city officials faced in finding a replacement for Andreas Karlstadt, who died suddenly of disease in 1541. Karlstadt was a refugee from Wittenberg who had been hired based on the recommendation of Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich. Yet his time in Basel had been marred by controversy. In particular, he was often at odds with Basel minister and professor Oswald Myconius over revisions to the university statutes. After his death in 1541, Bullinger once again tried to steer Basel towards hiring a foreign refugee, Peter Martyr Vermigli, who had recently fled Italy for religious reasons and arrived in Switzerland. As Burnett recounts, the Basel magistrates balked at Bullinger's suggestion for two reasons. First, »The potential parallels between Karlstadt and Vermigli were only too clear, and it is unlikely that either the professors or the Senate

<sup>1</sup> Amy Nelson Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and their Message in Basel, 1529–1629*, Oxford 2006 (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology), 81.

would willingly risk hiring another outsider.«<sup>2</sup> Second, the Senate also liked the idea of saving money by paying the current Hebrew professor one salary for doing two jobs, his own and that of Karlstadt's. Eventually they did hire a replacement for Karlstadt, Martin Cellarius, who, Burnett explains, was not necessarily the best candidate but was related by marriage to two Basel senators. Hence, her statement about »parochialism, parsimony, and political influence.«

Twenty years later a strikingly similar scenario played out in Zurich, and the Basel faculty and Senate may have shared a laugh at Heinrich Bullinger's expense. Peter Martyr Vermigli – having held positions in Strasbourg and England in the meantime – was hired by the Zurich theological academy or Lectorium in 1556.<sup>3</sup> By 1560, disagreements between Vermigli and long-standing Old Testament professor Theodor Bibliander had led to controversy and to Bibliander's early retirement. In 1562 Vermigli died, and a struggle ensued over his replacement.<sup>4</sup> Bullinger and the rest of the faculty wanted to hire another foreign scholar of international renown; specifically, they suggested Jerome Zanchi, another former Italian who was currently working in Strasbourg but looking to move. The Zurich city council balked, however, at the prospect of hiring another foreigner. They refused Zanchi on the grounds that he had signed the Augsburg Confession and then passed a law requiring citizenship for all future professors. The faculty's suggestion for a homegrown candidate – Ludwig Lavater – humbly demurred, protesting that his Hebrew skills were not good enough. Ultimately, Josias Simler, the other Old Testament professor, was moved into Vermigli's position, while Johannes Wolf, pastor of Zurich's second largest church (the Fraumünster), was put in Simler's place. Wolf continued serving as pastor while also taking on the Old Testament job.

<sup>2</sup> Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 82.

<sup>3</sup> On Vermigli's hiring, see Michael *Baummann*, Petrus Martyr Vermigli: Doctor, Lehrer der Heiligen Schrift und Zürcher. Hinweise zu Vermiglis Tätigkeit in Zürich, in: Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation, ed. Emidio Campi, Geneva 2002 (*Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 365), 212–224.

<sup>4</sup> Most of the evidence for this article is taken from three volumes of *Acta Scholastica* held in the Zurich Staatsarchiv, E II 458, 459, and 466. The notes regarding Vermigli's replacement are found in E II 458, 32–38. Hereinafter, all references to documents that begin E II or G I refer to documents in the Zurich Staatsarchiv.

This incident reveals that Zurich, like Basel, was guided by parochialism in its faculty hiring. The story also reveals the political influence the city magistrates had in hiring. In terms of parsimony, Vermigli had enjoyed relatively comfortable terms of employment – higher than average pay and light teaching duties. It is likely that the magistrates knew they would not have to pay a local candidate as much as a famous foreign scholar. In order to investigate some of these issues more thoroughly, this article surveys the faculty at the Zurich Lectorium from the time of Vermigli's death through the first decade of the seventeenth century.

The Lectorium had its roots in Zwingli's reorganization of education in Zurich in the 1520s.<sup>5</sup> In addition to reforming the Grossmünster and Fraumünster Latin schools, Zwingli instituted daily public biblical lectures in the nave of the Grossmünster. These lectures, which were more like interactive discussions, became famous in the Reformed world; in the 1520s and 30s, they were often attended by foreign students and guests, and the fruits of the discussions resulted in the publication of the Zurich German Bible. By 1560 this lively tradition of public lectures had developed into a more formal institution of higher education. The Lectorium still had a close relationship with the Latin schools, but it had a set number of professors and its own classroom; lectures and exams were given in theology, languages, and natural philosophy.<sup>6</sup> It also had a fairly impressive record-keeping system, which makes it a rich subject for historians. This article is based on those records, now housed in the cantonal archives (Staatsarchiv) of Zurich. These archives have been known to historians of Zurich for some

<sup>5</sup> For Zwingli's reorganization of Zurich's schools and the origins of the Lectorium, see Ulrich *Ernst*, *Geschichte des Zürcherischen Schulwesens bis gegen das Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Winterthur 1879; Hans *Nabholz*, *Zürichs Höhere Schulen von der Reformation bis zur Gründung der Universität, 1525–1833*, in: *Die Universität Zürich 1833–1933 und ihre Vorläufer*, ed. Ernst Gagliardi et al., Zurich 1938, 1–164; Kurt *Spillman*, *Zwingli und die Zürcher Schulverhältnisse*, in: *Zwingliana* 11 (1962), 427–448; Karin *Maag*, *Seminary or University?: The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560–1620*, Aldershot 1995 (*St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History*), 131–139.

<sup>6</sup> The school is referred to (in the archives and by modern historians) using many different names, including Pfarrerschule, Carolinum, Collegium, Schola Tigurina, and Lectorium. I have chosen the latter because it seems to be the name used the most by recent historians.

time. In the last ten to fifteen years, scholars Karin Maag and Anja Silvia Göing have published a few short pieces looking at different aspects of the Zurich schools.<sup>7</sup> In 1999, a publication produced to accompany an exhibit at the Zentralbibliothek contained brief studies of several of the scholars teaching at the school circa 1550.<sup>8</sup> But no one, as of yet, has produced a longitudinal study of Zurich's faculty or students similar to Burnett's in Basel, a study that attempts to assess developments and changes over the confessional age.<sup>9</sup> This article offers a small start in that direction. First it will provide an overview of the structure and recruitment of the faculty between 1560 and 1610; second, a look at some individual faculty members will illuminate further the kinds of men who taught at the Lectorium; and third, examples of problems faced by the faculty and the city council in maintaining a qualified teaching staff will reveal the pressures and changes that affected institutions of higher education in the post-Reformation era.

For most of the period in question (1560–1610), there were seven professors appointed to teach at the Lectorium. Three were in biblical theology: two Old Testament and one New. Records towards the end of the century sometimes distinguish between the two Old Testament chairs, calling one a professor of Old Testa-

<sup>7</sup> Karin Maag, *Financing Education: the Zürich 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 1996 (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History), 203–216; Anja-Silvia Göing, *Die Zürcher Hohe Schule, 1525–1560*, als Bildungsinstitution, in: *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Historiographie* 8 (2002), 29–83; Anja-Silvia Göing and Hans-Ulrich Musolff, *Anfänge und Grundlegungen moderner Pädagogik im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Köln 2003 (Beiträge zur historischen Bildungsforschung 29); Anja-Silvia Göing, *Die Zürcher Schulprotokolle 1563: Spezifika einer Gattung*, in: *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung: Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts*, eds Herman J. Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt, Leiden 2007 (Brill's Series in Church History 31), 141–170.

<sup>8</sup> *Schola Tigurina: Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550*, ed. Hans Ulrich Bächtold et al., Zurich 1999.

<sup>9</sup> Ernst, *Geschichte* and Nabholz, *Zürichs Höhere Schulen* do look at Zurich's schools over long periods of time, but they do not fill this lacuna in the historiography for a couple of reasons. Ernst wrote over a century ago; his work contains some errors and does not address more recent historiographical issues, such as confessionalization. Nabholz wrote over seventy years ago and was mostly concerned with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; he offers very little analysis of the second half of the sixteenth century.

ment *in prophetis* and the other *in lege*, of the prophets and of the law, but it is not clear how strictly this division was upheld.<sup>10</sup> Initially, one of the Old Testament professors doubled as the Hebrew professor, but with the coming of Peter Martyr Vermigli in 1556 that changed, and a separate line was created for Hebrew. In addition to the three theology positions there were three in languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. (The Latin position was sometimes referred to by other names – Rhetoric, Logic, or Dialectic). The seventh was in *Physica*, which meant natural philosophy and medicine. In 1600, a new position in History was added by creating a new line. With the new school ordinance of 1609, however, the number of professors dropped from eight to six. One of the Old Testament positions was dropped, and the Greek and Hebrew lines were combined into one.<sup>11</sup>

This shifting around of positions in the early seventeenth century is significant, for it shows that the second half of the sixteenth century was a distinct period in the history of the Zurich academy. The faculty first took on this shape in the 1550s, as the Lectorium grew out of its earlier more spontaneous form into a more formal institution of higher education, and it retained this shape for fifty years. In 1600, this stability began to break down, and with a new school ordinance in 1609 things changed even more. The privileged status that the two Old Testament positions held in this period of stability might also be significant. The Old Testament professors were always placed first in lists of the faculty, and, though men were frequently promoted up from another faculty position to Old Testament, no one ever went from Old Testament to something else. This is intriguing, because it demonstrates that the heavy emphasis put on the Old Testament by theologians like Zwingli in their theology had an impact on the organization of the school, but that by 1600, this influence was waning. Around 1600 one also sees an increase in the use of Latin in the school records, which, up until this point, had been almost entirely in German. This may be interpreted as a sign of the increasing professionalization of the clergy. This phenomenon of the clergy becoming more of a sepa-

<sup>10</sup> For example, see the list for the year 1592 in *Catalogi Scholae Tigurinae*, E II 497, 24.3. Compare with the list for 1594 in E II 459, 28.

<sup>11</sup> *Acta Scholastica*, E II 459, 49; E II 466, 95.

rate professional group – an educated elite – has been observed elsewhere in Europe during the age of confessionalization.<sup>12</sup>

There seems to have been two approaches to finding professors after the 1562 law that required their citizenship. The first and most obvious was that the city hired men already citizens of Zurich, often sons of earlier professors and teachers, almost always men who had been local preachers and pastors before (and often during and after) becoming professors. The second solution was to hire men from outside of Zurich – but never too far outside, usually from territories surrounding Zurich – and to grant them citizenship before they assumed the position at the Lectorium. A result of both of these strategies was that, increasingly over the years, men whose names initially appear as students in the records later appear as faculty. The academy, whose primary function had always been to educate and train clergy for Zurich and its environs, became a fairly insular place that also educated and trained its own faculty.

It is important to add, however, that most of the former students who became faculty had indeed studied outside of Zurich, thanks to a program of travel bursaries from the city for students to study at academies and universities abroad. As the research of Karin Maag has demonstrated, roughly half of the students who came up through Zurich's Latin schools and the Lectorium spent a year or two in places like Basel, Heidelberg, Geneva, Wittenberg, or Marburg.<sup>13</sup> The *Acta Scholastica* contain many references to students abroad – who was studying where each year – and to what happened to them upon their return. When they arrived back home, students were to provide school authorities with a thorough account of where they had been, with whom they had resided, and what lectures they had heard. Faculty were also advised to watch and make sure that the students had not picked up any foreign habits or fashions while away.<sup>14</sup> This system of foreign exchanges is significant to the history of the Lectorium, because it allowed Zurich students to learn from internationally-renowned faculty, to

<sup>12</sup> Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558–1642*, Leicester 1979.

<sup>13</sup> Maag, *Financing Education*.

<sup>14</sup> *Acta Scholastica*, E II 458, 157v.

bring ideas and training back with them, while the schools in Zurich still remained relatively local and self-contained.

Individual examples of faculty at the Lectorium will help to illuminate the kinds of men who taught there and what their backgrounds were. A good person to start with is Josias Simler, because he was part of the solution to the problematic situation left by the death of Peter Martyr Vermigli, and because he was probably the most prolific, internationally-known scholar among the second generation of professors. Simler was Heinrich Bullinger's godson; he was born in the 1520s, educated at Zurich, Basel, and Strasbourg.<sup>15</sup> He became professor of the New Testament in Zurich in the 1550s; in 1560 he moved up to one of the Old Testament positions, working alongside Vermigli. When Vermigli died, Simler moved to the other Old Testament position, taking Vermigli's place, and Johannes Wolf took the other. Simler went on to be widely known, at least in the Germanic world, for his scholarly works, including his magisterial survey of the Swiss republic, *De Republica Helvetiorum*.

Two interesting third-generation professors were Markus Bäumlér and Kaspar Waser. Bäumlér was born in 1555 in a small town within the canton of Zurich. He attended the Lectorium and is mentioned in the records as a student abroad in Tübingen in 1580.<sup>16</sup> Before returning to Zurich, he served for about eight years as a teacher and pastor in Germany. In 1594 he was granted Zurich citizenship and brought in to be archdeacon and assistant preacher at the Grossmünster; at the same time, he taught grammar in one of the Latin schools and served a stint as Schulherr (more about that position below). He gave up his preaching post in 1600 or 1601, however, to become a full-time professor of either New Testament and Latin language or Greek at the Lectorium (the manuscript records disagree on the exact year and which position); from 1607 until his death in 1611, he was professor of Old Testament theology.<sup>17</sup> During his teaching career, Bäumlér published se-

<sup>15</sup> Much of the biographical information for faculty in this study – especially things like birth dates that are not found in the *Acta Scholastica* – was taken from Emanuel Dejung and Willy Wuhmann, *Zürcher Pfarrerbuch, 1519–1952*, Zurich 1953.

<sup>16</sup> Album in Tigurina Schola Studentium, E II 479, 58.

<sup>17</sup> Evidence of these appointments can be found in various manuscripts: Verzeich-

veral German religious texts and one Latin grammar. Kaspar Waser was born in the 1560s in Zurich, educated there and at Heidelberg.<sup>18</sup> From approximately 1598 to 1625, he taught Hebrew, Greek, and finally Old Testament at the Lectorium, all the while also serving as pastor in the nearby town of Witikon. He also served a stint as Schulherr around 1609.<sup>19</sup> One of his sons, Heinrich Waser, went on to be Burgermeister of Zurich in the seventeenth century.

Bäumler and Waser are good examples of how a local boy, or, in Bäumler's case, a nearly-local boy, could work his way through the Zurich school system and rise to the top. Their respective careers illustrate some interesting points about the Lectorium in this period. First, the fact that Bäumler taught in one of the Latin schools while also serving as Schulherr is significant, because it demonstrates the close relationship between the Lectorium and the Latin schools during this period. The Schulherr was the head administrator and record-keeper of the schools.<sup>20</sup> The position rotated every two years, but not only through the professors of the Lectorium. As often as not, the serving Schulherr was not a professor, but held a different position, such as teacher at one of the Latin schools or head pastor at the Fraumünster. The *Acta Scholastica*, the name for the main collection of documents used for this study, were recorded by the Schulherr. They are essentially records of faculty regular faculty meetings held by the faculty at all the schools and sometimes attended by one or two city magistrates. They contain mainly information about the faculty and students of the Lectorium, but also a fair amount about the Latin schools. That, combined with the common trajectory of students like Bäumler – from student in a Latin school, to attending the »public

nisse der Inhaber von geistlichen und Schulpfründen in Stadt und Landschaft Zürich und in Landfrieden, G I 179, 6r, 10v, 11v; *Acta Scholastica*, E II 459, 36r–37r, 42r, 57av.

<sup>18</sup> For Waser as a student in Zurich and his time abroad, see *Acta Scholastica*, E II 458, 372br, 401r. Waser travelled extensively as a young man as the *Hofmeister* for J.P. Hainzel of Degerstein (*Dejung*, Zürcher Pfarrerbuch, 599).

<sup>19</sup> *Acta Scholastica*, E II 459, 85a r; *Verzeichnisse der Inhaber*, G I 179, 10v–11v.

<sup>20</sup> There is not a perfect English translation for this title. The most obvious, »superintendent,« was a title used sometimes for the head of each of the Latin schools, so I do not want to use it here.



lectures« for a year or two, then to study abroad, then home to take exams and teach in the Latin school, then to a pastorate and/or professorship – reminds us that the Zurich Lectorium was less of an independent theological academy than just one step in a more complex system of pastoral education and training in Zurich.<sup>21</sup>

Waser, unlike Bäumler, did not give up his pastoral position in the city when he became a professor. His career brings up the issue of how professors were paid. In the 1520s, Zwingli established that the faculty would be paid through the foundations of the pre-Reformation Grossmünsterstift, or chapter. As the old canons (Chorherren) died, faculty took over their livings; these were then passed down, much like tenure lines today. For example, the records of 1563 indicate that Josias Simler inherited Peter Martyr Vermigli's living when he took over the latter's Old Testament position.<sup>22</sup> One of the Grossmünster livings was specifically attached to the post of »deacon of the Silvershield.« The Silvershield was an old house by that name located just up the street from the Grossmünster. Since before the Reformation, this house had been the dwelling place of one of the deacons of the Grossmünster chapter. Around 1560, the position became associated with the academy, and from that point forward, with the exception of two years between 1578 and 1580, it was always held by the professor of Hebrew. Kaspar Waser was deacon of the Silvershield and raised his family at the house in the early seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup>

The story behind the two years in which the deacon of the Silvershield was not the Hebrew professor reveals how the Zurich faculty and magistrates did sometimes run into difficulties finding and paying faculty for each of the seven professor lines. One reason seems to be that a professorship in the Lectorium was not considered all that desirable or prestigious compared to pastoral positions in Zurich's churches. In this specific case in 1578, there

<sup>21</sup> As Karin Maag explains, both the Genevan and Zurich academies went by various names in the sixteenth century, names that sometimes referred only to the higher level theology school and sometimes indicated the theology school *and* the lower Latin school or schools combined as one institution. *Maag*, Seminar or University?

<sup>22</sup> *Acta Scholastica*, E II 458, 32v; *Verzeichnisse der Inhaber*, G I 179, 11r.

<sup>23</sup> *Dejung*, Zürcher Pfarrerbuch, 599.

seems to have been some difficulty filling the position of New Testament theology. In 1575, the New Testament professor, Heinrich Bullinger's son, left the position to become head pastor of St. Peter's church in Zurich. Rudolph Körner was chosen to replace him in 1576, but he only lasted about a year. Körner was a former student who was only twenty-five at the time and serving as a deacon in the Fraumünster; it is likely that his year of teaching was unsuccessful due to his youth and inexperience.<sup>24</sup> Instead, Felix Trüb, the current Hebrew professor and deacon of the Silvershield, was moved to New Testament. Another young former student, Heinrich Wolf, son of the aforementioned Johannes Wolf, was put in the Hebrew position, but Trüb was allowed to keep the Silvershield living. Two years later, however, Wolf and Trüb switched positions, putting Trüb back in Hebrew and Wolf in New Testament.<sup>25</sup> The notes in the records suggest that the move was not considered necessarily permanent, and that Wolf and the Schulherr would reconsider every year how things were going. They also indicate that the faculty hoped to fill the New Testament position with young men who had recently completed their studies at the Lectorium itself.<sup>26</sup> Four years later, in 1584, Wolf is nowhere to be found in the records, and it is not clear who was teaching New Testament. Wolf appears again in 1587 back in the Hebrew position and as deacon of the Silvershield. This move was made possibly because Trüb was able to take over the recently deceased Ludwig Lavater's position archdeacon in the Grossmünster. Five years later Wolf also gave up teaching to take over his father's position as head pastor of the Fraumünster.

Although it might take some further research to work out exactly what was happening between Wolf and Trüb, it appears as though they both preferred to have the Hebrew position, probably because it came with the house of the Silvershield, or possibly because they both felt more comfortable in the subject of Hebrew than that of New Testament theology (which is interesting in itself and again speaks to Zurich's focus on Old Testament theology and

<sup>24</sup> Verzeichnisse der Inhaber, G I 179, 9r, 13v. Although this record indicates that Körner started in 1575, other sources suggest it was not until the following year.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 13r-v.

<sup>26</sup> *Acta Scholastica*, E II 458, 308r.

language). The main lesson to draw is that both of them eventually left to become pastors in city churches. In fact, from the early 1580s forward, the New Testament position was filled with recent graduates of the Lectorium, graduates who soon advanced into more prestigious positions, either Old Testament or Hebrew teaching positions or pastoral posts in the city. Rudolf Körner, the youth first put in the New Testament position in 1576, never went back to teaching at the Lectorium. He became head pastor at St. Peter's in 1583, but he continued to be involved with the schools as superintendent of the Fraumünster school from 1591 to 1594 and, for a brief time in 1594, as Schulherr.<sup>27</sup>

This leads back once again to the issue of money, or parsimony. Not all the professors had full livings from the chapter, and even when they did, the pay was not great. Most faculty members had to supplement their living with preaching positions either in the city or in outlying towns and villages. Kaspar Waser is once again an example; even though he was deacon of the Silvershield, he remained pastor of Witikon the entire time he was a professor. Johannes Wolf remained pastor of the Fraumünster the whole time he was professor of the Old Testament. Jacob Ulrich, professor of Latin from 1576 to 1605, was also the pastor at Schwamendingen, another small town nearby. There are many more similar examples. The case of Markus Bäumlér, who held no other positions besides professor during his years at the Lectorium, is fairly rare for this time period.

Another professor who lasted a long time at the Lectorium and did not take on other pastoral duties was the Professor of Physica from 1546 to 1563, Conrad Gessner. Gessner was a true scholar who published several books known to scientists and doctors throughout Europe.<sup>28</sup> At first he was paid a stipend of forty florins by the city; in 1558, he received one of the canon (Chorherr) stipends in the Grossmünsterstift. In 1563, the faculty and magistrates became concerned that Gessner's teaching load was too heavy. They offered to relieve him of some of his lectures – putting in place two young graduates, Georg Keller and Caspar Wolf – but

<sup>27</sup> *Acta Scholastica*, E II 458, 429r; E II, 459, 29r.

<sup>28</sup> For more on Gessner, see Urs *Leu*, *Konrad Gessner: Naturforscher und Lehrer*, in: *Schola Tigurina: Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550*, 38–41.

Gessner refused the offer, claiming that it would not look right to have him receive his stipend without doing the work.<sup>29</sup> Two years later, he died, and Keller and Wolf did, in fact, take over.

Soon after Gessner's death, a situation arose that demonstrates how the boundaries between the Lectorium and the Latin schools were not hard and fast, and how teaching duties could be shuffled between faculty. In 1566, Ludwig Lavater and Rudolph Funk, teachers at the Fraumünster school, were asked to take on Friday morning Latin exercises for the Lectorium students, in addition to their other teaching duties.<sup>30</sup> They did this for a year, but in 1567, they asked to be relieved and were replaced by Georg Keller, professor of physics, and Huldrych Zwingli the Younger, professor of New Testament. Twenty-five years later, the faculty seem to have adopted a more systematic approach to relieving the burdens of teaching. In the 1590s, the names of assistant professors (*coadjutores*) start to appear in the records, regularly listed after the names of the »ordinary« professors.<sup>31</sup> The hiring of assistants is a significant sign of both the overburdened state of the Lectorium and also its increasing institutionalization or bureaucratization. The school had come a long way from the 1520s when the leading lights of the Zurich Reformation would hold dynamic, interactive lectures in the nave of the Grossmünster.

The overburdened state of the schools becomes very clear in the records in the year 1591, when the professors petitioned the city council for a revision to the – then thirty-one years old – school ordinance (*Ordnung*). In this petition, the faculty argued that while the number of students and the general workload of the professors had increased over the years, the pay was poor, and many students and teachers had difficulties supporting their families.<sup>32</sup> Their concerns focused around the money in the old chapter foundation (*Stift*), and how it was going to run out if things were not changed. They pointed out that many of the preachers in and around Zurich were getting old and dying, and they feared there would be no one to replace them.

<sup>29</sup> Acta Scholastica, E II 458, 53v; *Ernst*, Geschichte, 105.

<sup>30</sup> Acta Scholastica, E II 458, 75r.

<sup>31</sup> Acta Scholastica, E II 459, 28v; *Catalogi Scholae Tigurinae*, E II 497, 24.3r-v.

<sup>32</sup> Acta Scholastica, E II 458, 431r-432v.

In addition to shedding light on the financial straits of Zurich higher education, this document provides a fascinating glimpse into the mindset of the educators themselves and how they viewed the recent history of city's schools. The faculty referred in one place to the »Reformation of this church« and in another to »the time of the Reformation.«<sup>33</sup> It is clear that they recognized that they were living at some chronological distance from the time when the academy and the Zurich Reformed church were founded in order to spread the »teaching of the holy gospel.« They looked back with longing to the time of Zwingli and still held strongly to his original belief that higher education was crucial to the maintenance of the Reformed faith. They wrote of the praise that had been heaped on Zurich by others for its superior school system and clearly believed that their city had inspired other territories and cities to establish churches and schools as well. »This Christian and praiseworthy ordinance,« they declared, »has brought with it such great use, not only to the city of Zurich with its many churches and schools in the city and territory, but also other territories, cities, churches, and communities.«<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, they believed the Zurich schools were in trouble, that many serious problems had developed with finance, teaching, and administration since the time of Zwingli. They begged the city council to revise the ordinance so that »scholarship and teaching and also true religion may be maintained.«<sup>35</sup>

In conclusion, it does appear that »parochialism, parsimony, and political influence« did guide the hiring of faculty at Zurich's Lectorium between 1560 and 1610. The evidence also suggests that the increasing burdens of teaching and administration affected the caliber and prestige of the faculty. In this time period, thirty-two different men filled the seven permanent faculty positions at the Lectorium. Only two or three of these men stayed more than fifteen years at the academy. More and more, it seems as if professorships were treated as stepping stones to the more prestigious preaching positions at city churches.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 43 1r.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 43 1r.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 43 2v.

One of the most famous seventeenth-century Zurichers will serve as a final example. Johann Jacob Breitingger taught Latin for a few years before going on to be pastor of St. Peters and then Antistes at the Grossmünster. Breitingger became an internationally known scholar, author of many works, and was a member of the Zurich delegation at the Synod of Dort. It is significant, however, that almost all of his scholarly works appeared during his time as Antistes, not as professor. While the Lectorium enjoyed a period of relative stability between 1560 and 1610, in general, Zurich's theology professors in this period were, by and large, overworked, underpaid, and did not have as much time for scholarship.

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*Abstract:* Using records from the Zurich Staatsarchiv, this article investigates the faculty of the Zurich Lectorium between 1560 and 1610. The author argues that this period was important as an epoch of both stability and transition for the school, a time when the memory and influence of Zwingli was still strong, but when the school was also developing into a formal institution of higher learning. Most professors in this era taught at the school while also holding pastoral positions in and around the city. Consequently, many were overworked, underpaid, and had little time for scholarship.

*Keywords:* Zurich, Reformed Academy, Faculty, Education