

Simon J. G. Burton / Matthew C. Baines (eds.)

Reformation and Education

Confessional Dynamics
and Intellectual Transformations



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Simon J. G. Burton / Matthew C. Baines (eds.)

Reformation and Education

Confessional Dynamics and Intellectual
Transformations

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Dedicated to Prof. Piotr Wilczek, Dr. Michał Choptiany and the whole Faculty of “Artes Liberales” at the University of Warsaw, with grateful thanks.

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Simon J.G. Burton, Matthew C. Baines

Reformation and Education

Confessional Dynamics and Intellectual Transformations

Closely entwined with the educational revolution of early modernity, the Reformation transformed the pedagogical landscape and culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ Recent years have seen renewed attention to both Reformation and education as complex and multifaceted movements, but less attention to their reciprocal interaction. Our volume seeks to redress this by examining the theme of Reformation and education across confessional, intellectual and regional boundaries. Following the precedent of a previous volume in this series on *Protestant Majorities and Minorities*, also birthed in a Warsaw setting, its focus is not so much on confessionalisation as on confessional dynamics.² In the same way, it looks not at discrete intellectual movements but rather at movements of intellectual change and transformation.

Within the field of Reformation studies, the monolithic understanding of “Reformation” has been challenged on a number of fronts, opening up a new perspective on the competing “Reformations” of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³ While by no means all scholars would wish to abandon the traditional polarity

1 The editors would like to thank Dr Marilyn Burton for her invaluable assistance in copyediting and proofreading this volume.

2 Simon J. G. Burton, Michał Choptiany, and Piotr Wilczek (eds.), *Protestant Majorities and Minorities in Early Modern Europe: Confessional Boundaries and Contested Identities* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019). The papers in this volume derive from those given at the Eighth Annual RefoRC Conference, May 24th–26th 2018 which was hosted by the Faculty of “Artes Liberales”, University of Warsaw and co-organised by Dr Michał Choptiany and Dr Simon J. G. Burton.

3 Carter Lindberg was the first to speak of “Reformations” in the plural: *The European Reformations*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). This usage has been taken up by Alec Ryrie, Peter Matheson and Ulinka Rublack: Alec Ryrie (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in the European Reformations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Peter Matheson, *Reformation Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007); Ulinka Rublack (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Protestant Reformations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). As Rublack notes, there is an intriguing tendency within handbooks on the Reformations to focus on the Roman Catholic experience: Ulinka Rublack, “Introduction”, in Rublack, *The Oxford Handbook of Protestant Reformations*, 15. Others like Hans J. Hillerbrand and Scott Hendrix prefer to speak of “Reformation” in the singular to avoid obscuring the coherence of the movement: Hans J. Hillerbrand, *The Division of Christendom: Christianity in the Sixteenth Century* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007); Scott Hendrix, *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004). In the 1990s this issue was debated extensively by Dorothea Wendebourg, Berndt Hamm and Bernd Moeller: *Reformationstheorien:*

of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, it has now become common to talk about a whole variety of Reformations: Protestant, Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, Radical, Anabaptist, Further, Universal, and so on. One of the most welcome fruits of this has been a new perspective on the “Long Reformation” as stretching back into the Middle Ages and forwards into the Enlightenment.⁴ Another has been a recognition of Reformation as an expansive, all-embracing movement, no longer narrowly defined in terms of theology, politics or their opposition. Accordingly, there have been studies of the Reformation of death, the Reformation of landscape, and the Reformation of emotion, but not such a study of the relationship between the Reformation and education.⁵

A similar transformation is evident in the field of education studies. Previous scholarship tended to focus on education as a tightly-defined, elite phenomenon.

Ein kirchenhistorischer Disput über Einheit und Vielfalt der Reformatio (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995).

- 4 Heiko A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); Heiko A. Oberman, *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays in Late Medieval and Early Reformation Thought* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986); Steven E. Ozment, *Homo Spiritualis: A Comparative Study of the Anthropology of Johannes Tauler, Jean Gerson and Martin Luther in the Context of Their Theological Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1969); Steven E. Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250–1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980); John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Bernd Moeller, *Die Reformation und das Mittelalter: Kirchenhistorische Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1500*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Peter G. Wallace, *The Long European Reformation: Religion, Political Conflict and the Search for Conformity, 1350–1750* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Berndt Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays by Berndt Hamm*, ed. Robert Bast (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Sari Katjala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo (eds.), *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe, c.1300–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Eric L. Saak, *Luther and the Reformation of the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Although it focuses on developments from the Protestant Reformation through to its codification in the seventeenth century, Richard Muller’s work builds on the earlier work of Oberman, Steinmetz and others and assumes a great deal of continuity between the Middle Ages and Reformed Protestantism: *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca.1520 to ca.1725* (“=PRRD”) (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003). Also note the research project at the University of Geneva led by Ueli Zahnd: “A Disregarded Past: Medieval Scholasticism and Reformed Thought” funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) and hosted by the *Institut d’histoire de la Réformation*.
- 5 Craig M. Kolofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, c.1450–1700* (London: Palgrave Macmillan); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Steven Mullaney, *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2015).

This led to a flourishing field of study of the history of universities and excellent studies of individual institutions, but tended to bypass education as an interconnected, holistic phenomenon which touched every level of society. While an important narrative of educational change and transformation thus developed in terms of an epochal clash of scholasticism, humanism and the new philosophy and science, comparatively less attention was given to the impact of these educational movements outside the classroom door or to the way they became embedded in wider society and culture. Spurred on especially by studies of the history of the book, there is now a renewed focus on the wide diffusion of education and educational media, carefully mapped out in terms of age, class, gender and region. Studies of curricula and textbooks are if anything stronger than ever, but are now regularly backed up by attention to social, intellectual, religious and moral habits of learning.⁶ Schooling, broadly understood, is now regarded as something that touched everyone in society, bringing education out of the classroom and into the home, the work-place and the pulpit.

Education is often rightly seen as part of that sweeping movement of confession-alisation which so radically altered the political and religious map of early modern Europe, and whose consequences continue to grip us to this day.⁷ In recent years, the interaction of Church and school in early modernity has thus been wonderfully illuminated by studies of Reformed scholasticism, Ramism, Christian humanism, Jesuit schooling and other pedagogical movements, which all demonstrate the intimate connections between education and confessional expansion and definition.⁸

6 E.g. Michael Shank, *Unless You Believe, You Shall Not Understand: Logic, University and Society in Late-Medieval Vienna* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen, J. H. Josef Schneider, and Georg Wieland (eds.), *Philosophy and Learning: Universities in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); James V. Skalnik, *Ramus and Reform: Church and University at the End of the Renaissance in France* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2002); Russell L. Friedman, *Intellectual Traditions at the Medieval University*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Matthew T. Gaetano, "Renaissance Thomism at the University of Padua, 1465–1583" (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2013); Richard J. Oosterhoff, *Making Mathematical Culture: University and Print in the Circle of Lefèvre d'Étaples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

7 Heinz Schilling, *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland: das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation"* (Gutersloh: Gutersloher Verlagshaus, 1986); Wolfgang Reinhard and Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland* (Gutersloh: Gutersloher Verlagshaus, 1992); Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995).

8 E.g. Jordan J. Ballor, David Sytsma, and Jason Zuidema (eds.), *Church and School: Early Modern Protestantism; Essays in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Carl R. Trueman and R. Scott Clark (eds.), *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in a Reassessment* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999); Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker (eds.), *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001); Maarten Wisse, Marcel Sarot, and Willemien Otten (eds.), *Scholasticism Reformed: Essays in Honour of Willem J. van*

Yet despite important advances in both fields, it is surprising how little Reformation and education are seen as mutually shaping and conditioning. There thus still remains a pressing need to see both Reformation and education in both an integrative framework and a broader and longer narrative of reform.

Embracing a broad understanding of the Reformation, our volume thus examines the confessional dynamics which shaped the educational transformations of early modernity, including Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists and Roman Catholics in its scope. Going beyond conventional emphases on the role of the printing press and theological education of clergy in university settings, it also explores the education of laity in academies, schools and the home in all manner of topics including theology, history, natural philosophy and ethics. Important and well-known figures such as John Calvin and Philipp Melancthon are certainly given due attention, but less well-known but still influential figures such as Caspar Coolhaes and Lukas Osiander are also examined. Likewise, more prominent centres of reform including Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands are considered together with often overlooked locations like the Czech Republic and Denmark.

While far from being exhaustive or comprehensive in scope, this volume therefore offers a global account of Reformation and education backed up by a diverse range of individual case studies. In doing so, it challenges a number of assumptions still prevalent in the field, in turn outlining promising new avenues of research. Following in the wake of Gerald Strauss' landmark study of the Lutheran Reformation, it is still common to place an emphasis on external forces and compulsion in studies of Reformation and education.⁹ For Strauss, the Reformation was a triumph of indoctrination. In these terms, education comes to be seen largely through the lens of the enforcing of discipline and the regulation of society. A case-in-point is the welter of studies on Calvin's Geneva as a theocracy, which tend to portray education as a top-down, extrinsic process of conditioning.¹⁰ Indeed, the near

Asselt (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Willem J. van Asselt (ed.), *Introduction to Reformed Scholasticism*, trans. Albert Gootjes (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2011); Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958); Peter Sharratt, *Peter Ramus and the Reform of the University: The Divorce of Philosophy and Eloquence?* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University 1976); Mordechai Feingold, Joseph S. Freedman, and Wolfgang Rother (eds.), *The Influence of Petrus Ramus: Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Philosophy and Sciences* (Basel: Schwabe & Co., 2011); Emma Annette Wilson (ed.), *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World* (London: Routledge, 2016); Paul F. Gendler, *Jesuit Schools and Universities in Europe, 1548–1773* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

9 Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), especially 1–28.

10 E.g. Robert M. Kingdon, "The Control of Morals in Calvin's Geneva", in *The Social History of the Reformation*, ed. L. P. Buck and J. W. Zophy (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1972), 3–16; Robert M. Kingdon, "Social Control and Political Control in Calvin's Geneva", in *Die Reformation in*

equating of further reformation and discipline makes almost inevitable a caricature of the Reformation as a programmatic policing of every aspect of life and thought – a notable downside of the confessionalisation paradigm. In such light, education comes to be seen as a merely pragmatic concern, coerced into wider narratives of political Reformation.

Responding to this trend, this volume asserts the need to reconsider the deeper intellectual, theological and devotional motivations which shaped and drove advancements in Reformation and education. By contrast to Strauss, Ian Green's work has emphasised the place of catechising in a Reformation strategy of moral and theological education, and its integration into a wider system of schooling.¹¹ Catechisms are thus properly seen as means of persuasion and conversion, and not compulsion and indoctrination. Exactly the same might be said about other modes of education including preaching, weekly "prophesying" meetings, conventicles, private Bible study, devotional reading, woodcuts and hymns and songs. While discipline and external compulsion clearly remained of great importance, they must be seen as part of a much broader pastoral and evangelical strategy of education. Indeed, as the work of Margo Todd has demonstrated, discipline could itself become an important mode of education.¹² Notably, we may see this in recent studies not only of Presbyterian Scotland or Calvinist Geneva but also of the Spanish and Roman Inquisitions which emphasise their pastoral and rehabilitative purposes, as much as their role in repression.¹³

For all its benefits, another negative impact of the exclusive focus on confessionalisation has been to cut the Reformation of education off from its medieval past.

Deutschland und Europa: Interpretationen und Debatten, ed. Hans R. Guggisberg and Gottfried G. Krodel (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1993), 531; William Monter, "The Consistory of Geneva, 1559–1569", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 38 (1976): 467–84; Willem Nijenhuis, "Calvin, Johannes (1509–1564)", in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976–2004), 7:573; William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994). Cf. Lindberg, who challenges this assessment: *European Reformations*, 256. For recent research building on the valuable insights of these scholars, but correcting some of their more extreme tendencies, see Scott M. Manetsch, "Pastoral Care East of Eden: The Consistory of Geneva, 1568–82", *Church History* 75 (2006): 274–313 and Scott M. Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Church, 1536–1609* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

11 Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

12 Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

13 E.g. Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006); Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 4th ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014); Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

While the pioneering work of Heiko Oberman, Steven Ozment, Richard Muller and others has revealed deep continuities between the Reformation and Middle Ages, it is surprising how often educational developments in the Reformation are viewed *de novo* and detached from a rich history of pedagogical progress. Of course, there are important exceptions to this, especially in studies of the Protestant reception of scholasticism and humanism, which have revealed just how deeply medieval, and Renaissance patterns of education remained embedded in Reformation and Further Reformation agendas. Nevertheless, the tendency remains to see the Reformation as fundamentally iconoclastic in character, tearing down what Strauss dubbed the old “house of learning” and then building anew from the ground up.¹⁴

Of course, to offer an account of these changes goes well beyond the scope of this volume. Anyone doing so would need to consider the history of education within a pattern of recurring cycles of reformation and renaissance going right back to the monastic and cathedral schools of the early Middle Ages, and even beyond that to the Christianisation of the liberal arts in the late Roman Empire.¹⁵ As Marie-Dominique Chenu revealed, the context of the twelfth-century Renaissance is vital to this story, as well as the rise of new monastic orders, both of which coincided with the broader evangelical revival of the age.¹⁶ Universities were thus founded off the back of a wave of piety. This only intensified in the thirteenth century with the “coming of the friars” and the capture of the heartlands of scholasticism by the new mendicant orders.¹⁷ Coupled with this, as Marian Michèle Mulchahey, Neslihan Şenocak, Bert Roest, and Eric Saak have all shown, was the founding of an impressive network of Dominican, Franciscan and Augustinian schools feeding into the new university system.¹⁸ On a popular level the founding of tertiary orders,

14 Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*.

15 Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impacts on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); Giles Constable, “Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities”, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Toronto: Medieval Academy of America, 1992), 37–87.

16 Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968).

17 Rosalind B. Brook, *The Coming of the Friars* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1975), 7.

18 Marian Michèle Mulchahey, “The Dominican Studium System and the Universities of Europe in the Thirteenth Century: A Relationship Redefined”, in *Manuels, programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les universités médiévales*, ed. J. Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994), 277–324; Marian Michèle Mulchahey, “*First the Bow is Bent in Study*”: *Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998); Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209–1310* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Bert Roest, *History of Franciscan Education (c.1210–1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Erik L. Saak, *High Way to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292–1524* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

the preaching of the friars, and their role in the confessional all contributed to a renewed drive for Christian education, priorities which continued into the era of Reformation and beyond.

For our, much humbler, purposes it is sufficient to re-evaluate the Reformation in light of the dramatic expansion of lay piety and education taking place at the end of the Middle Ages, and accelerating into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The political and religious strife of the Great Schism and the Hundred Years' War fed a growing nationalism and fuelled a remarkable growth of higher education in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The nine universities operating in 1300 were joined by a further nineteen universities by 1378, the beginning of the Great Schism.¹⁹ Seven universities were founded between 1378 and 1400, twenty between 1400 and 1450, and twenty-two between 1450 and 1500.²⁰ With the rise of the Conciliarist movement, universities became ever more closely entwined with projects of Church reform.²¹ The explosion of lay piety which registered across Christendom in the Late Middle Ages led to a wave of new schools being founded, from flagship royal and episcopal collegiate foundations such as those at Eton and Winchester through to humble chantry and local schools.²² As John Durkan has shown, the aspiration of devout fifteenth-century Scots to found a school in every parish was one which had been largely achieved by the Reformation.²³ Indeed, across Europe education came to be seen as a major moral and spiritual priority, essential to the reform of Church and society.

Italian humanism also led to a widespread renewal of education, especially as the Renaissance moved north over the Alps and merged with native mystical and devotional currents.²⁴ Indeed, both the Modern Devotion and Christian humanism were of central importance to the Reformation – even though the importance of the former has often been forgotten or downplayed. As the pioneering research of Albert Hyma and R. R. Post memorably demonstrated, the fifteenth century saw the foundation of hundreds of schools by the Modern Devout across Germany and

19 Jacques Verge, "Patterns", in *A History of the University in Europe: Volume 1; Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 55–56.

20 Verge, "Patterns", 57.

21 See R. N. Swanson, *Universities, Academies, and the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

22 Bernd Moeller, "Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation", in *Pre-Reformation Germany*, ed. Gerald Strauss (London: Macmillan, 1972), 13–42; Bernd Moeller, "Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation", in *Contesting Christendom: Readings in Medieval Religion and Culture*, ed. James L. Halverson (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 189–98; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*.

23 John Durkan, *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters, 1560–1633* (Cornell: Boydell, 2006), 2.

24 Lewis Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963).

the Netherlands.²⁵ Both Erasmus and Luther were educated at schools operated by the Brethren of the Common Life and the atmosphere of the Modern Devotion also permeated the Parisian schools where Calvin was a young student.²⁶ While humanism had originated as an elite movement in the princely courts and wealthy city states of Italy, its evolution into Christian humanism saw a distinct broadening, and democratising, of its educational goals and an even more explicit connection of pedagogy to the life of Christian piety.

The central importance of Christian humanism for the Reformation – and Counter-Reformation – of schools and universities in sixteenth-century Europe has often been noted. It is the theme of an important volume by Andrew Pettegree and Scott Amos showing the interconnection of the English and Dutch Reformations and the central place of humanist education in both of them.²⁷ Likewise, studies by John Morgan, Margo Todd and Ian Green have all shown how a new Protestant humanism became central to the Elizabethan Reformation and the rise of Puritanism.²⁸ Similar things can be said across Europe in Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Poland and the Netherlands where the impact of Erasmian humanism was acute and often mediated by a prior devotionalist culture.²⁹ Our volume takes up such

25 Albert Hyma, *The Brethren of Common Life* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950); R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion* (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

26 See Guy Bedouelle, *The Reform of Catholicism, 1480–1620*, trans. James K. Farge (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2008); Oosterhoff, *Making Mathematical Culture*.

27 Andrew Pettegree, Scott Amos, and Henk F. K. Nierop (eds.), *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). See especially Richard Rex's essay "The Role of English Humanists in the Reformation up to 1559", 19–40.

28 John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Green, *The Christian's ABC*.

29 See e.g. the extensive literature on spiritual life and devotional texts in Ellen S. Cope's research guide on Syon Abbey, last accessed 22 July 2021: <https://syonabbeyociety.wordpress.com/researchguide/>; F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: Brill, 1965); M. Eugene Osterhaven, "The Experiential Theology of Early Dutch Calvinism", *Reformed Review* 27 (1974): 180–89; Joel R. Beeke, "The Dutch Second Reformation (*Nadere Reformatie*)", *Calvin Theological Journal* 28 (1993): 298–327; Arie de Reuver, *Sweet Communion: Trajectories of Spirituality from the Middle Ages through the Further Reformation*, trans. James A. DeJong (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007); Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late-Medieval Religious Life: Devotion and Pilgrimage in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Erika Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Alejandro Coroleu and Barry Taylor (eds.), *Humanism and Christian Letters in Early Modern Iberia (1480–1630)* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010); Massimo Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, trans. Richard Bates (London: Routledge, 2016); G. H. Williams, "Erasmianism in Poland", *Polish Review* 22 (1977): 3–50; Harold Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1989); Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock (eds.), *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2014);

themes, showing the continuity of Reformation patterns of education with the late medieval devotionalist and Renaissance humanist models that preceded them.

Finally, while the confessionalisation paradigm has sometimes obscured the shared history of Reformation and education as one transcending confessional difference, there is no doubt it has been absolutely right to emphasise the way in which early modern education both drove and was driven by confessional conflict and competition. Thus Erika Rummel has demonstrated convincingly the way in which escalating conflicts between humanists and scholastics in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century not only precipitated the celebrated Reuchlin Affair but also paved the way for the Lutheran Reformation itself.³⁰ It is notable as well that Luther's first public venture as a Reformer was not the celebrated *95 Theses* of 1517 but the *Disputation against Scholastic Theology* which shortly preceded it. Indeed, both Luther and Melancthon made it their first priority to capture the Wittenberg schools for the Protestant Gospel.³¹

Under Melancthon, the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, the Protestant confessionalisation of education quickly gathered pace. As scholars such as Richard Muller and Howard Hotson have shown, this new Philippist model of education was very soon both vying and blending with a renewed Protestant scholasticism and Ramism.³² These conflicts triggered a wave of new foundations of universities, colleges, and academies across the Holy Roman Empire and well beyond, extending, as David Scott has elegantly put it, "from Boston to the Baltic".³³ Reformed bastions of Aristotelianism and humanism such as Heidelberg, Leiden and Geneva very quickly found themselves challenged by new institutions such as Herborn, Franeker or Danzig promoting innovative encyclopaedic patterns of education. A similar tension can be observed within the Lutheran world, where bitter confessional division between Philippism and Gnesio-Lutheranism occasioned both schism and expul-

Howard Louthan, "A Model for Christendom? Erasmus, Poland, and the Reformation", *Church History* 83 (2014): 18–37; Pál Ács, "The Reception of Erasmianism in Hungary and the Contexts of the Erasmian Program: The 'Cultural Patriotism' of Benedek Komjati", in *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern Central Europe*, ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Marton Zsaskaliczky (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 75–90.

30 Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

31 Lindberg, *European Reformations*, 87–129.

32 Muller, *PRRD*; Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and Its German Ramifications* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Howard Hotson, *The Reformation of Common Learning: Post-Ramist Method and the Reception of the New Philosophy, 1618–c.1670* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

33 David Hill Scott, "From Boston to the Baltic: New England, Encyclopedics, and the Hartlib Circle" (PhD thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2003).

sion, generating new confessional currents of education, as well as new methods of polemical and pedagogical discourse.

The crisis of the Reformation also served to galvanise Catholic education. While Catholic reform efforts had frequently been frustrated in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance – as is evident above all from the inability of the Fifth Lateran Council to mobilise significant reform – the rapid loss of ground to Protestantism necessitated a radical rethinking of priorities. At the Council of Trent it was acknowledged that Protestants had been able to do great mischief to the Church “especially by those writings called catechisms”.³⁴ The response was a comprehensive programme of educational and pastoral reform which drew inspiration from contemporary Protestant success stories as much as from currents of late medieval reform. The founding of new religious orders such as the Capuchins (est. 1525), the Jesuits (est. 1540), the Oratorians (est. 1575) and the Piarists (est. 1617) dedicated to education and evangelism allowed the implementing of ambitious educational reforms across the Old and New Worlds. Indeed, in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the struggle for the soul of Europe was fought as much in the classroom as in the pulpit or battlefield. Thus Counter-Reformation heroes such as Carlo Borromeo, Peter Canisius and Francois de Sales were able to turn the Protestants’ own weapons of catechisms, preaching, discipline and pastoral tracts back upon them to devastating effect, winning many converts back to the Catholic fold.³⁵ Jesuits especially became pioneers of educational theory and practice, at the forefront of early modern science and philosophy. By the seventeenth century the extraordinary expansion of Jesuit schooling had outpaced both the Lutherans and Reformed, leaving many Protestants seriously worried.³⁶

Between the founding of the first Jesuit school at Messina in 1548 and the death of Ignatius of Loyola in 1556, thirty-three schools were opened in Sicily, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Bohemia, France and Germany. This figure rose rapidly to 150 in 1581, 245 in 1599 and 441 in 1626.³⁷ To give some sense of context, in England the number of (mostly grammar) schools increased from 34 in 1480 to 444 in 1660.³⁸ In other words, it took England twice as long to open the same number of schools as the Jesuits did, and the Jesuits started from a zero base. Other predominantly Reformed nations like Scotland and the Dutch Republic did experience an expansion of

34 Green, *The Christian's ABC*, 1.

35 See e.g. Michael Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999); Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

36 Lindberg, *European Reformations*, 333–38.

37 Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, trans. Allan P. Farrell (Washington D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), iii.

38 Lawrence Stone, “The Educational Revolution in England, 1560–1640”, *Past and Present* 28 (1964): 41–80.

education, but this was delayed until the mid-seventeenth century.³⁹ The expansion of education in Germany under Melancthon preserved a Lutheran majority there. For example, at Augsburg in 1623 there were 20 Protestant and 4 Roman Catholic teachers with 1,550 Protestant and 240 Roman Catholic pupils.⁴⁰ Across Europe, however, Jesuit education was in the ascendency. By 1630, approximately 10,000 boys had studied at Jesuit schools in Poland and up to 15,000 boys had done so in Spain. This prodigious growth meant that by the early eighteenth century, a third of boys who had trained in Latin had studied under the Jesuits.⁴¹

Our volume thus emphasises the confessional dynamics that shaped education from the Late Middle Ages through the Reformation itself to the first dawn of the Enlightenment. It is widely acknowledged that the Reformation saw an important democratising of education, as well as a massive broadening of its scope. By the end of the seventeenth century both a secular and Pietist backlash in the wake of the Thirty Years' War led to a considerable narrowing and restricting of university education, and a definite diverting of it away from religious reform.⁴² Yet, at the same time, looking at the new “patchwork quilt” map of Europe following the Peace of Westphalia, it is clear that the Reformation had motivated an impressive confessionalisation of education which was there to stay. Spanning across the Middle Ages and Enlightenment, the Reformation must thus be seen as a distinct and vital era within the history of education, when pedagogy and religious reform worked closely in tandem to accomplish a radical and enduring transformation of Church and school.

The first essay in our volume, by Willem Frijhoff, challenges the conventional view that in the early modern era northern Europe had a more progressive approach to education on account of its Protestant leanings, whereas the predominantly Roman Catholic southern Europe had a more backward approach. Frijhoff argues that education in general and schooling in particular can be seen as a confessional asset, not just within Protestantism, but especially within Roman Catholicism. Both traditions benefitted significantly from major cultural changes, above all a common intellectual context marked by the history of the printed word. This

39 R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2002), 38.

40 Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, 38.

41 Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, 28.

42 A clear pattern emerges from the fact that enrolments at Oxford and Cambridge increased from 100 in 1550 to 1,000 in 1650 before falling once again to 100 in 1750. Likewise, the proportion of those eligible who took up university education in Germany rose from 1.2% in 1575/1600 to 2.8% in 1650 before falling back to 1.7% in 1750. Similarly, in the Dutch Republic the participation rate increased from 0.2% in 1575/1600 to 1.8% in 1650 before falling back to 1.5% in 1750: Vincent Carpentier, “Higher Education in Modern Europe”, in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Education*, ed. John L. Rury and Eileen H. Tamura (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 263.

goes beyond the mere ability to disseminate Bibles and polemical pamphlets *en masse* and includes the production of printed materials for social and political purposes, including education. Other major cultural changes which benefitted both traditions include (1) the spiritual movement of the Modern Devotion, which promoted the desire for greater self-knowledge and therefore formal education; (2) the new culture of humanist scholarship which became intertwined with the older scholasticism, and (3) the rise of a greatly expanded education system, involving the foundation of new universities, academies, illustrious schools and *gymnasia academica*. Frijhoff also notes in passing the enormous debt of both traditions to the pedagogical reforms of Peter Ramus. In summary, both traditions understood reform to be embedded within an enhanced climate of learning and education. To be sure, there were important differences between the two traditions. Whereas Roman Catholic universities were for the most part based on the Bolognese model, which prioritised law, Protestant universities tended to be based on the Parisian model, which prioritised theology as the queen of the sciences. Accordingly, while the former focused on spiritual life and moral standards, the latter focused on Biblical hermeneutics.

Building on the results of her doctoral thesis, Charlotte Appel argues that the Reformation in Denmark fostered the emergence of a Lutheran reading culture. Appel shows that successive Danish kings not only sought to suppress so-called “evil” or “harmful” books by requiring all Danish titles to be censored and published within Denmark, but also promoted “good” or “useful” books by financing or commissioning them, and by granting Danish printers exclusive rights to publish them. These media policies formed an important prong in the Danish monarchy’s attempts to promote a pious reading culture in Danish households. Another important prong was school education. Schools were reorganised and students were encouraged to learn the three Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic) using a “Christian ABC”, often comprising the alphabet, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles’ Creed and above all Martin Luther’s *Small Catechism*. Thus, Luther’s *Small Catechism* was used not only to impart knowledge of God and to promote pious living but also to foster basic literacy. On this basis, Appel argues that it seems appropriate to speak of a Lutheran reading culture in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Denmark.

Balázs Dávid Magyar explores John Calvin’s understanding of the role of education in moral reform. Magyar identifies three main pillars of Calvin’s pedagogical strategy: (1) the education of young children in the faith by pastors, teachers and parents; (2) the training of gifted students in theology at the Genevan Academy; and (3) education of the townsfolk from the pulpit. These pillars are interrelated insofar as childlike faith is the model for adult education. Magyar illustrates the third pillar of Calvin’s pedagogical strategy by analysing sermons addressing various forms of immorality including adultery, immodest dress, dancing, lewd speech

and drunkenness. Magyar supports his analysis using Calvin's commentaries and the records of the Genevan Consistory, thus moving beyond the traditional emphasis in the scholarship on Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1559) as the main source of his biblical and theological reflection. In his sermons, Calvin addresses difficult and often painful topics, not only to facilitate discipline, but also to inform and edify his congregation. While Calvin often preached that serious consequences ought to follow from serious misconduct, in practice he and the Genevan Consistory exercised grace and restraint. Calvin intended his sermons not just to render a verdict in cases of serious misconduct, but also to call people to a higher standard and to provide them with practical advice about how to strive for it. Magyar's investigation supports T. H. L. Parker's observation that Calvin self-consciously employed vernacular language, a familiar style, artless language, reflection on relevant, up-to-date questions, and brief summaries of the biblical message as part of his preaching strategy. Magyar thus demonstrates how Calvin's pulpit ministry, grounded in the precise exposition of scripture and his extensive pastoral ministry, serves as an important pedagogical tool in his wider quest to reform the ethical and social fabric of Geneva.

Marta Quatrale explores the heated clash between Philippists and the Gnesio-Lutherans over the Lord's Supper in the so-called second sacrament controversy (*zweiter Abendmahlsstreit*), showing that this dispute was not merely theological and political but also pedagogical, insofar as it was conducted by teachers, church superintendents and pastors using pedagogical tools including academic disputations, catechisms, confessions, polemical treatises and popular tracts. Quatrale provides extensive excerpts and analysis of three little known but important texts published over the course of this controversy. The *Dresden Consensus* (1571), a product of a synod in the eponymous city attended by theologians from Leipzig and Wittenberg and church superintendents and pastors from Saxony, attempted to embrace both Philippist and Gnesio-Lutheran views of the Lord's Supper through the pedagogical technique known as the "strategy of the untold". The faculty of Jena responded with a polemical treatise known as the *Fallstricke* (1572), which distances the *Dresden Consensus* from Luther's own perspective. The *Bericht vom heiligen Nachtmahl* (1572), a tract by Stuttgart preacher and royal court chaplain to the Duchy of Württemberg Lukas Osiander (1534–1604), son of the more well-known Reformer Andreas Osiander (1498–1552), takes an innovative approach. Using philological arguments, Osiander distinguishes between the views on the Lord's Supper commonly attributed to Luther and what Luther actually said. In other words, Osiander uses philological arguments to resolve a theological-political debate. Osiander represents the first stirrings of a critical and historical method which was to prove revolutionary for early modern pedagogy, and his quest for such a method was driven by his attempt to forge a clear Lutheran confessional identity. Quatrale's chapter thus illustrates how pedagogical tools (catechisms and

confessions, treatises and tracts) and pedagogical techniques (the “strategy of the untold” and philological analysis) not only helped to codify Protestant orthodoxy but also helped to transform the various reform currents that lay within.

Lucie Storchová shows how Philipp Melanchthon’s natural philosophy was transferred to Czech lands and ultimately transformed by professors at the University of Prague who had studied under Melanchthon at the University of Wittenberg. Storchová deploys a conceptual framework of cultural exchange, which includes the consideration of the selection, mediation and reception of items for cultural exchange. Storchová explores a variety of texts including lecture materials, didactic poetry and treatises on astronomical phenomena from three professors: Sebastianus Aerichalcus (1503–1555), Matthaëus Collinus (1516–1566) and Petrus Codicillus (1533–1589). Storchová demonstrates that these professors privileged some aspects of Melanchthon’s natural philosophy while overlooking others, often for confessional reasons. For example, when Aerichalcus modelled his poem *Descriptiones affectuum* (“Descriptions of the affections”) on Melanchthon’s *De anima* (“On the soul”), he omitted any reflection on the intersection of theology and medicine, probably because it would have seemed radical to the Utraquist priests of Prague. The professors of Prague also simplified Melanchthon’s natural philosophy for pedagogical purposes, so that it could be used as a disciplinary tool to promote reform of the social order. Thus, these professors did not merely adopt but also adapted knowledge for pedagogical purposes to suit the cultural situation in east-central Europe.

Linda S. Gottschalk explores the prescription for theological education of Caspar Coolhaes (1536–1615), a preacher and one-time professor at the University of Leiden who later in life became a distiller. Gottschalk corrects the conventional view that Coolhaes is a mere “forerunner of Arminius and the Remonstrants”. In two seminal works, *Naedencken* (1609) and *De basuyne ofte trompette Godes* (1610), Coolhaes addresses the leaders of the two sides of the Protestant *Gnadenstreit*, the proto-Remonstrant Jacob Arminius (1560–1609) and the Contra-Remonstrant Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641). Coolhaes takes issue not with the doctrine of predestination *per se* or other specific doctrines, but rather with the culture of division and disunity fostered by such theological debates. Coolhaes rejects three prongs of the pedagogical method employed at the University of Leiden: (1) the drive for doctrinal precision and uniformity embodied in the use of the disputation method and catechisms like the *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563); (2) the requirement for learning languages; and (3) an emphasis on theologising (*Schriftgelehrten*) over against virtue and spiritual maturity (*Gottesgelehrten*). Coolhaes’ criticisms were not primarily theological but centred on the need to promote Christlikeness and a spirit of unity, which were essential for the spiritual health of churches in the fledging Republic and in line with William of Orange’s original intention in founding a university to support the promotion of tolerance and harmony. According

to Coolhaes, the University of Leiden has only one Rector, Jesus Christ, the true Theologian and the head and Lord of all God-fearing theologians, obliterating confessional battlelines. Coolhaes thus presents a libertine, Spiritualist and yet Biblical pedagogical method. Gottschalk shows that Coolhaes was mistaken in laying the blame for this atmosphere solely at the feet of the Leiden professors; it can also be attributed to the leaders of the Staten College, the residential college for university students, especially pastors-in-training. The regent Johannes Kuchlinus (1546–1606) emphasised the teaching of the *Heidelberg Catechism* whereas the sub-regent Petrus Bertius (1565–1629) promoted Arminianism. Thus, Gottschalk brings together Coolhaes' criticism of Arminius and Gomarus to provide a much fuller picture of the educational environment in Leiden.

Thomas Klöckner presents a fascinating reading of Henricus Alting's (1583–1644) unique and ground-breaking history of dogma, *Theologia historica* (1635). Klöckner shows that Alting offers a fresh approach by subdividing Western church history according to a master pattern of deformation and reformation (*restitutio*) – a pattern he inherited from Melanchthon. This pattern is present typologically in the Old Testament and ultimately culminates in the Reformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Alting divides the Old Testament era into three periods punctuated by Moses and the Babylonian exile. Even though Alting taught for a time at Heidelberg, his typology overlooks the celebrated example of the reforming King Josiah, an example Frederick III, Elector of the Palatinate, self-consciously identified with. Alting divides the New Testament era into two periods punctuated by the advent of Pope Boniface III in 606, whom he considered the Antichrist. Alting forges an innovative tripartite division of this second period into the Middle Ages (606 to 1145), the scholastic era (1145 to 1515) and the Reformation (1515 onwards). Alting's goal is to show that the Reformed Church is the true Church (*“vera ecclesia”*) and the custodian of true theology (*“vera theologia”*) in light of the New Testament's predictions of apostasy and a faithful remnant. In that sense, Alting presents a kind of exile theology. Klöckner shows how Alting's presentation was shaped by his confessional culture and dogmatic heritage: it attacks Roman Catholic as well as Simonite and Socinian histories of dogma. In style it is less irenic than similar presentations of the history of dogma by Melanchthon and Martin Bucer, and it presents a strident defence of the Reformed Church in the fashion of early Christian apologists. Alting's pre-critical history of dogma proved highly influential for a generation of Reformed scholars in western and eastern Europe.

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