CALVIN AND THE FOUNDING OF THE ACADEMY OF GENEVA

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ALTHOUGH Calvin is usually considered to be primarily a religious reformer, if one takes the care to look closely at his work, it will very soon appear that just as fundamental to his plans and purposes was educational reform. His never-ceasing search for the renovation of the contemporary educational system took its rise in what he saw to be the basic requirements for effective ecclesiastical amendment. Only if adequate education were given to the people, as well as to their leaders, could the Reformation movement be powerful to overcome the massed forces of Romanist error and political despotism. For this reason it is of no little importance to know something of Calvin's views on education, views which were brought to focus and to development in the founding of the Academy of Geneva in 1559.

Education in 1500

The dominant educational philosophy of the Middle Ages, which was also very influential in the sixteenth century, was derived from the thinking of Thomas Aquinas. Basing his thinking upon the philosophy of Aristotle, which he tried to synthesize with his own ideas of Christianity, Aquinas developed a fairly complete system of thought which attempted to give an interpretation of all reality. Although it is impossible to consider his thought in any detail, it must be emphasized that a clear-cut distinction between nature and grace was basic. In the realm of nature, philosophy, natural science and the like, man could think and act independently of God, attaining to truth by reason alone. He could discover the "universal" pattern which determines the nature of each individual fact. Indeed, man could even reach certain divine truths by speculation, but he could not by this means alone press very

far into the supernatural realm. For knowledge in this field he had to turn to revelation or grace. Through faith he would attain to an understanding of the higher orders or degrees of being, *i. e.*, those of the angels and of God. For this reason theology was the queen of the sciences since it dealt with the divine realm, while the other sciences concerned themselves with earthly trivialities.[1] Such a point of view did not incite scholars to dig very deeply either into natural science or into the thought of the past, except in so far as such investigation supported Aquinas's system of philosophy.

Naturally, the idea of education derived from this philosophy was somewhat limited in its scope and interest. The primary function of school and university was considered to be that of preparing men for either the church or the courts. As the church, however, was not interested in preaching, holding that the cleric's main function was to administer the sacraments, what is today considered as necessary practical training was neglected. The primary elements of education were the *trivium*: Latin grammar, rhetoric and logic, and the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. After mastering these, the student went on, if he desired, to study theology, law or medicine. The usual method of teaching was that of commenting upon some author, the class copying down the text discussed and the comments made by the professor. The students attended classes largely according to their own particular pleasure without any supervision, and after a number of months or years they would put forward some "thesis" which they would defend publicly against all comers. If they did this successfully they were then granted the appropriate degree. There was no system of examinations or promotions, nor was there any direction. Everything was haphazard and disorganized, at least to modern eyes.[2]

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries changes began to take place in European educational ideas. For many reasons men began to turn away from the "other-worldly"

[1] For a clear exposition of this point of view *cf.* K. Schilder, *Wat is de Hemel?*, 2nd edit., Kampen, 1954, chap. 1.

[2] C. Bourgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, Geneva, 1900, I, p. 25; *cf.* also Calvin's "Dedicatory Epistle" in his *Commentary on I Thessalonians.*

attitude of the Thomists, looking more to the things of this world. The individual earthly "existences" became increasingly important, their "universal" essences and meanings being ignored, a point of view which was greatly strengthened by the growing interest in the writings of ancient Greece and Rome.[3] The classical pagan attitude towards life and the world turned men clearly and definitely against the medieval Thomistic synthesis. But what was to be placed in its stead? Some turned to a more Biblical Christianity and out of that movement came the Reformation. Others, however, gave themselves over to the "humanistic" worship of the classics, stressing "this-worldliness" and the autonomy of the individual genius.

The growing insistence upon independent thought forced men to think for themselves, leading to the overthrow of Aristotle's authority. At the end of the sixteenth century, Galileo pointed out in *The Discourse of Two Sciences* that this is exactly what Aristotle himself would have desired, but the educational authorities of the late fifteenth century did not see it this way. Yet, despite their opposition, changes were coming. In Italy Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona both emphasized the study of the classics for themselves, while the Brethren of the Common Life in the Low Countries began to train and examine their scholars carefully and systematically.[4] Although this new type of education was not popular at the University of Paris, through the influence of such men as Guillaume Budé and Mathurin Cordier it gradually seeped into the various colleges, very often accompanied by Lutheran ideas imported from Wittenberg. The result was that, notwithstanding the efforts of the ecclesiastical authorities, by 1525, at Paris and elsewhere, a more systematic, humanistic type of teaching became the order of the day.[5]

[3] A. Rénaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris (1494–1517)*, Paris, 1953, pp. 78 ff.

[4] E. P. Cubberley, *A Brief History of Education*, Boston, 1922, p. 143; Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, p. 25; J. J. Altmeyer, *Les Précurseurs de la Réforme aux Pays-Bas*, The Hague, 1886, I, pp. 140 f.

[5] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 21–23; Rénaudet, *op. cit.*, pp. 697 f.; A. Veerman, *Die Stijl van Calvijn in de Institutio Christianae Religionis*, Utrecht, 1943, pp. 4 ff.

As one might well expect, Calvin was greatly influenced by the ideological conflicts and changes which were going on around him in the educational world. He spent a number of years at the University of Paris where, according to his own testimony, he gained a first-hand knowledge of the differences between the old and new ideas.[6] He also spent some time at the University of Orleans studying law, where he would see the same battle, but from another vantage point. From this training he came forth, not only possessed of an extensive knowledge of classical, early Christian and contemporary writings, but also as a thoroughly convinced humanist.[7] This humanism he never lost. True, after his conversion he subjected it to the proclamation of the gospel, but he never ceased to draw on the training which he had received at the hands of the leading French Renaissance scholars of his day. As Wendel has pointed out, "Calvin is always, more or less, the humanist which he was in 1532," the year in which he published his one completely humanist work, a commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia*.[8] This humanism was to be a determining factor in his whole approach to the question of education.

His humanism, however, was not merely in the realm of ideas. It was also part of his experience both as a student and as a teacher. At Paris, while he studied under the old system, he also saw the concrete benefits of the new approach to pedagogy, while his later studies under such humanists as Budé, Wolmar and Lefebvre also demonstrated to him the validity of the new theories concerning teaching. Moreover, there is little doubt that, like most students of all times, Calvin and his friends had many a good "bull-session" in which were threshed out the merits of the two points of view. Out of this group of young men came a number of educators who later did their best to promote the new methods and techniques of education. One was André de Govreau, one time principal of

[6] "Dedicatory Epistle to Mathurin Cordier" in *Commentary on I Thessalonians*.

[7] Veerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff., 17 ff.

[8] F. Wendel, *Calvin, Sources et Evolution de sa Pensée Religieuse*, Paris, 1950, pp. 12 ff.; J. Bohatec, *Calvin und das Recht*, Graz, 1934, pp. 1 ff.; *Budé und Calvin*, Graz, 1950, pp. 127 ff.

St. Barbe in Paris, who, aided by Mathurin Cordier, took over the direction of La Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux where he put the new ideas into practice. Another of Calvin's *confrères* was John Sturm who in 1536 went to Strasbourg to head that city's academy. It was there that Calvin, during his exile from Geneva (1538–1541), obtained practical experience of the new methods by teaching under Sturm.[9]

The college or academy organized at Strasbourg was the result of a number of years of work and labor by Martin Bucer, the leading evangelical pastor. Convinced early in his career that true piety could never flourish in ignorance, he did everything in his power to stimulate the authorities of his city to establish a "gymnasium" and academy for the training of the young. Although he was at first none too successful, he eventually convinced not only the Strasbourg authorities but also those of a number of other German cities to send likely students to the city on scholarships. When this objective was attained, he concentrated on attracting the very best men available to teach. John Sturm was one of the first to come, and when Calvin was exiled in 1538 from Geneva, Bucer saw that he was given a cordial welcome to Strasbourg and its educational institutions.[10]

In June 1537 Sturm began to organize an educational system with the motto "sapiens atque eloquens pietas." Then in March of the following year he published his *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis* in which he set forth what he held to be the best educational methods. A thorough-going humanist, he believed that wisdom, which is the knowledge of things, must come primarily from the writings of the ancients. He also stressed the importance of Christians being able to present their sanctified wisdom eloquently and effectively.[11] In order to be trained adequately to know and to speak as Christians, Sturm in-

[9] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, p. 25; Veerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.; D. Nauta, "Standpunt van Luther en Calvijn tegenover het humanisme" in *Cultuurgeschiedenis van het Christendom*, Amsterdam, 1950, III, p. 276.

[10] H. Eells, *Martin Bucer*, New Haven, 1931, pp. 225 ff.; Wendel, *op. cit.* pp. 35 f.

[11] H. Bavinck while not willing to accept this definition as final feels that there is much to be said for it as a description of Christian education. *Paedagogische Beginselen*, Kampen, 1904, pp. 51 f.

sisted that there had to be a gradation of students by which the subject matter would be fitted to their capacities. The school system, therefore, was to be divided into three sections: the kindergarten for children under six years, the *Gymnasium* for those between six and fifteen, and the *Hochschule* for those sixteen and over. The Gymnasium was to concentrate on linguistic studies, particularly the mastery of Latin, while the Hochschule, which was to replace Bucer's *seminaire* or theological training school, would stress practical subjects such as Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, mathematics, physics, history, law and theology. It was a good plan which should have accomplished much, but was never worked out fully.[12] The city fathers were not very interested, and when Lutheran forces gained control in the city, the schools seem to have become somewhat restricted in their scope. The result was that Sturm's plans were never fully carried out in Strasbourg, although there is little doubt they wielded a great influence later in Geneva.

The First Attempts at Reformed Education in Geneva

Prior to the advent of Calvin to Geneva, the state of education in that city had been rather feeble. In 1365, the emperor Charles IV had promulgated a bull establishing a Genevan university, but the plan was completely abortive. Then in 1429 François de Versonnex, a local merchant, endowed a school to be set up under the control of the city council. Even this effort, however, was no great success, for not until 1494 was a "grande école" erected, nor was it until 1502 that some sort of systematic instruction was instituted. Even then, while rules were laid down for bringing the students to church on Sundays and holy days, little real attention was paid to purely academic training. About the only thing which was taught was Latin, after which one had to go abroad for further instruction. Although this school was supposed to have the monopoly of local education, illegal schools grew up and the legitimate teachers were hard pressed to earn enough to keep

[12] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 26–28; Eells, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

body and soul together.[13] Altogether education was neither highly valued nor highly paid in the materialistic and dissolute city of Geneva.

When Calvin commenced his activities in the city, he was faced with a complete dearth of ministerial helpers and an abysmal ignorance on the part of the citizens. Assuming that a knowledge of Christian doctrine was fundamental to a vital, effective faith and life, he was convinced that instruction was Geneva's greatest need. On one hand, this could be given only if there was available an educated ministry which could continually feed the people with sound teachings. But on the other hand, in order to have an effective ministry there must be an educated people to receive and appreciate the instruction. To this latter end Calvin first of all wrote a catechism for the children. Then he turned to the question of academic training which would make Geneva the great center of Protestant thought for years to come.[14]

In pursuance of his idea, when Calvin presented his proposed constitution for the city to the citizens of Geneva on May 21, 1536, he included plans for a school which all children had to attend and in which poor children would be taught free of charge. The Collège de la Rive which was the result of this proposal, took the place of the public school which had collapsed in the troubles of the political and ecclesiastical revolution. The first principal was Antoine Saunier who was followed the next year (1537) by Calvin's old teacher, Mathurin Cordier. In 1538 final plans were drawn up for a general educational system, which was to concentrate at first on reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and religion, and was to reach its culmination in the daily lectures given by Guillaume

[13] H. Naef, *Les Origines de la Réforme à Genève*, Geneva, 1936, pp. 278–194; Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 13 ff.

[14] Calvin, *Le Catéchisme de Genève*, Paris, 1934, pp. 15 f.; A. Dakin, *Calvinism*, London, 1941, pp. 135, 136, 142; A. M. Fairbairn, "Calvin and the Reformed Churches" in *Cambridge Modern History*, New York, 1907, II, p. 372. Fairbairn who was no adherent of Calvin had this to say about his plans: "He believed in the unity of knowledge and the community of learning, placing the magistrate and the minister, the citizen and the pastor, in the hands of the same teacher, and binding the school and the university together."

Farel on the Old and Calvin on the New Testament.[15] Although not all that might be desired, this was certainly a step in the right direction.

With the expulsion of Calvin, Farel and Cordier from Geneva in 1538, the cause of education suffered a severe blow which almost brought an end to the college. It was saved, however, by the reformer's return from Strasbourg in 1541, and the promulgation of a new set of ecclesiastical ordinances with even more specific statements on the subject of education. The latter were evidently the results of Calvin's experience at Strasbourg under the influence of Bucer and Sturm. Next to the ministers in importance, the Ordinances stated, were the "doctors" whose responsibility was that of lecturing in theology,

> but since one is not able to profit in such lessons unless one is first of all instructed in humane languages and sciences, and also since it is necessary to prepare for the coming generations in order not to leave the church a desert for our children, it is imperative that we establish a college to instruct the children to prepare them for both the ministry and civil government.[16]

To this end Calvin called for the erection of an adequate building and the appointment of suitable teachers for both elementary and advanced instruction. The instructors, he believed, should be chosen and supervised by the ministers, all others being forbidden to teach in the city. Although the city fathers did not completely agree with this latter idea, they were in general accord with Calvin's ideas, even being willing to support him in his efforts to bring back Cordier. As he, however, was by now comfortably settled at Neuchâtel, he refused, his place being taken by Castellio who was later to become an opponent of Calvin's ecclesiastical policies. Thus the Collège de la Rive was revived to continue its activities for another eighteen years.[17]

[15] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 16 f.; Cubberley, *op. cit.* p. 175; J. T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, New York, 1954, p. 135.

[16] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, Oxford, 1911, p. 594; Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, p. 29.

[17] Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 595; McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Cubberley, *op. cit.*, p. 175; Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 29–31.

Unfortunately for Calvin's proposals, the political situation in Geneva was too disturbed for his educational plans to progress very rapidly. From 1541 to 1556, there was a continual battle to maintain the Reformed church against the attacks of Libertines, Romanists and politicians so that little time could be spent improving the schools. Some tentative plans were made in 1550 for the reorganization of the system, but without very much effect, except that the various private elementary schools were reduced to four in number and brought under the supervision of the city ministers. More peaceful days would be required before very much could be achieved.[18]

It would appear that the final stimulus to action was Calvin's visit to Strasbourg in 1557. By that time the city was under the control of Lutherans so that as far as the government was concerned he was not welcome. But John Sturm and the city's educators were of another opinion, with the result that, although prohibited from speaking publicly, Calvin was given a university reception and seems to have spent much of his time discussing educational problems with his former colleagues. A number of writers feel that it was the development and expansion of the Strasbourg educational institutions during the preceding twenty years which finally decided him to push for the establishment of the university at Geneva.[19]

The Founding of the Academy

On his return home, Calvin immediately took action to obtain land outside the city wall and overlooking the lake for the site of the new college building. This completed, he had to raise money to finance the building program and pay the teachers, but as the city authorities pleaded poverty, he was obliged to turn for this to private philanthropy. His appeal to the citizens was eminently successful, enough money coming in to ensure the erection of adequate quarters for the infant institution. Last of all there was the question of choosing a

[18] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 32, 33; McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
[19] McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 f.; Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 33 ff.

staff, always something of a headache. At first it looked as though he would not be very successful in obtaining the services of well-qualified teachers for the advanced studies. The Zwinglian authorities of Berne, however, helped him out by stirring up a conflict between themselves and the faculty of the academy in their vassal city of Lausanne. Led by the rector, Theodore Beza, most of the professors resigned and migrated to Geneva where they were immediately appointed to that city's new establishment. Thus on March 16, 1559, the Academy of Geneva was ready to begin with Theodore Beza as Rector, Antoine Chevalier professor of Hebrew, François Beraud professor of Greek and Jean Tagaut professor of Arts.[20]

On June 5th, the Academy of Geneva was opened with a public service held in the Church of St. Peter under the authority of the Lords Syndics of the city. Calvin seems to have been the person who conducted the service, but the principal address was delivered by Beza as rector. In his oration he endeavored to set forth the fundamental point of view which should dominate education, for he reminded the students of Plato's words that any knowledge which takes one away from virtue and justice has more cleverness than wisdom in it. He explained to them "that they were not there solely for instruction, and even less for ephemeral games, as the Greeks were accustomed to in their gymnasia, but that they had for their task, to work for the glory of God, and for their duty, to become soldiers worthy of their mission."[21] Such was to be the key-note of the institution as long as he was at its head.

Probably the most important part of the opening ceremony was the reading of the Academy's laws and regulations. There is little doubt that their author was the "spectable Iehan Calvin," the man responsible for the foundation. Some have attempted to deny this, but there seems very little doubt that he wrote, in the fullness of his experience, the plan for this, one of his most cherished projects.[22]

[20] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 38, 47; P. F. Geisendorf, *Théodore de Bèze*, Geneva, 1949, pp. 105 f.

[21] Geisendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[22] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, p. 43.

The basic organizational principle of the institution was its division into two parts. There was first, the *schola privata* teaching children up to about sixteen years, and second, the *schola publica* which was to give university training. Although at first only arts and theology would be offered in the higher division, it was hoped that, before long, law and medicine might be added. In one way, the Genevan plan was better than that of Strasbourg, for it carried the idea of division of classes in the *schola privata* to its logical conclusion by providing careful regulation and control of graduation from one class to the next. The divisions were more clear-cut and the movement from class to class more definite.[23]

Another point upon which Calvin insisted was the control of the church over the Academy. He desired to have the teachers under strict ecclesiastical discipline, insisting that they should be appointed by the ministers, should subscribe to the Confession of Faith of Geneva and should be at all times subject to the ecclesiastical authorities. In this the civil government did not, however, entirely concur, with the result that the ministers were restricted to nominating men who were to be appointed by the city fathers. A close supervision was exercised over the students, both concerning their beliefs and their lives.[24] According to modern standards, no doubt, such regulations would be regarded as very bad, but when one considers that regulation was a part of sixteenth century life, and also that students had been noted throughout the Middle Ages for riot and debauchery, they will not be considered too drastic.

Along with the question of control, and of equal importance, was that of government. Under the supervision of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, the Academy had a well articulated "chain of command." In charge of the whole organization was the Rector, appointed for two years. He had the responsibility of seeing that the Academy was properly run with as little friction as possible, of admitting students to the *schola publica* and of granting degrees. As his assistant in

[23] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 43, 51.

[24] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, p. 30; Kidd, *op. cit.*, no. 317; Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 143; "L'Ordre du Collège de Genève" in Calvin, *Opera* (Brunswick), X^1, cols. 65–90 (printed as an appendix to this article).

charge of the "college," or *schola privata*, he had "the principal," one of the teachers, who had the duty of seeing that that department's work was carried on properly. Under the principal were the "regents" or teachers of the various grades in the college, who were responsible for carrying out his wishes in matters of instruction. Under the immediate supervision of the Rector were the public professors of Hebrew, Greek, Arts and Theology who directed the studies of those who had reached university standing. With this clear-cut set of regulations, Calvin was one of the first educators to set up a system which was easily understood and easily operated.[25]

The academic year for the *schola privata* commenced on May 1, continuing for the full twelve months, three weeks only being allowed for holidays at the time of the grape harvest. To modern ears this may sound as rather a heavy program, especially when one realizes that in summer classes commenced at 6 a.m. and in winter at 7 a.m., continuing through until 4 p.m., with half an hour for breakfast and probably an hour and a half to two hours for lunch. At the close of each session prayers and the Ten Commandments were to be recited and the students admonished concerning their duties.[26]

The *schola privata* or college was divided into seven classes, the seventh being the lowest in grade. Each year at the end of April, the classes were to be given a topic in French upon which they were to write an essay according to their capacities. That having been completed they were then to translate it into Latin, and Calvin, having a strong belief in the doctrine of original sin, insisted that other teachers than those who had trained them during the year should invigilate in the class rooms where the students were writing! When the essays had all been corrected by the rector and the public professors, promotions were made and prizes given to the two best students in each class. This was a procedure different from, and somewhat beyond, that followed even in the schools of Sturm or of the Brethren of the Common Life.

The method of conducting the Academy or university was somewhat different from that of the college. For one thing

[25] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, p. 44. [26] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 52–54.

there was no regular system of set classes conducted in a classroom manner. Instead, each week, twenty-seven hours of public lectures, which anyone could attend, were given by the public professors.[27] The lectures lasted for an hour and were held both morning and afternoon at specified times. This also appears to be a somewhat more careful regulation than that laid down in most of the academic institutions of the day.

Calvin, while linking school and university together, still desired that they should be administered in very different ways. There was little regulation of the university student. All he had to do was register, sign the Confession of Faith and attend lectures. From that point on he was very much on his own, having to prepare his work and do his studying by himself or with his fellow students. Very different was the treatment of the younger element. In the case of the latter there was close supervision and a great emphasis upon the importance of adjusting the subject and method of teaching to the age and capacity of the scholars. Careful explanation of the text under consideration, without attacks upon the authors or their ideas, was the order of the day. Coupled with this there was to be constant recitation and writing of essays, that, in line with the views of Francis Bacon, the scholars might be both "full" and "exact" men. Every effort was made to ensure that they would graduate into the university with the largest possible amount of knowledge and the greatest possible facility in its use. This well-disciplined training was to be the basis for the freer life of the university student.

That raises the question of the subjects studied. In the college the great emphasis was laid upon the means of apprehension and of expression. Unlike most educational institutions of the time, the Genevan Academy insisted upon a thorough knowledge of both Latin and French, the vernacular being held in as high honor as the classical tongue. Then, when the scholars had during their first three years acquired some fluency in reading and writing these languages, they

[27] Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52; Kidd, *op. cit.*, no. 317. There were 3 lectures in theology, 8 in Hebrew and Old Testament, 3 in ethics, 5 in Greek orators and poets, 3 in physics and mathematics and 5 in dialectic and rhetoric.

were introduced to Greek, probably at about the age of eleven or twelve years. Syntax, prosody and rhetoric were all stressed, but not as much as in Sturm's school, lest they should become the be-all and end-all of education. At the same time, in order to prevent mere parrot-like repetition the teachers were obliged to make continual comparison between the grammar and usages of the three basic languages. In this way, apparently, it was hoped that the students would think about what they were learning. Furthermore, to stimulate their thinking logically, in the last two years the elements of dialectic were to be taught and practiced in essays and semi-monthly public speaking classes.

To understand the character of this training, one must also look at the texts and authorities employed. In the earliest year (the seventh grade), the Latin-French Catechism was to be the basic source for reading, spelling and pronunciation. Within two years, however, Virgil's *Bucolics* were to be used, followed by the *Epistles* of Cicero, the elegies *De Tristibus* and *De Bonte* of Ovid, the *Commentaries* of Caesar, the *Aeneid* of Virgil and the orations of Isocrates. History was to be studied in Latin in Livy, and examples of dialectic were to be found in an analysis of Cicero's speeches. When the pupil had progressed sufficiently to be able to read Greek, which he was expected to do in two years, he was to study Seneca, Xenophon, Polybius, Herodian, Demosthenes and Homer. Added to all of these the Gospel of Luke and some of the apostolic letters were also employed. A student who had come through this course successfully, although lacking mathematical and scientific training, would know how to read, think and express himself, capacities which with all our improvements we usually fail to develop in modern educational institutions!

In one sense, the *schola publica* or university was a continuation of the college. The classics still occupied a large part of the student's attention, but now not so much because of their form as by virtue of their content. There were also added, however, new subjects of study: arts and theology. These were to be the means of coming to know God through general and special revelation, in order that the students might be properly instructed to serve God in true piety in this life, and to be prepared for the life which is to come. The

university in this way had a more directly practical, and at the same time wider, outlook for it was to train men to assume their responsibilities in both church and civil government.

The public Professor of Arts had as his responsibility the teaching of physical science and mathematics, three hours a week. With our modern approach we may feel that this is all too small an amount of time to be spent on such subjects, but for Calvin's day it was regarded as quite sufficient. After all, since professional scientists and engineers were at that time unknown, physical science was relatively unimportant in most men's thought, although it was not deemed as inconsequential as most medieval educators would have held it to be. Calvin believed that physical science should be taught simply because nature was God's vesture in which He continually reveals Himself to all men everywhere. Stressing the idea of creation he held that man should investigate and study nature in order to understand its Maker. This point of view was in conflict both with that of scholasticism, which taught that the physical world was merely a lower stage in the long "chain of being" which extended upward to the "unmoved mover," God, and also with that of the Renaissance, which was usually pantheistic. To Calvin, the study of nature was a God-given responsibility to be carried out in the light of His Word.[28]

Although lecturing in the morning on natural science, in the afternoon the Professor of Arts dealt with advanced rhetoric. Taking Aristotle as his text and Cicero as his example, he was to expound the laws and practice of preaching and legal pleading. Here was the practical application of much which had gone before. The basic requirement of a minister was that he should preach and of a lawyer or civil administrator that he should plead. Consequently, although this stress on advanced rhetoric may appear at first to be rather useless, in the eyes of Calvin and his disciples this was one of the most practical courses of lectures offered.

The Professor of Hebrew was to devote his morning lecture to an exposition of some Old Testament book with the aid of

[28] R. S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of Word and Sacrament*, Edinburgh, 1953, p. 66; Bohatec, *Budé und Calvin*, pp. 264–267; T. H. L. Parker, *The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God*, Edinburgh, 1952, pp. 13 ff.

Jewish commentaries, and in the afternoon he was to explain Hebrew grammar. It was obviously Calvin's hope that Geneva would become a center for Hebrew studies, for his specific mention of Jewish commentaries showed that he was interested in having all the latest advances in the study of the Old Testament incorporated into the curriculum.

Strange as it may seem, the Professor of Greek was not to deal with the New Testament. As the students would already have learned Greek, New Testament exposition was left to the Professor of Theology, the Greek professor being given the work of expounding various books on ethics. The authors suggested were Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch "or some Christian philosopher." The afternoon lecture he was to devote to the study of a Greek poet, orator or historian, always "choosing the purest." Here again one sees very clearly the humanist in Calvin as well as an indication of his attitude towards the knowledge and learning of the non-Christian world.

Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday the work of the *schola publica* was crowned with the lectures in theology which were given by Calvin himself and Beza in alternate weeks. In this way, they fulfilled the duties of professors of theology without ever having the title — or the salary. Their responsibility was the exposition of the Bible and from these lectures come part of Calvin's commentaries. It is well to remember that even in these lectures both Calvin and Beza followed the latest methods of exegesis. Adopting the grammatico-historical technique of such men as Lorenzo Valla, Lefebvre d'Etaples and others, they eschewed all medieval fanciful and so-called "spiritual" interpretations in their endeavor to gain a knowledge of what the Scriptures actually taught. It was in this way that they laid the foundations for true Reformed exegesis.

To train the students in the use of that which they had learned, every Saturday afternoon those "registered" in theology were to spend an hour under the supervision of the ministers expounding some Scripture passage. Each month these students were also to prepare and write out certain propositions in theology "neither curious, nor sophistical nor containing false doctrine" and were to give them to the Professor of Theology before whom they were to sustain them

against all comers. After the disputants had had their say "sainctment et religieusement," the professor was to give his opinion of the answers offered for the solution of the questions proposed.

So far in our discussion of the program of the Genevan educational system it looks very much as though Christian instruction was emphasized in the university only. This, however, is not the case, for although discussion and debate on theological problems were not employed in the *schola privata*, there was continual religious teaching. According to the quarter in which they lived, all the school children had to attend the services held in their local churches both for the Wednesday sermon and the two Sunday services. As the regulations specify: "Sunday shall be employed in hearing, meditating upon and recording the sermons." Moreover, each class was opened with a prayer provided in the Catechism and school was closed with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, the Confession of Faith and the Ten Commandments. On Wednesday after the sermon an hour was to be spent singing psalms. Thus, as far as possible the children were kept in constant mind of their Christian faith.

Such was the program with which Calvin planned to educate the citizens of Geneva and any others from the outside world who might wish to be trained up in the truth of God.

The Principles Governing the Academy

The education offered in the College and Academy was in many ways typically humanistic. Some later Calvinists have endeavored to prove that Calvin had nothing to do with humanism, but the program of the college at Geneva points in the other direction. For one thing it gives no little emphasis to rhetoric and elegance of expression. For instance in "The Laws of the First Class," it is laid down that "the use of all the precepts should be continually and carefully demonstrated and pointed out in the most artificial orations of Cicero." This is quite in line with Calvin's comment on I Corinthians 1:17 where he teaches concerning oratory that "it were quite unreasonable to suppose, that Paul would utterly condemn these arts which, it is manifest, are excellent gifts of God, and

which serve as instruments, as it were, to assist men in the accomplishment of important purposes." Another typically humanistic characteristic of this plan of curriculum is its great stress upon the ancients, the only modern work used being the Latin-French Catechism. Moreover, Calvin did not stop with the Christian fathers, but rather went back to the pagan writers who were *the* authorities in matters of language and expression.[29]

Yet while Calvin's humanism was apparent in the program mapped out, it must be kept in mind that he was definitely not a humanist in his interpretation of the origins and source of man's capacity. As shown by the quotation in the previous paragraph, he held that all the arts were the gift of God. He continues this statement:

> As for those arts, then, that have nothing of superstition, but contain solid learning, and are founded on just principles, as they are useful and suited to the common transactions of human life, so there can be no doubt that they have come forth from the Holy Spirit; and the advantage which is derived and experienced from them, ought to be ascribed exclusively to God.

Therefore, while these arts and sciences should be appreciated and used, unless one sees them in the light of Christ they are as smoke, for they are not properly understood nor interpreted since all these things are for the purpose of bringing men to God. As he said, "man, with all his acuteness, is as stupid for obtaining of himself a knowledge of the mysteries of God, as an ass is unqualified for understanding musical harmonies." (*ad* I Cor. 1:20) Not from the humanists' *virtu* or genius has come forth these abilities, but from the grace of God.[30]

Similarly, Calvin's view was that these arts and sciences discovered by man were not to be used for the glorification and praise of the human genius, but for the glory of God. Many of the humanists had the attitude that the individual genius, or at the most the upper section of society, was to be the beneficiary of man's attainments, gifts and discoveries. Calvin on the other hand stressed that God's glory was to be

[29] Bohatec, *Budé und Calvin*, p. 258; Nauta, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[30] See also his comments on Genesis 4:20 ff. and Exodus 31:2.

manifested through them, eloquence in particular being important for the preaching of the Gospel, for it "is not at all at variance with the simplicity of the gospel, when it does not merely not disdain to give way to it, and be in subjection to it, but also yields service to it, as a handmaid to her mistress." Therefore, the liberal arts and sciences which "have descended to us from the heathen," are not to be condemned, but employed properly to bring men to a true knowledge of the sovereign God.[31]

It was this view that knowledge and learning were not merely to be obtained for one's own enjoyment, or for the enjoyment of a select intellectual elite, which exercised a strong influence over Calvin's whole approach to learning. One learned in order to teach others. But if one were to teach, his thinking had to be clear and direct, untrammeled with conceits and mannerisms in order that even the most ignorant might comprehend the teacher's meaning. His preaching and writing, therefore, were plain, direct and unmistakable. Consequently, of all the sixteenth century writers Calvin is probably one of the easiest to read today. It was for this reason also that he insisted on the students' practicing continually the art of direct and clear exposition. For the same reason he was determined that they should be able to use their native French, and not merely be able to talk to the learned in Latin. He practiced what he preached by translating his own works, originally written in Latin, into his native tongue, and by demanding a good sound knowledge of its use by all those graduating from the Academy.[32] By this means, he hoped, men would have the opportunity of hearing and understanding the meaning of God's revelation.

The true knowledge of God, however, could not be found in nature and the liberal arts and sciences, unless man, his eyes opened by the Holy Spirit, first saw God revealed to him in the Scriptures. Therefore, the understanding of the Scriptures was man's ultimate objective in life. Such things as philosophy, science and eloquence had as their ultimate

[31] Calvin's comments on I Cor. 1:17 and Gen. 4:20 ff.

[32] J. Pannier, *Calvin Ecrivain*, Paris, 1930, pp. 9–12; Calvin, "Instructio Adversus Libertinos" in *Tractatus Theologici Omnes*, Geneva, 1576, chap. VII.

purpose man's deeper comprehension of that which God says through the Scriptures.[33]

For this reason, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were to be regarded as the crown and the rule of the university. While the Greek and Roman writers and philosophers had by divine grace come to know much concerning this world, they could never lead to a true, saving knowledge of God. That was to be found in special revelation alone. Therefore, in the Scriptures only would one find the true wisdom and true knowledge which give the proper interpretation of the whole of the universe, even of the pagan philosophers themselves.[34] Moreover, the Scriptures would also give a good understanding of rhetoric and eloquence, for they manifested the eloquence of the Holy Spirit directed not merely to the intelligentsia, but also to the common folk, in order that all men should come to know something of the glory of the Triune God.[35]

This position brings before us the basic assumption which lay behind Calvin's whole plan and purpose in founding the university. Holding that man could not, because of his sinfulness, come by any human means to a true knowledge of God, and so of the universe which God had created and in which man lives, he insisted that the only hope for man was "regeneration" whereby he could grasp the meaning of God's revelation in the Scriptures.[36] Until God touched man's heart, even a "head" knowledge of the Scriptures was really useless. But when God did take action, man then came to faith, seeing all things *sub specie aeternitatis*. This would seem to be the reason for Calvin's insistence that students in the university should sign the Confession of Faith. What point would there be in teaching men who were unbelievers, and so could never have a true knowledge? True knowledge ultimately was the gift of God.

Thus, in summing up Calvin's view of education as it is

[33] Bohatec, *Budé und Calvin*, pp. 259 ff.; Bavinck, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Nauta, *op. cit.*, p. 286; Bourgeaud, *op. cit.*, I, 17; Calvin, *Institutes*, I, chaps. VI, VII.

[34] Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[35] Commentary on I Cor. 1:17; Bohatec, *Budé und Calvin*, pp. 259–263.

[36] Commentary on I Cor. 2:9 ff.; *Institutes*, I, chap. VII; Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

revealed to us in the "Ordre du Collège de Genève," one might say that the basic objective which he had in mind was the inculcation of the knowledge of God and His works, for Christian service. This knowledge was to come to man by two media. One was history and nature, represented by the thought of the ancients and by natural science. But these of themselves were completely inadequate apart from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, read with the enlightenment of the Spirit of God, which alone enables men to obtain the proper perspective. Applying this knowledge in the continual service of God glorifies Him who is the creator, sustainer and redeemer, man's highest objective in life.[37]

Calvin's success was very soon manifest in the large number of students which the new foundation attracted. From all over western Europe they flocked to Geneva to be trained in Reformed principles under Calvin and his successors. Those who graduated went forth, convinced of their position, to teach others, the result being that Calvinism came to dominate most of the thinking of northwestern Europe and was carried by the Dutch, the English, the Scots, the Germans and the French to the far places of the earth, with the consequence that today it lies, to a large extent, at the basis of western culture. As Dakin has put it: the Genevan academy "created a culture narrow truly, when judged by modern standards, but nevertheless firmly based on the new learning of the time, and braced by the mental discipline of a constant pre-occupation with the great themes of theology."[38]

From this modern Calvinists might well learn one important lesson. It is that if there is ever to be any great Calvinistic revival, it will come, and will continue, only if it is firmly based upon sound educational principles which enable it to wrestle with the problems of contemporary thought. Running away from the issues raised in modern philosophy, science and history will not solve the problem. Rather, the Calvinist must be prepared to take what the non-Christian world has discovered and thought, in order that he may re-interpret this knowledge *sub specie aeternitatis* and use it to glorify the eternal Triune God.

McGill University, Montreal

[37] Bavinck, *op. cit.*, p. 52. [38] Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

APPENDIX

THE ORDER OF THE COLLEGE OF GENEVA

The Order Established for the College of Geneva by our Magnificent and Very Honorable Syndics and Council

Monday the fifteenth day of June 1559, according to the order made in the Ordinary Council, the honorable Lords Syndics, Henri Aubert, Jean Porral, Jean François Bernard and Barthelmi Lect, with many of the Lords Councillors and the Secretary were conducted to the Church of St. Peter where were assembled the Ministers of the Word of God, learned Doctors, scholars and men of letters in great number. Having prayed to God according to the Christian exhortation of the Reverend Jean Calvin, Minister of the Word of God, by the order of the above mentioned Lords, the laws, order and statutes of the College, along with the form of confession to be made by scholars desiring to enter this university and college, and the form of oath which is to be taken by the Rector, Masters and Lecturers, were published and proclaimed in a loud voice that each one might be advised of them to keep them.

Then there was declared and published the election as Rector, according to the said laws by the Ministers, and confirmed by the Honorable Lords Syndics and Council, of the Reverend Theodore Beza, Minister of the Word of God and citizen of the City. He then made a speech of exhortation, written in Latin, for the happy beginning of the exercise of his office. After he had spoken, the above mentioned Reverend Jean Calvin gave thanks to God, the author of this benefit, and exhorted each one to do his duty in using this blessing. Finally, having thanked the Honorable Lords for their good will, this happy day was completed by the thanksgiving and prayers of all to our God and Father, whose honor and glory are manifested by the whole universe.

THE ORDER OF THE REGENTS OF THE COLLEGE

The Ministers of the Word of God and professors should elect carefully sufficient men to teach in each class. Those who are elected must be presented to the Syndics and Council to be accepted and confirmed according to their good pleasure.

Each Regent should appear in his classroom on time and no one shall fail to conduct the prescribed lesson without permission. If anyone has a reasonable excuse he shall notify the principal in order that the scholars may be provided for, to prevent any interruption. The means by which they shall be so provided for shall be either to put them under a substitute teacher or to place the children in the nearest class.

In reading, the Regents shall maintain a moderate gravity in their countenance, that they shall make no attacks against the authors that they are expounding, but that they shall take great pains to explain faithfully their meaning. If there is anything which is written too obscurely or which may not be dealt with in its place or cannot be treated as thoroughly as is requisite, they shall explain this moderately to the scholars. They shall keep the children in silence and without noise. They shall rebuke the rebels or the inattentive, chastising them according to their demerits. Above all they are to teach them to love God and to hate sin. They shall not come out of the classroom until the lesson is completed. When the bell shall sound, each one shall send his students off according to the order which we shall lay down.

The Regents shall maintain amongst themselves mutual concord which is truly Christian and they shall not interfere with each other's lessons. If there should happen to develop some difference, they are to address themselves to the Rector of the College and there they shall in a Christian manner state their case. If the Rector is not able to deal with and settle their quarrel, he shall report it to the Company of the Ministers of the Word of God in order that by their authority it may be remedied.

THE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE

The Principal shall be elected and confirmed in the same form as already stated, a man fearing God and of understanding, above all of a kindly spirit and not at all of a rude or harsh disposition, in order that he may give a good example to the scholars in all his life and carry quietly the difficulties and problems of his charge.

His office shall be, beyond the ordinary duties of teaching and directing his class, to have an eye on the habits and diligence of his colleagues, to solicit and encourage those who tend to be lazy, to stress their duties to all, to preside over the punishments which are to be made in the Common Hall, to make sure that the bells sound at the proper hours, and that the classrooms are kept tidy.

It is not permitted to the other Regents to attempt anything new without his permission, and he should report to the Rector all the difficulties which may arise.

THE SCHOLARS OF THE COLLEGE

The Principal and the Regents shall divide all the scholars into four bands, not according to classes but according to their situation in the city. They shall make a roll of each group and give one group to four of the Regents. In this way the scholars shall be distributed to attend the temple, each according to his quarter.

Each group or band shall have assigned, by the authority of the Council, a special place in each temple which will be reserved for them alone.

All the scholars shall be on time at the temple, that is, on Wednesday for the morning sermon, on Sunday for the two sermons, morning and afternoon, and for catechism. When they are seated in their places they shall listen attentively and reverently to the sermon.

In each of the temples there shall be a Regent who must be on time in order that he may take charge of his troop. When the sermon is finished, if it is necessary, he shall read the roll and note those who are absent and those who are in-

attentive in listening to the Word of God. These, the following day, shall, if they are found guilty, be publicly chastised at the college according to their demerits.

The scholars are to attend their classrooms Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday at six o'clock in the morning in the summer, and seven o'clock in the winter. Each class is to be divided into tens and each ten shall be organized according to its standing, without having regard either to age or to social position. Each leading pupil shall sit first in his ten and shall act as a sort of monitor.

When the classes are assembled in the classrooms they shall open with the prayer which is especially prepared for them in the Catechism and each one shall say the prayer devoutly in his turn. Then the roll call shall be taken. If there are any absentees, or if any come too late, the Regent shall ascertain the reason in order to pardon them or, if they have no reason, to chastise them lightly. Above everything else at this point, lies must be punished.

This done, in the summer time, for the next hour and a half, they shall be taught. Then they shall have half an hour for breakfast without noise and with prayer, after which they shall be taught until nine o'clock. In winter they shall be taught from seven o'clock to nine, without breakfast interrupting the lesson, it being taken quietly while the children are reciting. The lessons of the morning finished, each one in his turn in his class shall say the Lord's Prayer with certain brief thanksgivings. Finally, after having admonished them concerning their duty they shall be taken back to their homes by two Regents. That is, the four lower classes shall be dealt with in this way, two Regents doing it each week or turn about.

In both summer and winter they shall return to the College after dinner at eleven o'clock, and until midday shall practice singing psalms. From midday to one o'clock they shall have another lesson, and following that they shall spend part of the next hour having lunch without any noise and, after prayers to God, the rest of the hour either at writing or studying their lesson. That having been done, they shall be taught from two o'clock to four. Then, all having assembled at the sound of the bell in the Common Hall if necessary,

punishment shall be meted out publicly to notable transgressors, the Principal and the Regents being present to administer with proper gravity the admonition required by each case. Finally, each day, three by rotation shall recite in French the Lord's Prayer, the Confession of Faith, the Ten Commandments of the law. That done, the Principal shall dismiss them, blessing them in the name of God.

On Wednesday, as has been said, they shall hear the morning sermon and after dinner they shall answer questions from eleven o'clock to midday, being arranged by groups of ten according to their classes. Then they have freedom to amuse themselves until three o'clock, but this shall not be with dissoluteness. Twice a month, from three to four o'clock, the scholars of the senior class shall make speeches in the Common Assembly of the College. On the two other Wednesdays the Regents shall give some theme to their scholars to exercise them in good composition, the composition of each being turned in and corrected on the following day. The children of the elementary classes shall profit in some other way according to the discretion of the masters.

On Saturday they shall repeat the week's work during the morning period. After midday they shall debate for an hour, as has been said, and they shall have a recess till three o'clock. From three to four, except in the first and second classes to whom we shall assign other activities, they shall recite what is going to be dealt with the following day in Catechism, and the meaning of it is to be explained clearly according to the scholar's capacity. They shall then be dismissed.

Sunday shall be employed in hearing, meditating upon and recording the sermons.

The week before the Lord's Supper some of the Ministers of the Word of God shall give a short explanation of the Lord's Supper in the Common Hall, exhorting the auditors to the fear of God and concord.

The Laws of the Seventh Class

The children shall be taught their lessons and how to assemble syllables according to the Latin-French alphabet and then to read easily. In order that they may learn to

pronounce Latin they shall be given as their reader the Latin-French Catechism.

And those who are of an age to do so should at this point begin to learn how to write.

The Laws of the Sixth Class

For the first six months of the year this class shall be taught declensions and conjugations in as simple a form as possible. In the other half year they shall have explained to them plainly the parts of eloquence with their accessories, comparing always the French with the Latin, and linked to them children's exercises in the Latin tongue.

The children should be advanced and practiced in forming their letters and should also be trained and accustomed to speak Latin.

The Laws of the Fifth Class

The parts of eloquence shall be more thoroughly explained and the more rudimentary rules of syntax taught, taking as pattern the *Bucolics* of Virgil. The children shall also begin little by little to exercise themselves in writing and composition.

The Laws of the Fourth Class

They shall be taught fully the principles of syntax, employing the *Letters* of Cicero which are shortest and most familiar. Certain themes also which are easy shall be given to the children to compose on the pattern of these *Letters.*

They shall also be taught the quantities of syllables set forth in a few rules, with the *Elegies* of Ovid, *De Tristibus* and *De Ponto.*

Finally they shall be taught to read some Greek and to conjugate simple forms, as far as possible.

The Laws of the Third Class

They shall be taught Greek grammar more thoroughly in order that the children may observe more carefully the rules of the two languages and exercise their styles by turn.

The following authors shall be the principal ones read: The *Letters* of Cicero, the book *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute* in Greek and in Latin, the *Aeneid* of Virgil, the *Commentaries* of Caesar, the *Hortatory Speeches* of Isocrates, according as is found expedient.

The Laws of the Second Class

This class shall be taught history, in Latin taking Titus Livius for text, and in Greek taking Xenophon or Polybius or Herodian. As for the poets, Homer shall be read from day to day. The elements of dialectic shall be explained, that is, the nature of propositions and the figures of arguments, without going too far. The nature of propositions and arguments shall be explained as fully as possible, taking the authors which have been read as examples. Above all *The Paradoxes* of Cicero or his shorter *Speeches* shall be used without amusing oneself at all with the artifices of rhetoric.

On Saturday from three to four o'clock they shall read the gospel of Luke in Greek.

The Laws of the First Class

They shall have further additions made to the rudiments of dialectics by being taught that which the science has to say concerning predicaments, categories, topics and elenchs, and a well-made outline shall be used.

They shall be shown also the beginnings of rhetoric and principally those things which appertain particularly to the ornamentation and to the embellishments of the language.

The use of all the precepts shall be continually and carefully shown and marked in the more artificial *Speeches* of Cicero and in the *Olynthiacs* and *Philippics* of Demosthenes and, also, in Homer and Virgil. This shall be done by analyzing propositions which are vague and, then, explaining the ornaments, comparing all with the precepts.

The children are diligently to exercise their style, and in order to help in this they are to give speeches twice a month as we have said, after midday on Wednesday. On Saturday from three to four they shall read some Epistle of the Apostles.

THE RECTOR

The Rector shall be chosen by the company of Ministers and Professors and should be elected by general agreement. The most satisfactory person, endowed with the fear of God and wisdom shall be chosen. Having been presented to the Council, he is to be given office by their authority. His office is that of superintending the whole school, of admonishing and reproving the Principal, the Regents and the public Professors, when he sees them careless, and of advising them that they may better conduct their offices. He is to settle all quarrels which may arise between the Regents or between the other members of the staff, or if he has not the authority to deal with the matter he is to remit the decision to the Ministers of the Word, except always that which pertains to the office of the Magistrate.

All the public auditors, that is, those who have no classes appointed, shall come to him and he shall, before everything else, inform them that they must present themselves to the Lords to be received as residents, and when that has been done they should be required to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, of which the form follows, and then they shall be received into the ranks of scholars.

He shall have also the responsibility of giving testimonials to students who have lived here, always having enquired diligently into their way of life as well as into their knowledge. He has no right to call a special assembly of students without the express permission of our said Lords and superiors.

This office shall be for two years, after which a successor shall be elected or the incumbent shall be continued in his office.

THE VACATIONS

At the time of the bringing in of the grape harvest, a vacation of three weeks shall be given to all the school.

The first Friday of each month, the public Readers shall have a vacation in the afternoon because of the theological debates in which they have to engage.

PROMOTIONS

Each year, three weeks before the first day of May, one of the public Professors, each one in his turn, at midday shall propose in the Common Hall to all the students of the College a theme in French, and they being arranged by order of their classes shall write under his direction each one according to his ability. That having been done, they shall retire to their classes and immediately, without looking in the book, shall translate into Latin within five hours that which they have been given, each one by himself and without any help. And, in order that there may be no cheating or fraud there shall be a changing of classes so that the Regent of the second class shall preside over the scholars of the first and the Regent of the first class over the second and the others in the same way. Each one is to preside over the class carefully and make sure that there is no dishonesty.

Each Regent shall receive the themes of the class over which he has presided and having put them in order according to the tens shall faithfully place them in the hands of the Principal.

On the following day and the other days thereafter until the first day of May, the Rector, summoning with him the public Professors, shall examine in order the essays of each class. The mistakes having been marked and the scholars called according to their tens, and in the presence of their Regent, the Rector shall determine, according to the advice of his assistants, to what degree each one of the scholars should be advanced.

On the first day of May, unless it is a Sunday, when the ceremony shall be postponed to the following day, all the College shall be assembled in the Temple of Saint Peter. There shall be present (if it seems good to the Council) one of the Lord Syndics or Councillors with the Ministers and the Professors, the Principal and the Regents. In the presence of these gentlemen, the Rector shall make a short speech to recommend the observation of these laws which shall be recited publicly in the presence of all the company. Then, from each of the classes, the two that have been judged the most diligent and studious shall be presented to receive from

them, and from the Lord Syndic or Councillor who is assisting, some little prize, of a price determined by the Council, and in receiving it he shall reverently thank the Council. Following this the Rector shall, in a few words, praise these scholars to give them better courage and to encourage others to follow their example by studying well. If the scholars of the first and second class have some poetry or other writing to recite before the company they shall do so at this point with honesty and reverence. Then, the Rector having thanked the assembly and prayers having been said, they shall all leave.

On that day there is a holiday for all the College.

If there should happen to be some scholar who seems to his Regent to have so benefitted that he should be advanced to a higher class before the coming of the next yearly term, the Regent should make a report to the Principal, and the Principal shall register in a book the names of all the scholars concerning whom such a report has been made. Then, on the first day of October, the Rector with the Professors shall come to the College and shall decide what shall be done. Also, if at any other season of the year someone is found who merits extraordinary advancement, the Rector shall provide a suitable examination and he shall be advanced extraordinarily.

THE PUBLIC PROFESSORS

The three public Lecturers that is, in Hebrew, Greek and in Arts, shall be elected and confirmed as the others.

On Monday, Tuesday and Thursday each of them shall lecture for two hours, one hour in the morning and one hour after dinner. On Wednesday and Friday each one shall lecture for one hour, that is after dinner. On Saturday they shall have no lessons. Sunday shall be employed hearing sermons.

Friday they shall, if possible, be present at the Congregation and at the Colloquy of the Ministers.

The Professor of Hebrew shall explain in the morning, immediately after the sermon, some book of the Old Testament with the Hebrew Commentaries. After dinner he shall lecture on Hebrew grammar, in the winter from midday to one o'clock, and in the summer from one o'clock to two.

The Professor of Greek shall, in the morning immediately after the Hebrew lecture, explain some book of Moral Philosophy. The book shall be of Aristotle or Plato or Plutarch or some Christian philosopher. After dinner he shall lecture (in winter from one to two o'clock, in the summer from three to four) on a Greek poet or some orator or historian, at one time taking one type and another time another, but choosing the purest.

The Professor of Arts shall come in the morning after the Professor of Greek and shall expound some book of physical science for half an hour. After dinner (in winter from three to four o'clock and in summer from four to five) he shall expound learnedly the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, the most famous *Speeches* of Cicero or the books of *De Oratore.*

The two Professors of Theology shall expound the books of Holy Scripture Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday from two o'clock after dinner to three, each one in his week.

THE PUBLIC SCHOLARS

Public scholars, as has already been stated, shall come to the Rector to have their names registered and to sign with their own hands the Confession of Faith. They should carry themselves modestly and in the fear of God.

Those who wish to study the Holy Scriptures shall write their names in a catalogue and on Saturday from two to three o'clock they shall treat in public of some passage of Scripture in the presence of some of the ministers, who shall conduct the meeting.

Then they shall hear the criticism from the Minister who is in charge. In this criticism it is permitted for everyone who is present, to state his opinion modestly and in the fear of God.

These same students shall, in turn, prepare and write, each month, certain statements which are not merely curious nor sophistical nor containing false doctrine, and shall communicate them in good time to the Professor of Theology. Then they shall sustain them publicly against all those who would like to argue them. It shall be permissible at that time for everyone to speak. All sophistry, impudent and audacious curiosity which corrupts the Word of God, and, likewise, all

evil contention and opinionated pride shall be banned. Points of doctrine should be treated reverently and religiously by both sides of the dispute. The Professor of Theology who shall preside in the dispute shall conduct everything according to his prudence and shall give by the Word of God the solution to the difficulties which have been submitted.

OATH FOR THE RECTOR

I promise and swear loyally to fulfill my duty, to the performance of which I trust that I have been called by God who will give me grace. This duty is to watch carefully over the school in order to obviate all disorders which might take place, and this I shall do according to the ordinances.

I promise to exhort all the scholars who are not under the Regents, but are only auditors of the public lectures, to be in subjection and obedience to our Lords and superiors. I shall not suffer those who are dissolute and debauched; but if they are not willing to behave after friendly admonitions, I shall notify the gentlemen [of the Council?] that they may deal with them.

Finally I promise to ensure, as far as I possibly can, that the scholars shall live peaceably and in all modesty and honesty, to the honor of God and to the profit and repose of the city.

OATH FOR THE PROFESSORS AND REGENTS

I promise and swear loyally to fulfill the charge committed to me, that is, to work for the instruction of the children and auditors, to give the lectures ordained by the statutes of our Lords and superiors, and to take pains that the school may be conducted in good order. I also promise to see, as far as I possibly can (as I hope God will give me grace), that the scholars shall live peacefully, in all modesty and honesty, to the glory of God and the profit and repose of the city.