Pedagogy of the Confessed: International Christian Humanism from the Sixteenth Century Classroom to the Seventeenth Century Pulpit

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Submitted to
Central European University
Department of History

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Comparative History

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Central European University
Vienna
June 2021

Abstract

This thesis examines the extent to which humanist educators succeeded in equipping their students with classical rhetorical style, moral and ethical values, as well as a social network, in spite of the confessionally divided nature of late-Renaissance Poland and England. The study is divided into three research chapters preceded by an overall introduction, literature review, and methodology.

Existing scholarship examines the effects of humanist education using lecture notes from teachers and students, rather than the products of the education system—its graduates. This thesis argues that looking at the impact of an education system without examining the lives and works of its students is a flaw in the design of past research studies. Initially I surveyed humanist theory and practice to then examine their impact on four humanist graduates: two Protestants and two Jesuits. Additionally, this allowed for an examination of the importance of religion in sixteenth-century education and its role in confessionalization.

Humanist education, like any education system, was designed to serve its society. It was simultaneously a product of shifting attitudes following the reemergence of classical texts, and a tool with which countries supported religious reform, violence, and nation-building. In this thesis, I argue that humanism was both a unifying educational movement, which furnished its students with a largely similar set of skills, and a tool used to deepen confessional divisions. The graduates examined on either side used the products of their education to emphasise the differences between confessions; however, the shared classical origin of theories and practices meant that they did it with remarkably similar skills, use of language, moral and ethical beliefs, and social capital.

Acknowledgements

This year has been a difficult one for those of us at the beginning of our academic careers as historians. With access to many primary sources restricted by the global pandemic, and with classes conducted almost entirely online, we have not had the same opportunity as previous cohorts to build lasting relationships. Nonetheless, CEU has proved to be an institution that cares about its students' academic development and personal wellbeing, and I leave this summer having learned a great deal about historical scholarship and the importance of a caring working environment to personal success.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my utmost gratitude to those who have embarked on this academic journey with me this past year. First, to my advisor, Professor László Kontler: thank you for your patience, support, and encouragement throughout the process, as well as for your feedback every step of the way. Your supervision on this project has made me into a more precise reader and writer, and a more confident historian.

To my second reader, Professor Jean-Louis Fabiani, merci beaucoup pour vos réactions à mon travail cette année.

Professor Matthias Riedl, thank you for heading the History Department at CEU this year. Your leadership was mindful of student wellbeing throughout the year, and your understanding has made our experience of working in the midst of the pandemic academically fruitful, challenging, and, above all, flexible. To the fantastic faculty at the department: your courses have taught me to ask provocative historical questions, to look for interdisciplinary approaches to research, and to make every sentence count. (I'm looking at you, Professor Esmer!)

To Ms. Aniko Molnar: you are a saint among mere mortals. Thank you for always being available to answer whatever questions I had—although it did make me concerned about your sleeping habits!

To Professor Cristian-Nicolae Gaspar: gratias maximas tibi, ab imo pectore, pro lectionibus linguae Latinae. Ab initio fruita sum: perge! Ave atque vale!

I would like to especially thank my dear husband, Ben, whose favourite book (fortunately for me) is the *Chicago Manual of Style*—never stop questioning my use of dashes. You have been an absolute gem this year, and I am looking forward to many more years of talking your ear off every time you ask about my work. I would not be here today without your relentless support and confidence in me, even, or perhaps especially, when I lack confidence in myself.

To my family and friends, particularly my parents: you have supported me throughout my academic journey well before I even knew I wanted to go down this route. Distance has made it hard on us this year, but you have continued to be there for me, and I cannot thank you enough for all that you have done and continue to do.

The research supporting this dissertation was partly sponsored by Central European University Foundation of Budapest (CEUBPF). The theses explained herein represent my own ideas and conclusions, and do not necessarily reflect the views of CEUBPF.

The fruits of my work are thanks to all those who have supported me throughout this process. Any and all errors remain entirely my own.

Preface

During my studies in education (2016-2018), I came across Paulo Freire's seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968). Driven by Jesuit Liberation Theology, he argues that traditional models of pedagogy reproduce inequalities by treating their students as passive vessels to be filled with knowledge, without acknowledging differences between students. The main title of this thesis, 'Pedagogy of the Confessed', is a reference to that work, and I will argue throughout this study that the humanists did not simply see their students as empty vessels—in contrast to the dominant historical consensus, which has interpreted the movement this way.

The humanists were aware that the children in their care differed from each other in terms of what they were capable of achieving, and the graduates they produced are a testament to that. Moreover, humanist educators saw their students as active agents of cultural, social, and political change (which is also in line with Freire's argument)—hence the focus on teaching practical skills and practical wisdom, which would allow them to succeed in the public sphere. Indeed, Freire's four 'dialogical actions'—unity, compassion, organisation, and cultural synthesis—are remarkably close to the humanist aims of *pietas*, *virtus*, *sapientia*, and *prudentia*, concepts which encompass compassion, organisation, and unity. However, given the nature of early modern European society, humanist teachers trained their students along strictly confessional lines; and their success often depended on their religious zeal, which was to be displayed at all times as duty and obedience to superiors—exactly what Freire sees as the problem with traditional education. (Although the humanists hoped their students would be able to question their circumstances, through the use of *prudentia* and *sapientia*.)

Ironically, humanist education, through its highly restrictive practices, probably contributed to what Freire calls ‘dehumanisation’, a state in which large portions of society cannot share in the dignity of man. Thus, this pedagogy of the confessed, a restrictive, confessionally-driven teaching philosophy, contributed to the circumstances in the twentieth century in which Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* became necessary.

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Introduction

'*Quanta facundia! Quanta copia! Quam perfectum in litteris!*'[1]

This is the excitement with which Leonardo Bruni (1379-1444)[2] recommended Cicero's books to Lady Battista Malatesta da Montefeltro (1384-1450) in his 1424 letter.[3] He was, of course, not alone in this feeling, and this excitement kept the intellectual circles of Europe abuzz, as they reconnected with the wisdom and style of antiquity through the works of Cicero (106-43 BCE), Quintillian (c.35-100 CE), Homer, Plato (423-347 BCE), and more. At the same time, Europe was on the tail end of numerous challenges, including the Black Death (1346-1352) and the Great Western Schism (1378-1417); thus the beginning of the Renaissance was a time of profound change on many levels.[4]

This thesis is an examination of the educational changes that rocked Europe's elites as a result of the reemergence of classical texts and ancient culture, as well as their effects and efficacy. This introduction begins with a brief overview of the historical background to the study, focusing first on the beginnings of humanism;[5] and then on the two countries under consideration in this thesis: England and Poland. This is then followed by a literature review;

[1] 'So eloquent! so rich in expression! so polished!' Leonardo Bruni, *De Studiis et Litteris*, 98. In *Humanist Educational Treatises,* trans. and ed. Craig W. Kallendorf (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 92-125.

[2] For more details about Bruni and his role in Renaissance humanism and education, see 'Chapter One' below.

[3] This letter is variously dated between 1405 and 1429, but, as Virginia Cox points out, it has been long recognised as 'one of the most important statements of the educational ideals of Italian humanism.' For more information see Virginia Cox, 'Leonardo Bruni on Women and Rhetoric: *De studiis et litteris* Revisited' *Rhetorica* XXVII, no.1 (2009): 47-75.

[4] For an account of the medieval influence on Renaissance Europe, see Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Denys Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Johannes Fried, *The Middle Ages*, trans. Peter Lewis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017); and R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

[5] For a discussion of the problems with defining 'humanism', see 'Literature Review' below. For the purposes of this exposition, 'humanism' is treated as a type of scholarship stemming from the rediscovery of classical texts, encompassing things like literature, rhetoric, morality, and history.

an outline of the overall structure of this thesis; and finally, with a section on methodology and a discussion of the sources used throughout the investigation.

Background: Darkness into Light

'Hungrily did I read your letters' wrote Petrarch (1304-1374) in 1345, 'which I had sought for so long'—and which he found in the library of Vercelli.[6] 'In them, O Marcus Tullius, I heard you speak: discoursing of many things, complaining much, revising your views often. I had always known what kind of mentor you had been to others;' he continued, 'now finally I understand how much you were also a mentor to yourself.' In this letter to Cicero, modelled on Cicero's own letters, we see Petrarch marvelling at Cicero's self-reflection and self-fashioning.[7] 'Listen,' he went on further, 'not to the counsel but to the lament of one of your descendants who loves you without limit.'[8]

Petrarch, one of the first humanists, synthesised in that letter the driving forces behind Renaissance humanism: the ability of the learned to self-fashion through wisdom and knowledge, and the humanists' belief that they were the descendants of ancient statesmen, poets, and philosophers. But Petrarch's discovery of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, and his own letters to the ancients, did something else too—they started a book-hunting frenzy in Europe, which resulted in what can only be called book-rescue missions. Vast numbers of men scoured the basements of monastic libraries in the hopes of coming into contact with previously unknown elements of antiquity and rescuing them from obscurity. Petrarch's

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6 William Fitzgerald, 'The Epistolary Tradition,' in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception, Volume 2: 1558-1660*, ed. Patrick Cheney and Philip Hardie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 273.

7 Self-fashioning was one of the central elements of Renaissance culture and particularly of humanist learning. For more information on this concept, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980).

8 Petrarch, 'Letter to Cicero' (1345), excerpted in *Renaissance Humanism: An Anthology of Sources*, trans. and ed. Margaret L. King (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2014), 6.

choice of medium here, the familiar letter, is also significant, as it allowed him to share with the intellectual European society two important things: first, that he was engaging in a type of communication new to his contemporaries; and additionally, that he was inspired by a classical text, and therefore returning to or imitating the classical tradition. The medium is the message:[9] namely, that the classical tradition is not only about the wisdom rediscovered in these works, but also about the community which this wisdom could lead to, as the form of the familiar letter certainly did with the development of the *res-publica literaria* (Republic of Letters).[10]

Some years later, in 1392, Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), another early humanist and Florentine Chancellor, came across Cicero's complete *Epistulae ad Familiares* (Letters to Friends) in the cathedral library in Verona.[11] His discovery, like that of Petrarch fifty years earlier, fuelled an interest in antiquity, opening up the doors to what early Renaissance scholars thought was an intellectually new and exciting future. They saw it as an exit strategy out of what Petrarch himself had called a *media aetas* (middle age), implying that the period before his own age was transitory and uncertain, and therefore approaching insignificance.[12]

Among all this excitement, the Catholic Church was dealing with the Great Western Schism. During the Council of Constance, 1414-1418, they focused on calls for unity, returning centralised authority to Rome by electing an entirely new Pope, Martin V (1417-1431), and standing up against heresy. In 1415, the Church's message resulted in the

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9 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

10 The idea of 'the medium is the message' is a recurring one throughout this study, and although it is not one of the main arguments of this thesis, it is nonetheless an important element of humanist discourse. This can be seen with theatre, which was used as a method of teaching civic duty and morality in Jesuit schools in Poland; which itself implies that duty and morality were performative aspects of one's career. For more details, see 'Chapter Two'. For details on the significance of the *res-publica literaria* to the argument of this study, see 'Methodology'.

11 Fitzgerald 'The Epistolary Tradition,' 273.

12 Jacques le Goff, *Must We Divide History Into Periods?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 14.

burning at the stake of Jan Hus (1369-1415), the Bohemian proto-Protestant reformer. Hus's death, and the less-than-transparent way in which it was carried out, stand in sharp contrast to the ongoing literary awakening of which the Council itself was an integral part. Indeed, just a year after Hus's death, a group of papal secretaries to the Council searched the basement of the library at the abbey of Saint Gellen, founded in 719. Among the group were Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), eventually the Chancellor of Florence, and Cencio Romano dei Rusticci (1380/90-1445), both of whom wrote passionate letters detailing their joint book-hunting excursion.

Writing to Guarino Veronese (1374-1460), the preeminent Italian humanist teacher of the fifteenth century, Bracciolini described finding the first complete copy of Quintillian's *Institutio Oratoria* (Principles of Oratory), 'full of mould and mired in filth'. The books, he said, were 'not in the library as their worth required but in a kind of dark and loathsome prison at the base of the tower, where not even criminals condemned to die would be incarcerated.'[13] This, Bracciolini asserted, was the difference between the 'barbarian' monks who could not recognise Quintilian's value, and enlightened book-hunters like himself—drawing attention to this difference in (notably Roman) terms of barbarism and civilisation. Similarly, Cencio called the monks who took care of the library 'barbarous foes of the Latin language,' and a 'mob of barbarians', evoking the same terminology as Bracciolini, and painting himself as a lover of the Latin language. He then added that the library would reply —if it could—'do not allow me to be annihilated by this awful neglect; rescue me from this prison, whose darkness even the light of learning cannot illuminate.'[14] Going beyond comparisons between the new humanists and the Roman thinkers and statesmen, Cencio drew

[13] Poggio Bracciolini, 'Letter to Guarino Veronese' (1416), in King, 32.
[14] Cencio Romano, 'Letter to Francesco da Fiano' (1416), in King, 34.

on the other dominant discourse of the period, that of darkness and light. But he was also sure to point out that the books in themselves were powerless, and could only dispel the darkness if they are appropriately used by 'lovers of the Latin language', signalling with this a need for an active, rather than an abstract, humanist learning.

Answering the question, 'Where do we find humanists?' Paula Findlen remarked 'in civil society.'[15] But what kind of society was Europe in the early modern period? The early fifteenth century was simultaneously a dangerous time to engage with the established doctrines of the Church, while also being an exciting time, filled with new wisdom. This brought on changes that profoundly affected the Western intellectual tradition for centuries, despite the rigidity of the 'old' system.[16] Renaissance Europe was also a place ravaged by religious conflict. This was to escalate further in the sixteenth century with the Protestant Reformation, adding to the wave of public executions for heresy (and implicitly for civil disobedience). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to comment on the extent to which every facet of early modern life was impacted by humanism; and indeed, the wider historical debate on this topic is still ongoing, with no definitive verdict having been returned.[17] The aim of this study is rather to focus on a particular aspect of early modern culture—education—and to assess the success of the humanist educational movement and its impact on public discourse and religion. This study compares two different countries (England and Poland),

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[15] Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 97-98.

[16] Bracciolini, 'Letter to Guarino Veronese', in King, 32. The 'old' system here refers to scholasticism.

[17] Historiography concerning Renaissance Europe is very rich and it would be impossible to do it justice here; consequently, I will only list a few titles of import and relevance to this study: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009); J. R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1986); Eugene F. Rice, Jr., and Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460-1559*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1994); Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (New York: Routledge, 2000). For an intellectual history of the Renaissance see Myron Gilmore, *The World of Humanism, 1453-1517* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948); Charles Schmitt et al. *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961).

two humanist education systems (Protestant and Jesuit), and the work and lives of four men who were the products of humanist schooling. The following section is a brief overview of the two countries and education systems.

England

'*My neck is very short.*'[18]

These fateful words, spoken by Thomas More (1478-1535) just before his execution for failing to recognise Henry VIII (r.1509-1547) as the Supreme Head of the Church of England, are an appropriate example of the two contrasting (but concurrent) aspects of European life in this period. First, we have the religious (and by extension political) strife, which culminated in the Reformation,[19] and in turn resulted in More's death; and second, the prominent place given to language, communication, and education in this period. Knowing the power of a well thought-out statement, More rather morbidly, yet slightly playfully, remarked on the particulars of his neck to assert his moral—and intellectual—superiority over Henry's decisions one last time.[20]

This period in English history reflects the wider trends seen elsewhere in Europe. The Tudor era came on the heels of a series of civil wars, the Wars of the Roses (1455-1487); and the kingdom was still reeling from religious dissent, as the followers of John Wycliffe

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[18] William Roper, *The Life of Sir Thomas More by His Son-in-Law* (Burns & Oates, 1905), 101.

[19] This thesis cannot account for the full significance of the Reformation or its causes, due to limitations of time and space. For general information about Reformation Europe, see Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Carlos Eire, *War against the Idol: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550-1750* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Wayne P. te Brake, *Religious War and Religious Peace in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[20] Thomas More, although not an educator himself, wrote about education both in his private correspondence, particularly as it pertained to his children, and in *Utopia*. For details, see: David L. Masterson, 'The Educational Contributions of Sir Thomas More,' *Journal of Thought* 32, no.2 (1997): 25-36; and Edward Surtz, *The Praise of Pleasure: Philosophy, Education, and Communism in More's Utopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).

(c.1320-1384), the Lollards, had still not been fully suppressed.[21] Although the final Lollard uprising was defeated in 1414 (just a year before Hus's death), underground religious communities persisted throughout the fifteenth century, and only came out of hiding on the eve of the English Reformation—which itself was something of a haphazard convenience, at least in the beginning.[22]

Carlos Eire points out that reformist tendencies, in England as elsewhere, could be most readily observed among the educated, both clergy and laity.[23] Among those who supported early reforms were John Colet (1467-1519) and Thomas More; as well as Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), who was a visiting scholar at Cambridge University, where he immersed himself in the study of Greek and Neoplatonism.[24] Colet, rather than fully focusing on Church reform, founded a grammar school, St. Paul's, for which Erasmus wrote textbooks. Among them was *De Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style* (1512).[25] While both men remained lifelong Catholics, their faith was heavily influenced by humanist values, as was that of More.[26] Others, like Roger Ascham (1515-1568), who is one of the educational theorists surveyed in this thesis, found themselves and their beliefs to be considerably more flexible, and thus they were able to maintain their positions (and their heads) while working

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[21] Carlos Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 320.

[22] Eire, *Reformations*, 318-65.

[23] Eire, *Reformations*, 321.

[24] Erasmus's connections to both England and Protestantism are treated in the following titles: Riemer A. Faber, '"Humanitas" as Discriminating Factor in the Educational Writings of Erasmus and Luther,' *Dutch Review of Church History* 85 (2005): 25-37; Brendan Bradshaw, 'The Christian Humanism of Erasmus,' *The Journal of Theological Studies*, *New Series* 33, no. 2 (1982): 411-47; Howard J. Savage, 'The First Visit of Erasmus to England,' *PMLA* 37, no.1 (1922), 94-112; John M. Parrish, 'Education, Erasmian Humanism and More's "Utopia,"' *Oxford Review of Education* 36, no. 5 (2010), 589-605; Erika Rummel, *Desiderius Erasmus* (New York: Continuum, 2004); Craig, R. Thompson, 'Introduction,' in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol 23 and 24, *Literary and Educational Writings 1 and 2* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1978), xix-lxix [thereafter *CWE* 23&24].

[25] For details about this work by Erasmus, see 'Chapter One' below, and Betty I. Knott, *CWE* 24, 280-283.

[26] For more information about humanism's connection to religion, see 'Literature Review' below.

for the various monarchs of this tumultuous period.[27] Elsewhere in Europe too, reformers were humanists, and humanists were reformers. This included John Calvin (1509-1564), whose humanist leanings can be seen across the full spectrum of his work, from the early *Institutes of the Christian Religion* of 1536, to his sermons.[28] Similarly, Calvin's right hand, Theodore Beza (1519-1605), exhibited humanist qualities in his work before he even joined the Reformed Church. He published his first collection of explicitly humanist poems, *Juvenilia*, in 1548, which so impressed Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) that he called Beza the greatest French poet of the century.[29]

There were many religious and cultural changes in England in this period, as the country went from Catholic to Protestant; back to Catholic; then on to a slightly different version of Protestantism, to speak nothing of the economic and military upheavals.[30] As a result of all these new developments, the state needed a tool through which to consolidate the new version of Protestant nationhood, preparing the elite for a life of civic and religious involvement. Queen Elizabeth I (r.1558-1603) was adamant that schools were the place where the 'new' religion, her *media via*, and the intellectual legacy of her Protestant predecessors could most easily be preserved and embedded in the popular consciousness.

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[27] For more information about Roger Ascham's career, see 'Chapter One'.

[28] For accounts of Calvin's humanism see E. Harris, *The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Erdmans, 1956); Basil Hall, *John Calvin: Humanist and Theologian* (London: Historical Association, 1967); and Robert D. Linder, 'Calvinism and Humanism: The First Generation,' *Church History* 44, no. 2, (1975) 167-81.

[29] Linder, 'Calvinism and Humanism,' 170.

[30] There is very extensive literature dealing with the religious, economic, and military aspects of early modern England, and it is not possible to offer an exhaustive list. Some useful titles on these topics include: Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); Joyce Youings, *Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Penguin, 1984); Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of England's Civil Wars* (London: Penguin, 2009), and *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2000); J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History, 1550-1760* (London: Hodder Education, 1987); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2017).

This resulted in the publication of the *Royal Injunctions* in 1559, where the Queen prescribed appropriate school conduct.[31] Another one of the direct consequences of these changes was a renewed interest in the founding of grammar schools across England, among them Westminster School and Merchant Taylors' School, which produced the two Englishmen used as case studies in this thesis.

Westminster School

Westminster School was founded by Queen Elizabeth I in 1560, and its educational charter displays a typically humanist set-up and curriculum. This is unsurprising for two reasons: by the time the school was founded, humanism was deeply entrenched in the educated consciousness of Europe; likewise, Elizabeth herself was a humanist scholar, having studied under both William Grindall (d.1548)[32] and later Roger Ascham.[33] Ascham was also the educational inspiration behind the activities of Edward Grant (1540-1601), who served as the assistant headmaster of Westminster from 1570, to 1572 when he became the headmaster—a position he held until 1593.[34]

The founding charter instructs masters to 'teach Latin, Greek and Hebrew grammar, and the humanities, poets and orators', and also to 'build up and correct the boys' conduct',

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[31] Arthur F. Leach, ed., *Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 495. Of particular interest here are: Item XXXIX, 'Every schoolmaster and teacher shall teach the Grammar set forth by King Henry VIII of noble memory, and continued in the time of King Edward VI and none other,' and Item XLI, 'All teachers of children shall stir and move them to love and do reverence to God's true religion, now truly set forth by public authority.'

[32] Grindall was a talented grammarian, himself taught and mentored by Ascham during his time at St. John's College, Cambridge: 'Grindall, William (GRNL541W)' *A Cambridge Alumni Database,* University of Cambridge.

[33] According to Ascham, Elizabeth was a gifted student and an avid reader of both Latin and Greek texts. His account is corroborated by a manuscript translation of the first book of Tacitus's *Annales* from Latin into English, which was recently confirmed as Elizabeth's own after detailed analysis. The finding was revealed in John Mark Philo, 'Elizabeth I's Translation of Tacitus: Lambeth Palace Library, MS 683,' *The Review of English Studies* 71 no. 298 (2020): 44-73.

[34] For more information about Edward Grant, see 'Chapter Two' below.

which includes personal grooming, such as hair, nails, and wardrobe.[35] Readings prescribed in the charter include Terence, Ovid, Sallust, Cato, Livy, Cicero, Homer, and Virgil.[36] Admitted scholars must be 'not deficient in good character or in learning,'[37] which suggests that, following humanist practices, masters at Westminster were required to focus on shaping both the mind and character of their students. Significantly, it was also a very religious school, as the charter required prayers to be said daily by the Master with the whole school at six o'clock, and then again with each class individually—practices designed to thoroughly confessionalize the students.[38]

Merchant Taylors' School (MTS)

Merchant Taylors' School was founded in 1561 by the Merchant Taylors' Company, as a private institution, initially with an endowment of five-hundred pounds. Like Westminster, it was a typically humanist venture. Its first headmaster, Richard Mulcaster, was a humanist scholar deeply committed to quality education in classical subjects, as well as the vernacular English, the standardisation of which he pioneered with a list of English words that came at the end of his influential treatise, *Elementarie* (1582).[39]

The course of studies at MTS, much like at Westminster, included Hebrew, Latin, Greek, classical literature, writing, and arithmetic.[40] Religious instruction was likewise at the

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[35] Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909*, 499.

[36] Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909*, 511.

[37] Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909*, 503.

[38] Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909*, 507. The confessional element did not stop at the secondary school level, as universities like Oxford and Cambridge were unable to confer degrees on non-Anglicans; which left the poet John Donne (1572-1631) without a degree, even though he studied at both universities and was by all means a gifted student. (He converted later on, and his career advanced quickly after that.)

[39] For more information about Richard Mulcaster see 'Chapter Two' below.

[40] Howard Staunton, *The Great Schools of England: An Account of the Foundation, Endowments, and Discipline of the Chief Seminaries of Learning in England* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1865), 229.

forefront of pedagogy at the school, and every Monday morning was 'devoted to sacred subjects', among them 'Hebrew, the Greek and Latin New Testament, Christian Doctrine, and Scripture History.'[41] For prayers, as per the *Royal Injunctions*, the master and students followed the *Prayer-Book*.[42]

The changes that occurred in England in this period led to education, religion, and the English state becoming completely intertwined.

Poland

Wszystko się dziwnie plecie
Na tym tu biednym świecie.
A kto by chciał rozumem wszystkiego dochodzić,
I zginie, a nie będzie umiał w to ugodzić.[43]

Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584), who remains one of the greatest and most celebrated poets in Poland, died just two years before the above poem was published, and three years before King Sigismund III Vasa (r.1587-1632) ascended to the Polish throne. Yet, Kochanowski's

41 Staunton, *The Great Schools of England*, 240.

42 Staunton, *The Great Schools of England*, 240.

43 Jan Kochanowski, 'Pieśń IX', in *Pieśni pierwsze* [First songs] (1586). 'Everything is oddly folding / Here in this wretched world. / And whoever would wish to unfold everything with reason, / Will die, but will not be able to hit the mark.' Kochanowski was a humanist poet; he wrote in Latin and Polish. Several of his works have been translated into English, including one of his most famous collections, *Treny* (*Laments*), which he wrote on the death of his beloved daughter Urszula (Urszulka), who died at two and a half years of age. Kochanowski was inspired by Horace and Petrarch in his lyric poetry, and this posthumous collection *Pieśni* (*Songs*) is a great example of the humanist qualities of his work. He was also a friend of another Polish humanist, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503-1572), who acquired Erasmus's entire library after the latter's death in 1536.

words reflect Renaissance Poland-Lithuania's political situation and cultural developments, both before and after his death, with astonishing precision.[44]

The period between the end of the fifteenth- and the beginning of the seventeenth century was an especially turbulent, but in many ways successful, time in Polish history. Poland had just formally entered into a union with Lithuania in 1569, establishing the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[45] The founding event, the Union of Lublin, was engineered by Sigismund II Augustus (r.1548-1572), who then promptly died in 1572, leaving the two countries with a Union neither of them fully approved of, and without an heir to govern it.[46] This left the country in the hands of the nobility, who took the Interregnum period as an opportunity to extend their power and make the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy entirely elective.[47] These changes resulted in two contested elections: the first one left Poland-Lithuania with an indifferent and unwilling Henri Valois (1555-1589) as King,[48] while the second gave Poland a much more involved and successful ruler, the Hungarian Stephen Báthory (1533-1586). Báthory's election nonetheless was not smooth, and the Hapsburg candidate, Emperor Maximilian II (r.1564-1576), never gave up his claim to the Polish-

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[44] For an overview of Poland-Lithuania, and especially the cultural, artistic, and political developments, see Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State*, *1386-1795* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2001). This text is particularly valuable for discussions about the extent of humanist influence on Polish culture. Stone argues, very effectively, that Italian and German humanism was already firmly rooted in Polish education, writing, politics, and religion over a century before the arrival of Bona Sforza, because of educational links with German and Italian universities, as well as with Rome. Likewise, the extensive correspondence between preeminent Italian humanists, like Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405-1464), whose educational treatise is examined below in 'Chapter One', and Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1389-1455), the Bishop of Krakow and chancellor of the Jagiellonian University, also provided evidence of this influence.

[45] For a history of how the Polish-Lithuanian Union came to be, see Robert Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania,* vol. 1, *The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[46] Józef Gierowski, *Historia Polski*: *1505-1764* [History of Poland: 1505-1764] (Warsaw: PWN, 1986), 92-109.

[47] For an account of the changes made by the nobility, see Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State*, 116-20, and Andrzej Wyczański, *Szlachta polska w XVI wieku* [The Polish nobility in the sixteenth century] (Warsaw: PWN, 2001), 183-212.

[48] Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State*, 120-21. Henri did not last long on the Polish throne, as he was called back to ascend the much more appealing throne of France (upon the death of his older brother, Charles IX), in 1574. Henri's failure to reappear in Poland, as per the request of the nobles, provoked a constitutional crisis, and a new election had to be called—perhaps even more chaotic than the last.

Lithuanian throne.[49] Notably, the changes also strengthened the country's religious toleration laws, much to the discontent of Rome.

Yet, despite dynastic and monarchical disputes, multiple wars (to the south with Moldavia, and then the Ottomans; to the east with Muscovy and Livonia; to the west with Habsburg Austria; and eventually to the north with Sweden), some of which were successful —it was also the golden age of Polish culture. Literature and the arts, as well as political thought and civic engagement, flourished during this period, and a number of celebrated thinkers and artists were at the height of their influence, including theologians like Jakub Wujek (1541-1597), who is known for his translation of the Vulgate Bible into Polish (which Daniel Stone has noted was particularly poetic).[50] These developments were first ignited by Polish connections to both Italian and Erasmian humanism, the former through the Polish crown, as Sigismund I the Old (r.1506-1548) was married to Bona Sforza (r.1518-1548);[51]

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[49] Maximilian II did not accept the result then, and held onto his 'victory' until his death in 1576—despite being defeated by Báthory after the latter's successful election.

[50] Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State*, 103. This is also the period in which the Polish nobility consolidated its political consciousness through civic humanism. For example, Frycz Modrzewski, who is often credited as the father of Polish democracy, and Stanisław Orzechowski (1513-1566), who defended the growing power of the Polish nobility and can be considered an early proponent of nationalism, contributed to this phenomenon. This can be seen in Orzechowski's two 'Anti-Turkish' publications: one addressed to the nobility, and the second to the King (first published in Krakow in 1543 and 1544 respectively). Frycz Modrzewski wrote extensively in support of equality before the law regardless of social origin, as well as government-sponsored public moral education. Frycz Modrzewski was also in support of the existing division of power between the monarchy, the *Sejm*, and the chamber of deputies. His most influential work, which even earned him the censorship of the Catholic Church, is *De Republica Emendanda* (On the Reform of the Republic), published during the 1550s. On the other hand, Wyczański argues that these political theories had little to do with the nobility, and that it was in fact the more moralistic writing of Mikołaj Rej (1505-1569) that proved more influential. More on Polish republican thought and its classical origins can be found in Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Polish Republican Discourse in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); and *Ład Rzeczypospolitej: Polska myśl polityczna XVI wieku a klasyczna tradycja republikańska* [Order of the republic: Polish political thought of the sixteenth century and the classical republican tradition] (Krakow: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012).

[51] For details of Sforza's Italian humanist influence on Polish culture see Danuta Quirini-Popławska, *Działalność Włochów w Polsce w I połowie XVI wieku na dworze królewskim, w dyplomacji i hierarchii kościelnej* [The Activity of Italians in Poland in the first half of the sixteenth century, at the Royal Court, in Diplomacy, and in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy] (Krakow: Wydawnictwo PAN, 1973).

and the latter through Jan Łaski's (1499-1560) friendship with Erasmus.[52] The two currents were notably influential in Polish politics and religion, with Łaski's reformed ideas gaining traction among some of the nobility. This eventually led to several non-Catholic churches being established, including the Helvetic Church (briefly headed by Łaski between 1556 and 1560), and the Minor Church of the Polish Brethren.[53]

Poland-Lithuania was multilingual and ethnically and religiously diverse, with large Ruthenian, Jewish, and German populations. However, with the death of King Báthory and the election of Sigismund III Vasa in 1586, things changed rather drastically, and Polish culture took a sharp Catholic (and far less tolerant) turn. This Catholic turn was aided by the King, who grew up in a Swedish prison with his parents, having been put there by his Lutheran uncle. He was educated by the Jesuits, and his affinity for the Order extended to official support for Jesuit educational ventures once he took over the Polish Crown.[54] Additionally, Sigismund, as a relative outsider, had to consolidate his power and encourage a

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[52] It was, in fact, Łaski who bought Erasmus's library, which Frycz Modrzewski then brought to Poland on Erasmus's death. Stone also touches upon this significant purchase, although he seems to have confused the elder Łaski (1456-1531), Primate of Poland, with his nephew, the Calvinist Reformer, who actually made the book purchase in 1525. For more details on this friendship and the influence of Erasmus in Poland see George H. Williams, 'Erasmianism in Poland: An Account and an Interpretation of a Major, Though ever Diminishing, Current in Sixteenth-Century Polish Humanism and Religion, 1518-1605,' *The Polish Review* 22, no. 3 (1977): 3-50.

[53] Williams, 'Erasmianism in Poland,' 26.

[54] Sigismund's Jesuit education made him into something of a humanist scholar, and certainly a humanist ruler. He spoke Swedish, German, Italian, Polish, and Latin; he was an accomplished musician and tennis player, as well as a painter; he was also a defender of the Catholic faith, and he was committed to the wellbeing of Poland-Lithuania. More significantly, Sigismund was substantially influenced by prominent Jesuits, who were driving the Counter-Reformation efforts in Poland (including Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), the eventual court preacher), which coloured his attitudes and policies towards other religions. For more information on this aspect of Sigismund's reign, see Janusz Tazbir, *Historia Kościoła Katolickiego w Polsce, 1460-1795* [A History of the Catholic Church in Poland, 1460-1795] (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1966), and Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State*, 136-37, who points out that Sigismund's covertly anti-Protestant policies resulted in the rapid shrinking of Protestant influence in the appointive senate, from thirty-eight on Sigismund's election to just two on his death.

civic and moral sense of duty in his subjects, and, like the English Elizabeth, he found education to be the ideal medium through which to deliver his message.[55]

The Jesuit College in Poznań

The Poznań college was established in 1572 on the orders of the local bishop, Adam Konarski (1526-1574), who saw the Jesuits as an ideal choice.[56] Poznań needed a well-governed Catholic educational institution because the city had a vast Protestant presence, and the Catholic cathedral school had fallen into disrepair; additionally, the Jesuits had proved themselves to be skilled administrators and teachers across the Austrian Province and in Vilnius.[57] Jakub Wujek, the theologian and preacher, became the first rector of the college.

The curriculum, as described in the *Annales*, was typically humanist, and Latin was the language of instruction for all subjects.[58] The stated goal of Jesuit schooling was the rearing of children, which was similar to the Westminster charter, where correcting the

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[55] Jesuit schools were installed in every major political and cultural hub across Poland-Lithuania, including Krakow, Vilnius, Lublin, and Kalisz, as well as places like Poznań, where there was a prominent Protestant presence. Even though Jesuit schools were openly confessional, they admitted non-Catholic students, who were required to sit through Catholic sermons. This proved an effective tool for conversion, and in turn resulted in increased influence and popularity. The number of Jesuit schools went from just eleven in 1599 to forty-one in 1634, and fifty-one by 1700. A more complete history of the Jesuit educational mission in Poland-Lithuania is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, the most comprehensive work on the topic remains Stanisław Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce* [The fall and rebirth of Jesuit schools in Poland] (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Księży Jezuitów, 1933).

[56] This section follows Władysław Chodkowski's history of the college based on the official annual diaries (*Annales collegii Posnaniensis Societatis Iesu*), which detailed events in and around the college, and which the Jesuits had to send to Rome every year. *Szkoły jezuickie w Poznaniu, 1573-1653, wedle dyaryusza kolegium poznańskiego* [Jesuit schools in Poznań, 1573-1653, according to the diaries of the Poznań college] (Krakow: Anczyc i Spółka, 1893).

[57] Chodkowski, *Szkoły jezuickie w Poznaniu, 1573-1653*, 4. Chodkowski points out that the administrators were encouraged to leave out particularly tumultuous events, although even at that, the documented events are often on the dramatic side. These include multiple accounts of confessional violence, often initiated by the students of the college, some of which resulted in arrests; which, at that point, the school administration would argue was an 'excessive' form of punishment. Most of the riots included either Jewish residents of the town, or 'heretics' (Protestants) of various social classes (26-33). This speaks to the popular disapproval of the country's religious toleration laws, which seemed to swell in that period, and which King Sigismund III did little to address. For more information on this, see Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State*, 136-37.

[58] Chodkowski, *Szkoły jezuickie w Poznaniu, 1573-1653*, 15.

conduct of the pupils was a top priority.[59] Like the English schools, Jesuit colleges were supposed to strengthen the faith of their pupils, and to that end they enrolled non-Catholic students too, successfully converting many a Calvinist.[60] This is unsurprising, as the Counter-Reformation was supported by the monarchy and had to contend with (and combat) the growing numbers of Protestants and Protestant educational institutions. Chodkowski notes that what separated Jesuit schools from other schools was the teachers' commitment to leading by example, as well as the strict adherence to the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599.[61] The college was also focused on teaching respect for others, particularly those in authority, which they often did through theatre—with plays that portrayed the King as having descended directly from Roman statesmen, or as various mythical heroes.[62] This advanced the idea of civic duty, derived from republican discourse.[63]

The educational aims and theory behind the three schools (Westminster, MTS, and the Jesuit College), as well as popular pedagogical practices, are examined in detail in chapters one and two.

Literature Review

Humanism and humanist education are common topics in literature dealing with Renaissance culture and civic values, as well as with the cultural differences between the Middle Ages and

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[59] Chodkowski, *Szkoły jezuickie w Poznaniu, 1573-1653*, 16.

[60] Chodkowski, *Szkoły jezuickie w Poznaniu, 1573-1653*, 17.

[61] Chodkowski, *Szkoły jezuickie w Poznaniu, 1573-1653*, 19-21. Of course, given the nature of Chodkowski's source material and its ultimate purpose as a set of documents supporting the college's success, it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which the *Ratio Studiorum* was actually followed by the teachers, or indeed, exactly how 'inspiring' Jesuit teachers may have been. For a more detailed look at the *Ratio Studiorum*, see 'Chapter One' below; for information about Jesuit teachers and practices, see 'Chapter Two'.

[62] Chodkowski, *Szkoły jezuickie w Poznaniu, 1573-1653*, 37.

[63] For more about the pedagogical uses of theatre in Jesuit colleges, see Jolanta Rzegocka, 'Civic Education on Stage: Civic Values and Virtues in the Jesuit Schools of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,' *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness*, ed. Robert Aleksander Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2016), and 'chapter two' below.

the Renaissance.[64] Existing literature on these topics can be divided into three main themes: problems with defining what constitutes humanism, and indeed humanistic schooling; pedagogical theory, practices, and organisation of schools in Renaissance Europe; and the effects of the *studia humanitatis*. Jesuit education has so far been treated as a separate entity in education history despite its now fully-acknowledged debt to humanism.[65] Consequently, for the sake of clarity, I discuss the main developments in each theme separately.

Defining Humanism: Between Philosophy, Poetry, and Life

At the beginning of the introduction to her 2014 anthology of Renaissance humanist sources, Margaret L. King categorically states that 'humanism was not a philosophy.'[66] Indeed, this seems to be one of the only points of consensus among scholars of humanism. She goes on to say that rather than having its foundations in philosophy, humanism focused on devising a set of precepts for a 'moral' way of life based in classical history and literature, and communicated exclusively through (what Renaissance humanists hoped to be) impeccable Latin and good enough Greek, sometimes even Hebrew, depending on the individual humanist's commitment to his studies. From this, we can infer that humanism was a movement which aimed to promote a specific way of life. This in turn leaves us with

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[64] Due to constraints on time and space, it is unfortunately not possible to account for humanism's debt to scholastic theory and method in this thesis; however, a few titles of interest that deal with the conflict (or lack thereof) between the scholastics and the humanists include: Charles Nauert, 'Humanism as Method: Roots of the Conflict with the Scholastics,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 2 (1998): 427-38; Willem van't Spijker, 'Early Reformation and Scholasticism,' *Dutch Review of Church History* 81, no. 3 (2001): 290-305; Paul Richard Blum, 'Humanism and Thomism: Doctrines, Schools, and Methods,' *Divus Thomas* 120, no. 2 (2017): 13-20.

[65] Magdalena Kuran, 'Rola szkolnictwa jezuickiego w kształtowaniu wspólnoty europejskiej' [The role of jesuit schooling in the shaping of a united Europe], *Folia Litteraria Polonica* 13 (2010): 35-44. Kuran points out in her conclusion that Jesuit schooling was in fact based on Protestant models, and therefore studies comparing both systems are necessary if we are to assess the extent to which Europe was united, despite confessional differences and conflicts.

[66] King, *Renaissance Humanism*, ix.

questions about the scope of this movement and its main objectives within the public and private spheres.

This is the main point of contention among scholars, as some, like Paul Oskar Kristeller, argue that the humanist movement and its definition should be limited to what the Renaissance students and teachers of the humanities believed their activities encompassed. Because the word *humanism* does not appear in contemporary documents, while the word *humanist* appears often, he states that the movement refers to the 'cycle of scholarly disciplines that includes grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy.'[67] However, Kristeller is also adamant that no geographical or temporal limits should be placed on humanism. King partly agrees with this definition, as she makes sure to include geographically diverse sources in her anthology. Nonetheless, she argues in the introduction that, by 1650, humanism's most important achievements were already in the past—although she does acknowledge that Descartes's *Discourse on Method* is, in essence, a product of humanistic teaching.[68] Jacob Soll gives further credence to this conception of humanism: he points out that humanist works rarely included the words 'philosophy' or 'idea' in their titles. Instead, he continues, they wrote about 'ars' (art) and 'method.'[69] To further emphasise the significance of these words, Soll turns to Richelet's 1680 *Dictionary*, in which Richelet defines art as a 'collection of precepts that one practices for useful ends,' and method as 'rules for learning something, such as a language'.[70] Thus, he confirms that humanism was less about metaphysical philosophy and more about a practical way of life.

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[67] Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Studies on Renaissance Humanism During the Last Twenty Years,' *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962): 21.

[68] King, *Renaissance Humanism*, xviii.

[69] Jacob Soll, 'Introduction: The Uses of Historical Evidence in Early Modern Europe,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (April 2003): 154.

[70] Soll, 'Introduction: The Uses of Historical Evidence in Early Modern Europe,' 155.

Soll brings up another important element of humanist thought and teaching with the centrality of eloquence to virtually all humanist activity. He argues that eloquence, far from discarding logic—as is often suggested by proponents of Scholasticism—became 'the very material of logic … with which it was possible to forge knowledge out of observation.'[71] Hanna H. Gray takes her praise of humanist eloquence even further. Rather than dividing humanist writing into 'form' and 'substance', scholars should look for what the humanists called 'true eloquence'.[72] In other words, the humanists themselves distinguished between vacuous style and wisdom *in* style; Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* attacked scholarly Latin at length, as it was devoid of wisdom, and subordinated substance to style.

For Gray, every aspect of humanist teaching was founded on eloquence, including moral philosophy, which often took the form of poetry.[73] Examples of this type of poetic moral philosophy can be found as far forward as in Samuel Johnson's (1709-1784) 'The Vanity of Human Wishes,' which dwells on aspects of human nature, and William Blake's (1757-1827) 'Auguries of Innocence,' which urges its readers onto a virtuous path. Both poets, the former neolatin and the latter Romantic, were educated in grammar schools[74] with a humanistic curriculum, thus giving credence to Kristeller's claim that humanism has no end date. In fact, both poems contain explicit reference to 'will' being able to control 'passion' through an application of skills, which Johnson acknowledges are not virtuous on their own —all significant tenets of the humanistic curriculum.[75] The two poems are also great

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[71] Soll, 'Introduction: The Uses of Historical Evidence in Early Modern Europe,' 155.

[72] Hanna H. Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24, no. 4 (October 1964): 498.

[73] Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence,' 507.

[74] William Blake was homeschooled by his mother, Catherine Blake (née Wright) from the age of ten, though prior to this he did attend a grammar school. Samuel Johnson attended Lichfield Grammar School.

[75] The lines in question are: 'Improve his heady rage with treach'rous skill, / And mould his passions till they make his will' (Johnson) and 'To be in a Passion you Good may Do / But no Good if a Passion is in you' (Blake).

examples of creativity in eloquence, something that Gray argues was a very important aim of humanist education, and which is perhaps best exemplified, in her opinion, by Lorenzo Valla's (1407-1457) *Declamation*.[76] Similarly, James V. Mehl points out that humanists like Boccaccio (1313-1375) in his *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods* saw poetry as the most noble expression of eloquence, and defended it at length against attacks by medieval scholastics.[77]

A strong dissenting voice is Kenneth Gouwens, who, influenced by cognitive psychology, argues that the definition of humanism championed by Kristeller constitutes a 'myopic focus on the often austere formal writings of humanists', and has stalled the scholarly study of the 'broader cultural milieu', and of humanism's transformative aspects.[78]

In this thesis I suggest a synthesis of both approaches, to examine the impact of the humanist movement as defined by Kristeller, and its transformative aspects on the broader cultural milieu mentioned above. Gouwens points out that to do this, it is essential to look beyond pedagogical practices and textual criticism, and move towards focusing on the effects that the movement has had on the humanists themselves,[79] which is the primary aim of this thesis.

Bernard Bradshaw and David L. Masterson both make a valuable contribution to the challenges of defining humanism and humanistic learning, as they focus explicitly on Desiderius Erasmus[80] and Thomas More[81] respectively, rather than the Italian humanists,

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[76] Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence,' 511.

[77] James V. Mehl, 'Herman von dem Busche's Valium humanitatis (1518): A German Defense of the Renaissance Studia Humanitatis,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 42, no .3 (1989): 480.

[78] Kenneth Gouwens, 'Perceiving the Past: Renaissance Humanism after the "Cognitive Turn,"' *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (February 1998): 57.

[79] Gouwens, 'Perceiving the Past,' 62.

[80] Brendan Bradshaw, 'The Christian Humanism of Erasmus,' *The Journal of Theological Studies, New Series* 33, no. 2 (October 1982): 411-47. Bradshaw examines Erasmus's *Antibarbari* and skillfully argues that the Christian elements of humanism had been inherited or 'derived from the "Christianization" of the classical philosophical heritage by St. Thomas Aquinas,' 411.

[81] Masterson, 'The Educational Contributions of Sir Thomas More,' 25-36.

which are the principal actors in most studies of humanist education. Bradshaw and Masterson both make it clear that humanist education cannot be divorced from its Christian foundations, and that humanist pedagogical texts (those of More and Erasmus) have to be read with their Christian context in mind. Likewise, Hanna Gray mentions Erasmus's *Convivium Religiosum*, in which he specifies that humanism is the pursuit of true (Christian) virtue, which can only be found in the aforementioned 'true eloquence', as it marries wisdom with style.[82] Furthermore, she points out that Christian humanists perceived a purely academic or intellectual study of the ancients to be thoroughly unchristian and unedifying, making this their main criticism of scholastic learning.[83] This offers a point of cohesion between the educational writings of Erasmus and the Jesuit curriculum, which stressed the application of virtue in one's life, both of which are examined and compared below.

Practice Makes Perfect: Evaluations of Applied Humanism

One of the most influential studies of humanist teaching practices is the 1986 book, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe*, in which Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine take issue with what they see as a huge gap between humanist theory and practice in education. Grafton and Jardine's argument in the introduction centres on two reasons why humanism dominated European schooling in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: the support of 'the establishment'; and what the authors see as the illusion that culture can be objectively taught.[84] Kenneth Gouwens sees

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[82] Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence,' 502.

[83] Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence,' 507.

[84] Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), xi-xvi.

this as a cynical interpretation of Renaissance culture, which he maintains was as much created with genuine enthusiasm as taught with it.[85]

Grafton and Jardine cover this topic in an earlier article about the practices of Guarino Guarini.[86] Both the article and the book have two major methodological flaws, one of which is identified by Gouwens, the other by Paul F. Grendler. Gouwens rightly points out that it is problematic to reconstruct and assess the practice and effectiveness of Guarino's teaching entirely from his lecture notes and student notebooks.[87] Grafton and Jardine argue that the sloppiness of student notes and formulae in Guarino's materials point not only to a lack of independence on the part of students, but also a lack of understanding of the subjects being taught.[88] Gouwens, on the other hand, acknowledges that very few teachers would want their teaching to be assessed solely on the basis of their (and their students') lecture notes.[89]

Grendler criticises Grafton and Jardine's assessment of Guarino's lessons as boring on the basis of excessive authoritarian 'drilling.' He draws a parallel between intensive training in music or sports and humanist intensive language teaching, pointing to the fact that excellence requires hard work.[90] Furthermore, he argues that, far from intensive training inhibiting creative endeavours, learning a craft paves the way for original creation later on.[91] In this he is in agreement with Hanna Gray, as mentioned above. I will demonstrate in chapter two that this was the function of the humanist exercise of *declamatio* and *imitatio*,

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85 Gouwens, 'Perceiving the Past,' 63

86 Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, 'Humanism and the School of Guarino: A Problem of Evaluation,' *Past & Present* no. 96 (August 1982): 51-80.

87 Gouwens, 'Perceiving the Past,' 61.

88 Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism*, 14.

89 Gouwens, 'Perceiving the Past,' 61.

90 Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 407.

91 Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 407.

both of which were prominent across humanist curricula, including the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*.

These humanist practices are reminiscent of a theory developed by the prominent literary critic, Harold Bloom, in his book *The Anxiety of Influence*. Bloom puts forward a new account of poetic creation, and a new vision of literary criticism, as a 'strong misreading' of great writers,[92] reminiscent of *imitatio*. Though his study traces the genesis of poetic genius, he argues that even the most original poets had to work *through* an apprenticeship in imitation, rather than *around* it; influence is inescapable, and rather like 'possession'. In the second edition, he even extends this argument to Shakespeare, demonstrating how his early work struggled to break away from under the shadow of Marlowe.[93] Grafton and Jardine's notion that 'the process of initiation [into ancient culture] is not in the end conducted according to any set of rules' (by which they mean 'drilling' school exercises), begs the question of what precisely was the 'mysterious transition from classroom aptitude to rich familiarity with antique culture' that accounted for individual success—which they acknowledge they cannot answer.[94] Rather, their argument appears to be more readily explained as an anachronistic modern conception of genuine success always being self-made.

I would also argue that Grafton and Jardine's approach here is based on an anachronistic application of the twentieth century concept of creative talent being an inherent part of a child's experience, which follows on from post-Renaissance educational theory, such as Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762). In fact, if we turn back to Richelet's *Dictionary*, in which he defines 'art' as a collection of precepts to be learned and used, it

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92 Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), xxiii. Also described as a 'poetic misprision' or '*clinamen*'.

93 Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, xxviii-xlvii.

94 Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, 27.

becomes clear that Renaissance humanists could not have understood talent and creativity as gifts to be 'unlocked' by a teacher-guide, but rather saw them as the fruits of learning, attainable only through hard work.

Finally, Grafton and Jardine say that Guarino's enthusiastic 'marketing' of his classes and his school in his opening remarks to students implies a cynicism and dishonesty on the part of the humanist movement.[95] In response, David Burchell asks whether these are legitimate reasons to assume that the humanists' enthusiasm was anything but genuine.[96] He joins Gouwens and Grendler in advocating for the humanists' self-professed aims to be taken seriously in any assessment of their achievements.[97] On the other hand, Grafton and Jardine point out that prior to the publication of their studies, historians of humanism tended to take the humanist ideology as proof of the humanists' objective achievements.[98] The problem therefore lies in the reluctance of historians of humanism, and of education, to conduct a review of educational practices in the classroom vis-a-vis their students' work outside of it, where they were expected to apply what they had learned throughout their schooling. Looking for the efficacy and effects of a movement in its 'meta-data' seems to be a glaring flaw in the design of existing studies. For this reason, this thesis focuses on the transmission of humanist values and rhetorical practices in humanist classrooms, and their subsequent use by former students in their careers outside of the school setting.

Other notable studies on humanist pedagogical practices include Paul Grendler's article, 'Schooling in Western Europe,' in which he points out that humanist educational theory and practice did not develop in a vacuum, but was rather founded on precepts

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95 Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism*, 2-4.

96 David Burchell, 'Burckhardt Redivivus: Renaissance Pedagogy as Self-Formation,' *Renaissance Studies* 13, no. 3 (September 1999), 301-02.

97 Burchell, 'Burckhardt Redivivus: Renaissance Pedagogy as Self-Formation,' 301-02.

98 Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism*, 3.

inherited from the Middle Ages.[99] Importantly, this would suggest that humanism and scholasticism were not in fact locked in an educational battle of the wits, despite their differences—even if their coexistence was uneasy. Moreover, Grendler argues that it was the Reformation and Counter-Reformation that actually ushered in the new era of schooling open to the public in Europe, as was the case with the Jesuits.[100]

It is worth mentioning that most studies of humanist teaching practices tackle one country at a time, the majority of which focus on Italy, France, and Germany; there is a conspicuous lack of transnational comparative studies. Another recurring type of study is a comparison between humanism and scholasticism. To that end, Robert Black evaluates a number of high profile case studies and controversies,[101] from Eugenio Garin's favourable assessment of humanist education,[102] through the aforementioned book by Grafton and Jardine (and Grendler's corrective), to Margaret King's work on women in humanist education.[103] He suggests that if Grafton and Jardine's criticism of humanism risks anachronism, then so does Garin's glowing review, as the authors were similarly influenced by twentieth-century concepts of education. More interestingly, Black's evaluation highlights the need for studies of the effectiveness of instruction and curricula in humanist education and the need to move away from research, which centres on whether humanist education was good or bad, or better or worse than scholasticism. Lastly, he explicitly notes that there is much to be discovered about 'international schooling patterns in the Renaissance.'[104]

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99 Paul F. Grendler, 'Schooling in Western Europe,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (1990): 775.

100 Grendler, 'Schooling in Western Europe,' 779.

101 Robert Black, 'Italian Renaissance Education: Changing Perspectives and Continuing Controversies,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52, no. 2 (1991): 315-34.

102 Eugenio Garin, *L'Educazione Umanistica in Italia* [Humanist Education in Italy] (Bari: Laterza & Figli, 1953).

103 Margaret L. King, 'Thwarted Ambitions: Six Learned Women of the Renaissance,' *Soundings* 59 (1976): 280-304.

104 Black, 'Italian Renaissance Education,' 334.

Similarly, Riemer A. Faber states that the purpose of his article, '"Humanitas" as Discriminating Factor in the Educational Writings of Erasmus and Luther,' is to 'express the need for continued examination of' the links between 'the realities of the various programs and the ideals which produced them.'[105] His article played a big part in the development of this thesis.

Another popular subject of study in relation to humanist education is that of the schoolmasters themselves. This includes the work of W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, which, again, is mainly focused on Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[106] Likewise, the chapter on humanist education in Denis Lawton and Peter Gordon's *A History of Western Educational Ideals*, is mostly about theorists and schoolmasters, without any mention of practice, or indeed the effects upon students.[107]

Tracing Humanism: The Effects of *Studia Humanitatis* on Renaissance Culture

Kenneth Gouwens mentions Jerome Bruner's theory of cultural communities, which 'create and transform meanings', to point out that humanism created an entire culture not only in education but in a much broader sense of textual criticism, art, architecture, and political theory.[108] This corresponds with Stanley Fish's literary theory of 'interpretive communities', which generate meanings for texts by applying the same reading practices and the same contextualising tools.[109] This is certainly the case with humanist schools, including the Jesuit

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[105] Faber, '"Humanitas" as Discriminating Factor in the Educational Writings of Erasmus and Luther,' 26.

[106] W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, reprint ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

[107] Denis Lawton and Peter Gordon, *A History of Western Educational Ideas* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 57-69.

[108] Gouwens, 'Perceiving the Past,' 56.

[109] Stanley Fish, 'Interpreting the Variorum,' (1989) in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. Vincent B. Leith et al. (New York: Norton, 2010), 1974-92.

colleges, which taught not only specific set interpretations of texts, but also how to engage with reading in general, and how to recognise and evaluate techniques used by different writers.[110] Most importantly, however, they focused on how to create texts which could then be decoded by others, using the same set of tools—thereby further perpetuating the 'interpretive communities'.

Kristeller also maintains that humanism profoundly influenced classical scholarship, logic, political theory, philosophy, and theology. However, he insists that its effect on each of these fields was indirect, and that it does not make any of these fields part of the humanist movement.[111] An investigation of whether or not any of the above may be considered to be belonging to humanism is beyond the scope of this research; nonetheless, the far-reaching influence of humanism is of interest, as it gives credence to one of the premises of this thesis: the effects of humanism on individual thought.

Of more relevance, perhaps, is humanism's effect on historical thought and perspective. Grendler maintains that, prior to humanism, thought was profoundly unhistorical, and that were it not for the Renaissance, history would not be what it is today as a discipline.[112] This view is enthusiastically supported by Jacob Soll, who points out that Erasmus encouraged learning and reading classical languages critically and historically.[113] He also sees the Renaissance as the starting point from which history 'slowly became an authoritative mode of proof and a basis for political power,'[114] linking humanism not only with a historical consciousness but also with the political will to power.

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[110] The concept of 'interpretive communities' is examined in 'Chapter One' below.

[111] Kristeller, 'Studies on Renaissance Humanism During the Last Twenty Years,' 7-30.

[112] Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 255.

[113] Soll, 'Introduction: The Uses of Historical Evidence in Early Modern Europe,' 156.

[114] Soll, 'Introduction: The Uses of Historical Evidence in Early Modern Europe,' 156.

In the field of science, R. E. Hughes notes that the humanist focus on practice over theory encouraged the move from deductive to inductive reasoning, and in turn, the development of the empirical method spearheaded by Francis Bacon (1561-1626).[115] He does not stop there, pointing to Bacon's theory of education, which touched on politics as well as science, and included the human need to not only know and understand the world, but also to test it—hence the empirical method. Bacon seems to have been ahead of his time, as it was not until the following century that his theory really took off, however, the explicit aim of the Royal Society, established in 1660, was to realise Bacon's vision of the empirical method and experimental science.[116] The humanist influence here is clear.

Louis Kampf sees humanism's most enduring effect in fostering inequality, and creating an intellectual class separated from the rest of society by grammar schools, which lasted well into the eighteenth century.[117] More specifically, he suggests that it was this division and the authority of the ruling elite that resulted in the development of bourgeois class consciousness in England in the eighteenth century.[118] His sentiment is, at least in part, shared by Alice T. Friedman, who argues that humanism was a thoroughly elitist endeavour, the express aim of which was to create a ruling class of civic 'servants' (Friedman, p. 58).[119] The rigidity and reproduction of this class system can be readily explained by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social capital, which forms a part of the methodological framework of

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115 R. H. Hughes, 'Francis Bacon, the Renaissance State, and St. Augustine: A Chapter in the History of Education,' *History of Education Journal* 9, no. 2 (Winter 1958): 35.

116 Indeed, the political and educational theorist and philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) was a prominent member of the Royal Society. He was also educated at Westminster. One can see the influence of Bacon's empiricism on Locke's emphasis on self-correction and continuous development, which then went on to affect other key Enlightenment figures, particularly the scepticism of David Hume (1711-1776).

117 Louis Kampf, 'The Humanist Tradition in Eighteenth-Century England and Today,' *New Literary History* 3, no. 1 (Autumn 1971): 157-70.

118 Kampf, 'The Humanist Tradition in Eighteenth-Century England and Today,' 159-60.

119 Alice T. Friedman, 'The Influence of Humanism on the Education of Girls and Boys in Tudor England,' *History of Education Quarterly* 25, no. 1/2 (Spring-Summer, 1985): 58.

this thesis. Friedman's conclusion that humanism contributed to a rigid class system is entirely in line with one of the main premises of this thesis: that the humanist curriculum produced a specific type of social capital, which enabled its students to have thriving and influential careers after graduation.[120]

What stands out from this short review of scholarship on the effects of humanism is the need for a study concerning the specific effects of the humanist curriculum on individual students and its impact on their subsequent work. This thesis will therefore begin to fill this gap, and contribute to the history of education—and its place in cultural studies.

Jesuit Humanism in Education

Jesuit schooling has long been an object of interest to historians of education because of the vast network of schools established by the Jesuits in the early modern period, and their success.[121] This is not being disputed nor challenged here; neither is this study an examination of Jesuit schooling as a whole. Instead, this thesis focuses on the extent to which

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[120] It should be noted here that the production of social capital is not unique to humanist education, nor is that one of the arguments here; social capital and social networks are inevitable by-products of any form of elite education, or indeed any institutionalised schooling in general. What makes humanist schooling unique, however, is the fact that the curriculum was almost identical across Europe, and therefore the social capital it produced had the potential to be much more far-reaching, which was nonetheless somewhat curtailed by the confessional nature of schooling in early modern Europe. This resulted in men who were equipped with the same skills, but trained to employ them towards different confessional ends. For more information on this, see 'Chapter Three'.

[121] The literature on Jesuit education, from its inception to its reach, is extensive. For general information about the Jesuit ministry of teaching, see: John J. Callahan, *Discovering a Sacred World: Ignatius Loyola's Spiritual Exercises and Its Influence on Education* (Denver: Regis University, 1997); Christopher Chapple, ed., *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-Year Perspective* (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 1993); Ladislaus Lukacs, *Church, Culture, and Curriculum: Theology and Mathematics in the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 1999); William J. O'Brien, ed., *Jesuit Education and the Cultivation of Virtue* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990); John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005); and Paul F. Grendler, *Jesuit Schools and Universities in Europe: 1548-1773* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

For studies about the Jesuits in Poland, some of the more influential works include: Ludwik Grzebień ed., *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564-1995* [Encyclopaedia of Jesuit activity on Polish and Lithuanian soil 1564-1995] (Krakow, 1996); Bronisław Natoński, *Humanizm jezuicki i teologia pozytywno-kontrowersyjna od XVI do XVIII wieku* [Jesuit humanism and positively controversial theology from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century] (Krakow, 2003); Ludwik Piechnik, *Powstanie i rozwój jezuickiej Ratio Studiorum (1548-1599)* [The Origin and Development of the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum (1548-1599)] (Krakow, 2003).

the Jesuit curriculum was humanist, and whether it was successful in educating the Aristotelian 'political animal', or, more kindly, the active man of civic action with a strong Catholic outlook. The first question, 'Was the curriculum humanist?' has been answered many times over, and the available literature is unanimous in its verdict: it was.

John W. O'Malley gives a detailed overview of the similarities between the Renaissance humanist secondary schools and the Jesuit curriculum, both of which were founded on the same classical principles, with the same mixture of Christian doctrine and *pietas*.[122] He also notes that as Europe became more divided confessionally, Jesuit education itself became more confessional, and as a result more conservative.[123] This supports the argument that forms the core of this thesis: humanism was common to most early modern schools (Jesuit or not), and yet the graduates, although equipped with the same knowledge and the same skills, were also trained to further the aims of their respective religious groups. Similarly, David Tuohy argues that the Jesuits emphasised the 'formation of the person,' the 'moral development,' and the 'common good' as the main aims of the ministry of teaching.[124] In fact, writing to King Philip II of Spain (r.1556-1598) in 1556, Pedro de Ribadeneyra S. J. (1527-1611) was adamant that 'all the well-being of Christianity and of the whole world depends on the proper education of youth.'[125] Undoubtedly, the Jesuits took their mission seriously, but they could not ignore the confessional needs of the society they were bound to serve.

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[122] John W. O'Malley, "How Humanistic is the Jesuit Tradition: From the 1599 Ratio Studiorum to Now," in *Jesuit Education 21: Conference Proceedings on the Future of Jesuit Higher Education*, ed. Martin R. Tripole (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2000): 189-201. For more information on the importance and meaning of *pietas* to humanist education see 'Chapter Two'.

[123] O'Malley, "How Humanistic is the Jesuit Tradition," 198.

[124] David Tuohy, 'Learning to Love the World as God Loves It: Jesuit Humanism in Education,' *An Irish Quarterly Review* 104, no. 414 (2015): 196.

[125] Pedro de Ribadeneyra, quoted in Eire, *Reformations*, 425.

However, the Jesuits differed in one significant aspect from the Protestant humanist schools in the fact that they offered entirely free education to anyone who was willing to put in the time and effort.[126] This ensured that, in exchange for educating the young as promised, the Jesuits grew rapidly both in popularity and in influence.[127] Because they educated boys from all walks of life, they had the trust of the commoners as well as of the nobility, which often resulted in conversions of entire families back to Catholicism.[128] In Poland, where Calvinism was on the rise in the sixteenth century, the Jesuits (with tacit support of the King) were able to return Poland, almost fully, to the Catholic fold. The number of Jesuits around the world also increased partly thanks to the popularity of the schools, and they went from 1,000 in 1556 to 13,000 by 1615.[129]

Recently, Paul F. Grendler examined Jesuit schools and universities in Europe. His study shows how centralised and well-organised Jesuit education was from the outset, owing to excellent communication.[130] Grendler details the curriculum and pedagogical practices of Jesuit schools, but he does not touch on the rivalry between Protestants and Catholics, which

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[126] Eire, *Reformations*, 452. In fact, the motto on the gates to the Roman college was 'School of Grammar, Humanities, and Christian Doctrine, Free.'

[127] The Jesuits did not shy away from political involvement. In Poland, the Jesuit Piotr Skarga (preacher to King Sigismund III) wrote and published a political treatise called *Kazania Sejmowe* (The Sejm Sermons) in 1597. In them, he sharply criticised the nobility, the tolerance of other religions, and what he saw as ungodly laws. Skarga was also involved in the drafting of the articles of the Unia Brzeska (Union of Brześć) (1596) which divorced the Greek Orthodox Church within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the patriarchate in Constantinople, and brought it under the jurisdiction of Rome as the Uniate Church, or the Greek Catholic Church. This was a very politically-calculated move, as it insulated Poland-Lithuania from Russia's influence over its Eastern subjects, ensuring their loyalty in case of (another) conflict. In England, especially after Elizabeth's coronation, the Jesuits opened clandestine school services and networks to support England's Catholic population, who were now in danger. They also wrote political treatises which claimed that Catholics in England were the only true subjects, as they alone maintained the only true faith (*A True, Sincere, and Modest Defense of English Catholics*, 1584), implicitly arguing that, if Elizabeth continued to push Protestantism, her Catholic subjects would not be required to accept her authority. The Jesuits were not the only politically-involved religious group. The Calvinist John Knox wrote similar treatises from a Calvinist perspective, railing against the authority of both Mary I of England, and Mary Queen of Scots in his native land. *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* was a scathing critique of both Catholic rulers. However, it was rather unfortunately published in 1558, just after Mary Tudor's death and Elizabeth's ascension to the English throne—which earned Knox nothing but mistrust from the new Queen.

[128] Eire, *Reformations*, 454.

[129] Eire, *Reformations*, 452.

[130] Paul F. Grendler, *Jesuit Schools and Universities in Europe: 1548-1773* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 11.

led to the establishment of the ministry of teaching. On the other hand, Robert Schwickerath addresses this in his 1903 study of Jesuit education. His work, however, seems more polemical than academically honest, as he suggests that Protestants, particularly in England, were unable to rise to the intellectual challenge of the age and provide a truly humanist education to their students, while the Jesuits excelled.[131] And yet, there have not been any systematic studies comparing the two systems and their effects to date.[132] Consequently, I focus on the shared educational practices and confessional legacies of the two systems.

Thesis Structure

This study enters a field that cannot by any means be considered understudied, although scholarly interest in the history of early modern education has been steadily declining since the 1980s. However, as noted above, this study differs substantially from previous scholarship in its essential make-up. Its primary hypothesis is that the effects and efficacy of an educational system can only be assessed through an examination of its products in comparison with its aims. I follow a three-step approach, focusing on theory, practice, and the lives and teachings of four graduate students, to determine whether and to what extent the schooling of these students shaped them in the image of humanist success. This thesis is therefore divided into three research chapters, employing a wide variety of primary sources.

Chapter One is an analysis of some of the main humanist educational treatises, starting with the first ever such work by Pier Paolo Vergerio (1369-1444), *The Character and*

[131] Robert Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education: History and Principles* (1903), 72-76.

[132] As mentioned above in n. 65, Magdalena Kuran has pointed out this gap in scholarship, arguing that Jesuit schooling played a significant role in keeping Europe intellectually united in spite of its confessional divisions.

Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth (1402/3). The selection also includes works by Erasmus, Richard Mulcaster, Roger Ascham, and the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599. This selection offers a broad view of the humanist educational tradition, and allows for a comparison of early ideas, as well as their later Protestant and Catholic permutations. The first chapter closes with a discussion of the impact of humanism on European social and cultural consciousness via a short assessment of the literary products of the period.

Chapter Two is an examination of Latin terminology of education and teaching, as well as a breakdown and explanation of humanist values, such as *virtus* and *pietas*. The chapter then focuses on humanist teachers (Edward Grant, Richard Mulcaster, and the Jesuits), and the practices they employed in the classroom. This allows me to determine whether the methods were appropriately selected for the delivery of the professed aims of the movement.

In Chapter Three, I focus on the careers and teachings of four men who received a humanist education in their youth. I look at two Protestants: Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), the eventual Bishop of Chichester, and Richard Neile (1562-1640), the Archbishop of York and Primate of England; and two Jesuit Catholics: Mateusz Bembus (1567-1645), court preacher to King Sigismund III; and Kasper Drużbicki (1590-1662), the Jesuit Provincial of Poland, and a celebrated mystic and ascetic theologian. Through a classical rhetorical analysis of their writings, I am able to trace the skills and qualities that their humanist schools aimed to teach them. This chapter also allows for an analysis of the confessional elements in the careers and teachings of these men, which in turn supports the argument that, although humanist curricula from Italy through England to Poland were built on the same principles, both Catholics and Protestants interpreted them through their respective religious lenses. In

the end, then, their teachings, though expressed in the same humanist 'language', aimed to celebrate starkly different aspects of early modern religious life.

Methodology

In the first instance, this is a comparative study, aiming to illuminate similarities and differences between independent (Protestant) schools and Jesuit colleges. As Anthony Grafton points out, comparative scholarship emerged out of humanism and philological studies in the early modern period,[133] which suggests that the humanists examined in this thesis would have themselves been aware of the cross-fertilisation of intellectual fields across geographical regions. This makes comparison an appropriate vantage point from which to approach humanist education, and minimises the risk of anachronistic projection. As a result, the first chapter is dedicated to a comparative analysis of educational theories and curricula.

The humanists were selected based on their relevance to the movement as a whole and to the individual schools under investigation: Vergerio wrote the first humanist educational treatise; Bruni was one of the most influential humanists of his time, due to his historical work and his civic engagement as Chancellor of Florence; Piccolomini became Pope Pius II, and exerted a lot of influence on Catholic humanists in Poland through his correspondence with the Chancellor of the Jagiellonian University (Krakow Academy); Battista Guarino (1434-1503) was educated by his father, Guarino Veronese, and was a teacher himself; Erasmus, 'The Prince of Humanists', was influential among both Protestants

[133] Anthony Grafton, "Comparisons Compared: A Study in the Early Modern Roots of Cultural History," in *Regimes of Comparatism: Frameworks of Comparison in History, Religion and Anthropology*, ed. Renaud Gagné, Simon Goldhill and Geoffrey E. R. Lloyd (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 34. Comparison was in fact so important to Renaissance scholarship that it is what allowed Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) to discredit the *Donation of Constantine*, and eventually divorce the influential *Rhetorica ad Herennium* from Cicero's authorship—although this in itself is still being somewhat disputed, and in the absence of another author, the *Rhetorica* still appears in lists of Cicero's works; as it does in Thomas M. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 49.

and Catholics, and was a prolific writer of educational, literary, and religious texts; Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) was not an educator, but *The Book of the Courtier* (1528) was hugely popular among the reading public of early modern Europe, including humanist teachers; Roger Ascham was a tutor to King Edward VI (r.1547-1553) and to Queen Elizabeth I; Richard Mulcaster was instrumental in elevating the status of English as a literary language; and the Jesuits dominated Catholic education until the Order's suppression in 1773.[134]

Secondly, this thesis is based on reception theory—more specifically on the idea that Renaissance humanism was in itself a reception of the Classics, particularly in its commitment to public life,[135] and also in the numerous classical literary forms adopted by Renaissance humanists, including the familiar letter, the dialogue, and the *sententiae* or *gnomai*. It is this affinity for classical form and the excellence that the humanists saw in it that formed the 'horizon of expectations', which in turn determined the overall interpretation of the classical past and shaped it into Renaissance humanism. Nonetheless, I do not suggest that the received object (in this case the classical rhetorical and educational tradition) is fixed; but rather see it as a dynamic event subject to outside influence, which is reflected in the Christian aspect of Renaissance humanism. This is based on Hans Robert Jauss's argument that readers' responses to texts are substantially coloured by the backdrop against which they are read; hence we see classical texts being (re)interpreted (or to use a Jaussian term, 'enriched'), and therefore seen as full of moral truths that were either explicitly Christian, or that could be interpreted as Christian.[136] Likewise, classical pedagogical methods, as

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[134] The *Ratio Studiorum* actually remained in use in Jesuit schools until 1832.

[135] James I. Porter, "Reception Studies: Future Prospects," in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, ed. Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray (Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell/Wiley, 2007), 480.

[136] Hans Robert Jauss, *Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory*, trans. Timothy Bahti. Excerpted in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 1407-08.

prescribed by, for example, Quintilian, were adapted to fit the circumstances in which schools needed to Christianise their students. Consequently, humanist pedagogical theory is treated here as a reception of the classical educational tradition, and therefore a revival and continuation of classical pedagogical practices, with an element of Christian revisionism. This is especially useful in chapters two and three. Chapter Two is concerned with the philological connection between Renaissance education and Classical philosophy by examining words pertaining to education and teaching, as well as the qualities of the 'ideal man', which were largely lifted from Cicero and Quintilian. The sources used in this chapter are the same as above, in addition to a poem by Edward Grant on the importance of raising virtuous children, which accompanies his translation of an essay by Plutarch (46-c.119 CE), 'The Education of Children'; and excerpts from an English translation of the *Monumenta Paedagogica* collection, translated and edited by Cristiano Casalini and Claude Pavur, S. J.

Chapter Three is mainly a rhetorical analysis of a selection of sermons and writings by the four men mentioned above.[137] This analysis is based on the classical rhetorical models of Cicero and Aristotle (384-322 BCE), to show that humanist students were able to internalise and then use the classical knowledge and wisdom that they learned in school. The sources used in chapter three are sermons and devotional writings, which were selected to highlight the confessional nature of early modern schooling, which in itself was partly the result of the circumstances of Europe in this period (and also worked to ensure a loyal base of

[137] As this thesis is not a study of the pedagogical uses of classical rhetorical theory specifically, the analysis in chapter three is limited to Cicero and Aristotle, and follows only rhetorical figures and aspects of oratory such as *inventio*, *elocutio*, and *actio*.

dutiful subjects through religious education). Moreover, Henry Kamen,[138] Rosamund Oates,[139] and Peter McCullough[140] all write about the importance of sermons in influencing public opinion, which, although it is not the central argument of this study, was nonetheless one of the main tenets of humanism as a whole.

I also rely on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social capital. According to Bourdieu, social capital is made up of 'connections' or networks which can then be used to further the interests of group members, and exclude non-members from a similar experience.[141] Furthermore, Jean-Louis Fabiani asserts that 'the simplest definition of social capital is based on … belonging to a collective entity, provided … it can be activated and recognized in a given system of relations.'[142] Humanist schools provided not only access to social networks but also the linguistic tools with which to activate them. Social capital can therefore be considered an intended by-product of humanist schooling. Humanism depended on networks, such as the *res-publica literaria*, for the sharing of knowledge and influence through political and religious alliances and interventions.

From the very beginning of humanism, 'networking' was an important aspect of the movement. For example, Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna (1343-1408), a transitional

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[138] Kamen, *Early Modern European Society*, 222-29. According to Kamen, because of the low levels of overall literacy, the pulpit became the main source of information for the public. Moreover, it was consciously used to mould public opinion, particularly from the sixteenth century onwards. As composition was an important part of humanist schooling (more on this in 'Chapter Two' below), humanist graduates would have been uniquely skilled in composing sermons using the full range of effective rhetorical techniques. This would have made their sermons engaging and compelling, in order to avoid the congregation slipping into boredom (as Kamen also points out was common at the beginning of the sixteenth century).

[139] Rosamund Oates, 'Sermons and Sermon-going in Early Modern England,' *Reformation* 17 (2012): 199-212. Oates points out that the most important thing about early modern sermons was their effect on the public; she also suggests that historians should look at how preachers endeavoured to engage their congregations, which this study attempts to do through a rhetorical analysis of sermons. Oates also highlights the significance of Lancelot Andrewes's printed sermons (*XCIV Sermons*) which were used by other preachers as a manual, 206.

[140] Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[141] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. E. Richardson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241-58.

[142] Jean-Louis Fabiani, *Pierre Bourdieu: A Heroic Structuralism* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 65.

figure between scholastic and humanist grammar studies, counted among his friends the poet Petrarch; and among his pupils none other than Vergerio, as well as Guarino Veronese, the famous Italian humanist teacher—who himself taught another important theorist and teacher (his son, Battista Guarino).[143] Gasparino Barzizza (1360-1431) was another early humanist, who taught the polymath Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), and possibly Vittorino da Feltre (1373-1446), at the University of Padua.[144] Coluccio Salutati, mentioned above as the discoverer of Cicero's complete *Epistulae ad Familiares*, was the teacher of Leonardo Bruni; and moreover both men held the position of Chancellor of Florence in their lifetimes. Further still, Poggio Bracciolini wrote in his 1416 letter to the teacher Guarino Veronese, that he would have sent him a copy of Quintilian's *Principles of Oratory*, but he had to send one to Bruni first, and could not satisfy them both.[145] I have already spoken of the connections between Erasmus, More, and Colet, and the Polish humanists, Łaski and Frycz Modrzewski, not to mention the swathes of Jesuit correspondence and networks across the world, from Latin America to Japan. Additionally, Anthony Grafton details the epistolary friendship between John Caius (1510-1573) and Conrad Gessner (1516-1565); this connection is particularly interesting, as the two men never met in person.[146]

Taking into account how widespread and important social networks were to the humanists, it is possible to argue, as I do here, that cultivating these networks through education (for example, through the teaching of collaboration and social responsibility),[147] was one of the aims of the movement, just as it was one of its earliest symptoms. It is

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143 Keith Percival, 'Grammar, Humanism, and Renaissance Italy,' *Mediterranean Studies* 16 (2007): 99.

144 Percival, 'Grammar, Humanism, and Renaissance Italy,' 100.

145 King, *Renaissance Humanism*, 32.

146 Anthony Grafton, 'Philological and Artisanal Knowledge Making in Renaissance Natural History: A Study in Cultures of Knowledge,' *History of Humanities* 3, no. 1 (2018): 39-55.

147 For more information on the centrality of collaboration and social responsibility, see the sections on Roger Ascham and Richard Mulcaster in 'Chapter One'.

important to remember that humanism emerged in a society reliant on patronage, particularly in the arts and episcopal appointments, and therefore social networks designed to further the shared interests of the whole group should not be regarded as an entirely new phenomenon, but rather as having entered its institutionalised phase through education. On the other hand, it is also possible that many of the humanist connections mentioned here developed organically, by virtue of people sharing similar experiences and interests, rather than by design of school authorities. However, the fact remains that, whether organic or not, the social networks essentially depended on educational institutions for the opportunity to spring into existence.

This thesis is also a study of the transmission of knowledge in early modern schools. Writing about transmission of culture and technology in the Greek Dark Ages (1100-750 BCE), Kenneth S. Sacks points out that implicit in the word 'transmission' is a one-directional flow of knowledge and ideas, which comes with the presumption that the transmitter has the knowledge and skills, upon which the receiver is intellectually dependent.[148] For Sacks, this assumption is problematic, and in the context of his research—material culture in the Dark Ages and the Archaic Period—his criticism makes sense. In education, however, particularly pre-modern (read: pre-child-centred) pedagogy, the word 'transmission', and its implicit power dynamic between transmitter and receiver, becomes a lot less problematic. Teachers are, as a rule, the ones with the knowledge and skills, while the students are, by definition, intellectually dependent on the teacher. This is not to say, however, that participation in education is entirely one-sided; nor was it so in the Renaissance. Nonetheless, it does mean that the flow of information remains one-directional.

[148] Kenneth S. Sacks, "Who Markets Ideas? Elite and Non-elite Transmission of Culture and Technology," in *Cultural Contact and Appropriation in the Axial-Age Mediterranean World: A Periplos*, ed. Kenneth S. Sacks and Baruch Halpern (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 216-17.

Consequently, I treat the transmission of knowledge in early modern schools as proceeding from the teacher to the student via a set of specifically-designed teaching methods, with varying degrees of success.

Perhaps most importantly, however, this thesis uses as its interpretive framework the confessionalization thesis developed by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhardt in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Schilling and Reinhardt developed their concept as an interpretive tool for the period between the 1555 Peace of Augsburg and the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).[149] It was originally developed for German history; however, it has since been used as an analytical framework for other European places too. The concept highlights this period in history as a time when the three main confessions (Lutheran, Catholic, and Reformed) focused on strengthening their respective society's commitment to their faith through social, cultural, and political means, such as education, court sermons, and devotional writings—the main foci of this thesis. The Jesuits, through their developed networks of schools and other ministries, were particularly important and successful in confession-building. This is especially true for Poland, where they dominated not only the education sector, but also the pulpits of the royal courts. Similarly in England, during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when the state was consolidating its religion, schools and universities played a vital role in inching the country ever closer to a 'softer' version of Calvinism and away from Catholic-like ritual. The faith was then maintained through the extensive social networks which originated in schools and universities, as well as through preaching, and the dissemination of devotional works such as *The Private Devotions*

[149] For more information about the 'confessionalization' thesis see Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'The Concept of "Confessionalization": a Historical Paradigm in Dispute,' *Memoria y Civilización* 4 (2001): 93-114; Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Wasler Smith, 'Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555-1870,' *The Journal of Modern History* 63 (March 1997): 77-101; and Wolfgang Reinhardt, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State. A Reassessment,' *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 383-404.

of Lancelot Andrewes (1647). The aim of this study is to demonstrate that, despite confessional differences, humanist schools were successful in equipping their students with a largely uniform toolkit, which they then used in the confessionalization process.

Chapter One

What's in a theory? Humanist educational precepts and their social and cultural impact.

Introduction

As mentioned in the previous section, I follow the definition set out by Kristeller, and therefore treat humanism as an educational system composed of the *studia humanitatis*: history, literature, rhetoric, grammar, and moral philosophy. I maintain that the curriculum, or program of study, was designed to teach the active man of public affairs, but was used by schools for confession-building. It was also used to furnish students not only with specific moral values, but also with the skills to put them into practice in the public sphere.

The purpose of this chapter is to establish a common thread in the objectives and programs of various humanist educators. For the sake of clarity, I survey each writer separately at first, followed by an analysis and a discussion of the main threads and their possible cultural and social effects. The discussion is focused on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social capital and the humanist code of conduct and rhetorical style in the context of literature and religion.

Italian Humanists

The following four men and their signature educational treatises have been selected for this chapter, because they are widely acknowledged to be the most important and the most influential theoretical developments that emerged from the early humanist movement.[150]

[150] Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ix.

According to Craig W. Kallendorf, the editor and translator of the four treatises, the popularity of these texts is nothing new, and can be traced back to the Renaissance itself, where they already exerted a substantial influence on contemporary thinkers.[151] Various points of commonality between the early Italian writers and later northern humanists are noted as they arise.

Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444): *The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth* (1402-1403)

Vergerio was born in 1370 in Capodistria; he spent his life studying and teaching the arts, medicine, and law. In his treatise, *The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth*, he focuses on the moral values of good education, as well as the classic humanist idea of improving one's character through carefully selected and appropriately delivered programs of study. This was later taken up by historians such as Jacob Burckhardt, and to a certain extent, the literary historian Stephen Greenblatt, in his influential volume, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare.* It is important to note that Vergerio's program emphatically states that the purpose of education is not to produce scholars, but active and virtuous men of affairs, giving humanist education an explicit political dimension. More specifically, the purpose of education was to produce an educated elite made up of princes and the nobility, who were to be furnished with the knowledge and character necessary for civic duty. The express wish of Vergerio was that education should aim to teach virtue and to instil in students an appetite for success and glory in public life.

One of Vergerio's key ideas is that those who were blessed with an intellect and a good countenance should not be allowed to waste their gifts—more so if they happened to

[151] Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ix.

come from the nobility. He proclaims that those 'to whom nature has given an intellect worthy of free men should not be allowed to languish in sloth nor be caught up in illiberal affairs.'[152] This thread runs through a number of humanist authors discussed here.

Vergerio also ties moral excellence to public influence and inspiration, arguing that those men who are 'a living effigy and an example of virtue that is still breathing'[153] will be sure to stir profound feelings of inspiration in anybody who comes into contact with them. Vergerio might not have literally meant that virtue could in fact be so inspirational on its own, but rather this idea may have been used as a way of attracting the young Ubertino da Carrara to the liberal arts by convincing him he would become an inspiration to others—as any good humanist ruler should. This is also a display of Vergerio's own skill in rhetoric, as he effectively uses hyperbole to make his point.

Something that is common to a number of writers here is the importance of good teaching. Vergerio makes it clear that morality cannot be taught by a teacher who lacks virtue and knowledge, and who is of corrupt character.[154] Furthermore, he acknowledges that teachers also need to be able to recognise that not all children are the same, and therefore that not all of them learn in the same way.[155] This was later taken up by Erasmus, Ascham, and Mulcaster, which suggests that indeed Vergerio's treatise was widely influential, even if he was not the first to stress these aspects (which he probably got from Quintilian).

On literary study, Vergerio is adamant that literature and books, if nothing else, offer a great respite from daily affairs, and moreover, borrowing from Cicero, he suggests they make

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[152] Pier Paolo Vergerio, *The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-born Youth*, 9. In Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 2-91.

[153] Vergerio, *Character and Studies*, 13. More on the centrality of *virtus* (virtue) to humanism in 'Chapter Two'.

[154] Vergerio, *Character and Studies*, 19-23.

[155] Vergerio, *Character and Studies*, 31.

a 'happy family'.[156] As he continues to establish a program of study, he turns to moral philosophy and history, which are excellent examples of the two types of wisdom common to all humanist teaching: *prudentia* and *sapientia* respectively. Philosophy, he says, gives men the knowledge of what is right and wrong, and how things work for different types of people, which teaches *prudentia*;[157] while in history, students will find examples of choices made by real people, and their effects, which should help to prepare them to make their own moral decisions in the future, thus teaching *sapientia*.[158] Rounding off the main liberal arts is eloquence, which, as an integral part of civics, was especially important to those entering politics, the court or the pulpit. For Vergerio, it is important to speak truthfully with correct moral views, but also with 'weight and polish', to inspire men to 'act as well as possible'.[159] This is what Hanna Gray describes as true eloquence, and what was defended by Erasmus in the *Adagia.* As we will see below, true eloquence was one of the main objectives of most of the humanist writers examined here.

Finally, Vergerio does not neglect the body, as the humanists believed that body and mind were inseparable, and that a healthy body meant a healthy mind which was more ready to learn. He describes a detailed program for training in arms, gymnastics, and horse riding. He also mentions music and art in general. All of those aspects figure prominently in Mulcaster, Ascham, and the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum.*

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156 Vergerio, *Character and Studies*, 45.

157 *Prudentia* comes from the word *providentia*, meaning 'foresight', where the prefix *pro* means 'in front of' and *-videntia* comes from *video*, *-ere*, 'to see'. Therefore somebody who possessed *prudentia* would be able to have the foresight to see how things might turn out. Whereas *sapientia* comes from *sapio*, *-ere*, 'to taste' or 'to have sense', which implies active decision-making inherent in *sapientia*.

158 Vergerio, *Character and Studies*, 49. The two concepts are closely linked to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, in which he differentiates between the Socratic *sophia* (wisdom) and *phronesis* (practical wisdom). *Phronesis*, often translated as 'prudence', is actually much closer to the humanist concept of *sapientia*, which encompasses things learned by action, or history, and applied correctly in real life, like Aristotle's practical wisdom. The humanist *prudentia* is closer to the Socratic *sophia*, which is abstract wisdom to be gleaned from philosophy.

159 Vergerio, *Character and Studies*, 49.

Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444): *The Study of Literature* (1424)

Leonardo Bruni was the best-selling author of the fifteenth century. One of the leading humanist scholars, he was involved in efforts to normalise the emulation of Italy's classical past in the hopes that it would bring back its former glories.[160] He is perhaps best known for developing new standards of historical study, which he used in his seminal work, *History of the Florentine People* (1442). Bruni was also a stand-out political figure. As Chancellor of Florence, a position in which he succeeded his teacher Coluccio Salutati, he defended and consolidated the Florentine Republic's civic humanism. He also defended Salutati in print after the latter came under fire for his interpretation of Socratic philosophy.[161] Moreover, having studied Greek (like Guarino Veronese) with Manuel Chrysoloras (1355-1415), Bruni was one of the first Italian humanists to translate Plato into Latin.[162] *The Study of Literature* focuses on which authors to read and how to read them.

Unusually, Bruni's work is dedicated to a woman, Lady Battista Malatesta da Montefeltro, which profoundly affects the content of the treatise. As a result, Bruni only discusses literature which, in his opinion, befits a lady's character, without corrupting her undeniably weaker mind. Nonetheless, he seemed to have great hopes for Lady Battista, as he at least took the time to establish a program of study for her—however abridged. Where humanists were quite conservative with their praise when writing to male would-be rulers (Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince*), Bruni did not hold back when it came to

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160 Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, xi.

161 James Hankins, "Socrates in the Italian Renaissance," in *Socrates from Antiquity to the Enlightenment,* ed. M. B. Trapp (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006), 185.

162 James Hankins, "Socrates in the Italian Renaissance," 185-88.

outright flattery, which immediately signalled a departure from the usual mode of humanist discourse customary in dedicatory letters.[163]

Deviating from the 'norm' of humanist educational treatises, Bruni moves away from a focus on rhetoric and towards a more religious literary corpus. Undoubtedly, this is because the intended audience was female, and so not suited to a life which might require the full spectrum of rhetorical skill, but rather one which should be devoted to religion through contemplative piety, as championed by the humanists. This is not to say that he did not recommend any rhetorical study, but, as Virginia Cox has pointed out, he was focused on writing skills and communication, which were nonetheless indirectly associated with rhetoric, even if they were removed from rhetoric's political aspects.[164] The main tenet of this treatise is that ancient texts should be read as models of practical wisdom, but also used like a phrase-book, or *sententiae*, in order to facilitate efficient and clear communication.

Bruni suggests that the lady should read ancient female writers such as Cornelia, Sappho, and Aspasia for encouragement and inspiration. In terms of studies in eloquence, morality, and piety, Bruni insists that the lady should read St. Augustine, Jerome, St. Basil the Great, Cicero, and Virgil, followed by Livy and Sallust.[165] Importantly, he does not mention Horace, which is unusual insofar as Horace is perhaps the one poet that appears in treatise after treatise elsewhere. One reason for this might be that Horace's poems were very political —particularly his satires—which might have been seen as quick to corrupt a less-discerning (read: female) intellect. Bruni mentions the great poets as must-reads, among them Homer

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163 Bruni, *The Study of Literature*, 93.
164 Cox, 'Leonardo Bruni on Women and Rhetoric,' 57-58.
165 Bruni, *The Study of Literature*, 99.

and Hesiod; in fact, he suggests that those who have not read the poets are somehow 'maimed' as far as literature is concerned.[166]

Bruni concludes that it is religion and moral philosophy that ought to be the chief subjects of study for an 'intellect that aspires to the best', and the other subjects should be their 'handmaids', which would 'aid or illustrate their meaning'.[167] In this, he differs again from other humanists, who see literature and history as the greatest classical subjects, with religion being the lens through which to view them.

Aeneas Piccolomini (1405-1464): *The Education of Boys* (1450)

Piccolomini was born into a Sienese family of eighteen children, of which he was the eldest. He studied at the University of Siena and later found employment on the Council of Basel, after which he found himself the secretary to the last antipope, Felix V. Eventually, he became the Cardinal of Siena, until, completing his spiritual journey from a young man opposed to papal authority to a deeply pious man, he finally became Pope Pius II.

The Education of Boys was written for Ladislaus V of Hungary and I of Bohemia, and Duke of Austria; it is divided into two parts, one dealing with the physical education of the body (similar to Vergerio), and the other with the education of the mind. Perhaps rather predictably for a then-Bishop, he examines religious education first, followed by suggestions about reading, study materials, and habits. All learning, however, is subordinated to grammar: correct modes of speech; the reading of authors known for their eloquence; and writing pieces modelled on the exercise of *imitatio.* Piccolomini emphasises the importance of rhetoricians, poets, historians, and moral philosophers, but he is also quick to distinguish

[166] Bruni, *The Study of Literature*, 113.
[167] Bruni, *The Study of Literature*, 123.

between those with harmless ideas, and those who may be interpreted as advancing pagan values, thereby corrupting the young mind—showing the Christian revisionism characteristic of Renaissance humanists.[168] In a slight deviation from the humanist ideal, Piccolomini stretches his program of education to include some knowledge in geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy, the subjects reminiscent of the medieval scholastic *trivium* and *quadrivium*—but not too much.

Piccolomini, like Vergerio, is clearly indebted to Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, in which he delineates the Roman system of education in detail. This included physical activity, as well as rhetoric and geometry. Piccolomini also emphasises the importance of a good teacher, who is either learned, which he acknowledges to be 'the better situation'—or who at least knows that he is not learned.[169] This wish for self-awareness is a recurring theme in humanist discourse, and was lauded back in 1345 by Petrarch in his letter to Cicero.

In terms of the physical appearance of an educated boy, posture is everything for Piccolomini, as it conveys strength and elegance at the same time.[170] Posture is seen as being capable of rendering a person more persuasive in speech and more agreeable in nature. Piccolomini also encourages competition among friends, the practice of which he sees as particularly fitting for princes in preparation of leading in battle.[171] Here we can see the expressly political aims of humanist education.

One of the most important parts of this treatise is the program of reading, which has been divided into stages depending on the student's abilities. Piccolomini enters into a kind of dialogue with ancient educators on the question of the age at which boys should begin their

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[168] Aeneas Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 213-25. In Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 126-259.
[169] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 135.
[170] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 141.
[171] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 141.

studies. He points out that opinion has always differed, with Hesiod recommending starting study by the age of seven, while Aristophanes and Quintilian argued that no time of life should be passed without study.[172] He maintains that the age of students is immaterial, however, as long as they read Cicero, Julius Caesar, and the poets, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and Juvenal—in other words, the usual suspects. Unlike Bruni, Piccolomini does not recommend Sappho, as he sees her writing as far too effeminate, and therefore not suitable for boys.[173] It is clear, therefore, that the humanists certainly did not think that boys and girls ought to read the same material.

The other significant aspect of this treatise is Piccolomini's treatment of speech—more specifically, the aforementioned wisdom *in* style, or true eloquence. He elaborates on this at length, starting with what makes speech *just right*, rather than too arrogant, humble, haughty, or plain. He says the recipe for perfect speech comprises grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, and philosophy, as well as morality.[174] Here again we can see the distinction between two different types of wisdom; and indeed in the original Latin, Piccolomini clearly distinguishes between the two. He says, 'let pertinacity be absent from your disputes; let prudence [*prudentia* in the original] conquer and reason hold sway.'[175] Here, prudence refers to the ability to tell good from bad. Further on, he continues, '[in a dispute] when one becomes enraged, far wiser [*sapientiorem* from *sapientia* in the original] is the one who curbs his tongue.'[176] In this case, the wise person knows when to stop. This shows that humanists clearly distinguished between cold knowledge of right and wrong, and the ability to always

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[172] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 163.
[173] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 223.
[174] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 177-79.
[175] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 177.
[176] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 177.

make the right choice in practice—practical wisdom. It also calls to mind other elements crucial in effective rhetorical practice: moderation, discipline, and control.

Battista Guarino (1435-1513): *A Program of Teaching and Learning* (1459)

Battista Guarino, born in 1434, was the youngest son of Guarino Veronese (1374-1460), the famous humanist teacher. Battista Guarino was educated by his father in Ferrara, where the elder Guarino was in charge of the education of the ruling Este family. The younger Guarino, (henceforth Guarino), wrote this famous treatise on returning to Ferrara, after two years as Chair of Rhetoric at the University in Bologna. The work is based on his father's teaching methods, and therefore serves as a good example not only of a hypothetical program of study but also of actual teaching methods, as understood by one of the most celebrated educators of the humanist movement. Interestingly, it was the elder Guarino's school and his surviving lecture notes that convinced Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine of the inefficacy of the humanist curriculum and teaching philosophy. It is therefore essential to include Guarino's account in this thesis, and to re-examine it in comparison with other works, and with humanist students themselves.

A Program of Teaching and Learning is rooted in language study, particularly Latin grammar and poetic technique, such as meter. Its secondary focus is the humanist canon, divided between Latin and Greek authors. As expected, throughout the treatise Guarino puts a lot of emphasis on the importance of a good teacher, not unlike those who came before him. Furthermore, he identifies his father as the main source of inspiration behind his work.[177]

[177] Battista Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 263. In Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 260-310.

With regards to method, Guarino's first point of focus is the counterproductive nature of punishment in education. He points out that violent punishment makes students hate learning, rather than correcting their faults; he therefore recommends 'charm and flattery' with the hint of a threat of violence as a last resort.[178] In this he is not alone, as several other educators took a similar stance on punishment—most notably Ascham, Mulcaster, and Erasmus.[179] This suggests that humanists truly thought of their educational movement as an opportunity to remedy what they saw to be a fault continued over from the previous system. Yet they seem to show a degree of anxiety about their methods, as Guarino acknowledges that a no-punishment approach risks opening the door to negligence on the part of the students. However, he is painfully aware that too much punishment not only results in a hatred of learning, but drives students towards cheating as well.[180] Therefore, a teacher with bad judgement may produce students that are unlearned and dishonest: everything the humanists stood firmly against. This work, then, is partly about finding the balance between discipline and encouragement, as well as about the role of the teacher and the pupil in that process.

In teaching grammar, Guarino thought it essential that students learn the basic declinations first as the building blocks of Latin. He suggests that a good teacher should sometimes make mistakes in class to encourage his students to correct them and thereby test their knowledge, while at the same time building their confidence.[181] He then outlines some

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178 Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 267.

179 Pierre Viret (1511-1571), the Swiss Calvinist reformer and one of the key personalities of the University of Lausanne, also wrote about punishment in schools; but unfortunately for his students at the Lausanne school, he strayed from the 'less is more' philosophy of discipline propagated by Guarino and others, and followed the 'more is just fine' approach. For more information about Viret's ideas about education, see Robert Linder, 'Pierre Viret's Ideas and Attitudes Concerning Humanism and Education,' *Church History* 34, no. 1 (1965): 25-35.

180 Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 267.

181 Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 269.

exercises he sees as the most beneficial, such as both written and oral practice, to make sure that students are able to answer from memory, as well as in writing, after deliberation.[182] Unsurprisingly for a representative of the Italian humanists, Guarino puts a lot of emphasis on scansion (*scansio*) in poetry, which he states should first be learned separately, and then mastered through 'frequent reading of the poets', such as Virgil. He then focuses on the importance of Greek to the learning of prosody (*syllabarum*) in Latin, and as seems customary in humanist works, subtly mocks his detractors as 'ignorant' (*ignari*).[183] The next points of focus are *imitatio* and *declamatio* in rhetoric, and their role in learning Latin and Greek composition.[184] Guarino believed all instruction should be highly adaptive to practical ends and, moreover, that students should be active participants in their learning through continued self-directed revision, which would allow for a degree of self-fashioning.[185] This is one of the things that Grafton and Jardine disagree actually happened, as they maintain that the humanist curriculum as taught by Guarino's father could not have furnished students with enough independence to accomplish the feat of lifelong learning, because it was too focused on Latin.[186]

Guarino's Latin canon differs little from those who came before him. Among his chosen writers, we find Horace, Juvenal, Terence, Cicero, Seneca, as well as Aristotle and

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[182] Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 271.

[183] Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 277.

[184] Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 291. For rhetoric, Guarino recommends what he believed to be Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which was also used in the classroom by his father.

[185] Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 291-97

[186] The authors also note that ultimately, if Guarino Veronese's teaching was to prepare men for civil service or form their character, it would have required something 'more intellectual and less disciplined than the regimented note-taking, rote-learning, repetition and imitation in which he was engaged.' That may be so; however, in making their point, they overlook the possibility that this level of attention to detail demanded of the student would have ultimately had an impact on their character formation itself, and prepared them, at the very least, for the frequently mundane tasks required of many civil servants, then as now. This gap in reasoning on the part of the authors seems to stem from the fallacy that 'doing' is not learning; which is at odds with the humanist program, centred as it was around learning *by* 'doing'. Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, 16, 21.

Plato (for ethics and moral philosophy). He is a lover of the satirists, which again was common, some of whom, like Erasmus, engaged in satirical literature themselves (*In Praise of Folly*). For Guarino, establishing an ordered canon and a calendar for study was of utmost importance, and represented the height of moral responsibility towards one's own time and talents. He argued that it was only through focused and selective reading that the desired result could be achieved in rhetoric and morals alike, showing the practical and individualised aspects of humanism.[187]

Baldassare Castiglione (1479-1529): *Il Cortegiano* (1528)

Il Cortegiano, written by Castiglione, is crucial in the context of this thesis because, although it is not a treatise on teaching methods or materials, it is first and foremost a manual which focuses on the practical application of humanism at court. As such, it was designed to enumerate the characteristics of the courtier, which would win the courtier approval at court and possibly grant him access to the ear of the resident ruler. The book was so popular in Poland that it was adapted by Łukasz Górnicki (1527-1603) as *Dworzanin Polski* (The Polish Courtier) in 1566. The work, which Górnicki dedicated to King Sigismund II Augustus, earned him a noble title and a prestigious coat of arms. It was also a favourite of English humanists: Roger Ascham singled it out as one of the only contemporary foreign books that

[187] Battista Guarino, *A Program of Teaching and Learning*, 301-03.

should be read by Englishmen, and Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586)[188] is said to have always carried a copy of it with him wherever he travelled.[189]

One of the most important and enduring elements of *Il Cortegiano* is Castiglione's notion of *sprezzatura*, which can be translated as 'effortless charm' or 'effortless nonchalance'.[190] Similarly to Vergerio, Castiglione acknowledges that 'universal opinion' is by nature more favourably predisposed towards those of noble birth or elite status.[191] This makes the nobility ideal candidates for influential roles at court, and it is *sprezzatura* which is instrumental in gaining access to positions of authority. According to Castiglione, being born a gentleman helps to make a favourable impression, which those of low birth would 'need much effort and time' to achieve.[192]

Sprezzatura represents the humanist aesthetic in practice, as it links a strong and graceful body with presence of mind, which makes one's accomplishments appear effortless. A courtier may find himself in a position of power and influence by appearing agreeable and charming in appearance, morals, and speech.[193] Here we can see the main aims of humanist schooling at work, as the courtier is aware of how to behave and what to say, thereby ingratiating himself with the Prince—who should in turn be able to distinguish between

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[188] The book's wisdom seems to have worked remarkably well for Sidney, as he had a very successful diplomatic career at Elizabeth's court. Not only did her write personal letters to the Queen to advise her against marrying the French (Catholic) Duke of Anjou (1555-1584), the youngest Valois son; but he was also appointed the Governor of Flushing in the Netherlands (1585), where he prepared the English army for a clash with the Spanish. The incident unfortunately cost him his life, and he died at the very young age of thirty-two. He was buried about five months after his death and given the largest state funeral for a private citizen until Winston Churchill in 1965. Sidney was also rumoured to have been the Queen's 'Great Favourite'. For more information about Sidney's political life, see Alan Stewart, *Sir Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Thomas Dunne, 2001).

[189] Lawton and Gordon, *A History of Western Educational Ideas*, 60.

[190] A version of this concept actually survived until the twentieth century in Oxford (to quote British Prime Minister and Balliol College graduate, Hebert Asquith), as 'the tranquil consciousness of effortless superiority'. *Sprezzatura* is currently going through a renaissance of its own, as it figures prominently in self-help books, such as Robert Greene's bestselling *48 Laws of Power* (1997).

[191] Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano* [The Book of the Courtier] (1528), trans. and ed. by Leonard Eckstein Opdycke (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 24.

[192] Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, 24.

[193] Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, 23.

genuine counsel and flattery. Yet, the courtier is supposed to be modest, reserved, and averse to self-praise, all of which are signs of humanist learning and, more specifically, *sapientia*, control, moderation, and personal excellence.

Notably, Castiglione suggests that a 'weak' and 'limp' body is effeminate and therefore not suited for court and politics, which explains his emphasis on physical education.[194] It is also reminiscent of Piccolomini's remark that Sappho's poetry is too effeminate to be considered suitable reading for a boy. Evidently, the humanists were anxious that young students might pick up behaviours and modes of speech which would make them appear weak and therefore render them unsuitable for public office. On the other hand, as Guarino points out, a humanist graduate had to be widely read in poetry and moral philosophy, and sensitive to both his own physical and spiritual needs and those of the people around him. Again, we can see this delicate line between the strong, graceful, well-spoken, and well-read individual, and the negligent flatterer, weak in body and mind. The comparison between these texts reveals just how deeply aware the humanists were of the complexity of the task they had set for themselves.

Desiderius Erasmus (c.1467-1536)

Erasmus, born in Rotterdam, was one of the most prolific and well-known humanists of his time. He was a close friend of a number of other prominent authors and educators, including More and Colet. He enjoyed widespread influence among both Protestants and Catholics, among them Calvin and Martin Luther (1483-1546), as well as the Polish reformer, Jan Łaski. Erasmus wrote on topics ranging from education and rhetoric to church matters,

[194] Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, 29.

including a translation of the New Testament from the original Greek, published in 1516. He amassed an impressive collection of books (413 volumes of religious and classical writings), which was purchased by Łaski in 1525, and upon Erasmus's death in 1536, brought to Poland by the humanist and political theorist, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski.

It is unfortunately not possible to give a summary of all of Eramus's major works here, which number some eighty-nine volumes. Therefore, I shall examine a limited number of his works, most of which relate directly to the business of instruction and the classics.

Antibarbari (1520, 1544)

The *Antibarbari* is Erasmus's first major work. It was written between 1487 and 1488, when he was approximately twenty years old; it was originally published in 1520 and then again in 1540, with some revisions. This text is Erasmus's first attempt at a thorough defence of the liberal curriculum composed in dialogue form, modelled on Plato and Cicero. The protagonist of this work is Erasmus's friend, Jacob Batt. It was originally designed as a four-book treatise, each book dealing with a different aspect of the humanist curriculum. Book One, the only one that survives, was written in defense of the classics themselves; Book Two was supposed to be a polemic against rhetoric; Book Three was supposed to refute the arguments put forward in the previous book; and finally, Book Four was designed as a defense of poetry, possibly similar to Boccaccio's.[195]

In the *Antibarbari*, Erasmus rails against ignorance and pride and defends the classics as a body of educational texts against charges of paganism and impiety.[196] In fact, Erasmus's

[195] Boccaccio's 'Defense of Poetry' appears in Book XIV of his *De Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* [On the Genealogy of the Gods of the Gentiles] (1360) where he calls poetry a 'venerable branch of knowledge'. Excerpted in King, *Renaissance Humanism*, 15. For more details about Boccaccio's thoughts on poetry, see Elizabeth Woodbridge, 'Boccaccio's Defence of Poetry: As Contained in the Fourteenth Book of the "De Genealogia Deorum,"' *PMLA* 13, no. 3 (1898): 333-49.

[196] Desiderius Erasmus, *Antibarbari* (1520, 1544). In *CWE* 23, 48-64.

speaker, Jacob Batt, maintains that 'it was not without divine guidance that the business of discovering systems of knowledge was given to the pagans.'[197] One of the most important points made in the text is that knowledge breeds modesty, as the learned man is more likely to know what he does not know than an unlearned man.[198] Here, Erasmus is in agreement with other humanists discussed in this chapter, all of whom are convinced that proper teaching and proper study will produce a more thoughtful and kind student, one that is capable of self-knowledge, and more importantly, practical wisdom, in knowing when to step away from a discussion.

On the other hand, this text, like others by Erasmus, is itself an imitation of Plato and Cicero, and its form and language are designed to act as a defense of classical studies alongside the content of Batt's speech. Erasmus, a writer first and an educator second, takes this opportunity to showcase his own rhetorical skill, as he freely quotes from Socrates, Plato, Quintilian, and the church fathers, like Jerome and Augustine. Therefore the text's form and what it represents are its best arguments in defense of the classics. This is also evident in the persona of the speaker, Jacob Batt, whom Erasmus describes as having a composed dress, expression, and gesture; additionally, he pauses to think before beginning his speech, and as any good humanist should, he commands all the attention in the room.[199] Through this, Erasmus shows that a man learned in the classics is someone who, like Batt, can speak meaningfully in engaging, eloquent rhetoric, quoting from multiple ancient sources, all the while captivating the attention of everybody in the room. In other words, Batt represents the active and thoughtful teacher. Batt acts as an advertisement for both the teaching process and

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[197] Erasmus, *Antibarbari*, 59. This kind of defence of classical studies is typical of Christian humanism, as was seen with Piccolomini above.

[198] Erasmus, *Antibarbari*, 64.

[199] Erasmus, *Antibarbari*, 41.

the effects of humanist schooling. We are now required to speculate on the value of this work as an educational treatise, as it is visibly a work of rhetoric rather than theory. I would argue that, in the context of this thesis, the usefulness of *Antibarbari* lies in its formal arrangement and its speaker's persona, both of which reflect the message of the content.

Parabolae Sive Similia, translated as *Parallels* (1514)

I want to briefly focus on this book of aphorisms, or *sententiae*, collected by Erasmus during his preparation of the *Adagia*, printed first in 1514, and then in several different editions in the subsequent years. What is important about this text in relation to this study is its emphasis on acquiring classical wisdom and rhetorical style by reading short aphorisms, collected with no apparent order or arrangement in mind. The relative disorder of this text implies that Erasmus thought every aphorism was meaningful on its own, rather than as part of an arranged whole, which is a reflection of the general humanist idea that every ancient text is significant in its own right. The text includes parts of Plutarch's *Moralia*, among them maxims that focus on keeping the mind active so as not to let it 'rust',[200] keeping one's reputation pristine,[201] not letting one's passions influence decision-making,[202] and avoiding flattery—one of Erasmus's favourites.[203] All of the above are common themes in humanist writings. They display the familiar ideals of control, lifelong learning, and moderation—in other words, the humanist code of conduct.

Significantly, the book went through over fifty editions, mostly printed in quarto, beginning with 1514, and sometimes reduced to 'a handy form' of an octavo (1516), which

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[200] Erasmus, *Parabolae* (1514). In *CWE* 23, 140.
[201] Erasmus, *Parabolae*, 141.
[202] Erasmus, *Parabolae*, 141.
[203] Erasmus, *Parabolae,* 147.

suggests that it was seen, quite literally, as a handbook of wisdom from the ancients. The text of the *Parabolae* often accompanied the much longer text of *De Copia*, Erasmus's style textbook, showing that wisdom and style went hand in hand. It is also important to focus again on the difference between *prudentia* and *sapientia* represented by Erasmus in the collection of proverbs making up the *Adagia*, and the collection of more practical and historically-informed aphorisms in the body of the *Parabolae* respectively. The humanist commitment to differentiating between these two types of wisdom is perhaps nowhere clearer than in the existence of the two texts by Erasmus, and shows that the two were seen as different, but complementary, school subjects, requiring different reading material.

The text of the *Parabolae* is not in itself a call to humanist education, nor does it in any way represent a structured approach to teaching. Rather, it is a book meant to be carried by humanist scholars, memorised, and used as a guide to a life of wisdom and learning, as well as to wisdom in eloquence. It is significant, however, because it is a clear example of how fond the humanists were of continued self-directed learning after leaving the school gates—the popularity of the book is a testament to that. It is no coincidence that it was often printed with the style book, as the two books taken together would allow the student to have all of the wisdom worth knowing, with all of the style worth writing, at their fingertips (as according to Erasmus, at least).

De Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style (1512)

I have already mentioned this textbook several times in the course of this chapter, as it was a hugely successful and influential volume. First published in Paris in 1512 (together with *De Ratione Studii*), it was written following a request by Erasmus's friend and benefactor, John Colet. Betty Knott argues that this text is what put Erasmus on the map of humanist

educationalists from England all the way to Italy.[204] Its success was so great that it went through a number of editions in very rapid succession all over Europe, and it was adopted as a textbook in schools across Northern Europe, remaining as the definitive style book until the end of the sixteenth century.[205] Knott mentions that Erasmus quotes from both Latin and Greek writers in the text, and that he often does so from memory (not always without error). It is striking that he would prefer to quote from memory than directly from sources; however, what is significant about this is that it gives even this textbook an element of performative rhetoric, eloquence, and wisdom, both in the selection of appropriate quotes from memory (*sapientia*) and in being able to explain what makes those quotes worth memorising (*prudentia*). Thus, modern students of Erasmus's educational theory need to be aware of the ever-present performative element, which, then as now, serves as an additional argument in favour of the liberal arts curriculum.

The text itself is divided into two books: one on the abundance of expression, and the other on the abundance of subject matter. The first book comprises two hundred and six chapters, covering everything from the dangers of the abundant style to expressions on 'slowness'. Erasmus first explains the history of *copia*, its historical use, and gives examples of when it was taken too far. Some of the examples he gives include canonical writers such as Aeschylus, Virgil, and Cicero;[206] knowing that the greats also made mistakes would presumably give beginning students more confidence in their studies. Further on, Erasmus decries repetition as one of the worst vices of bad style, which is in line with the general humanist emphasis on efficiency in expression. Like Guarino before him and the Jesuits after him, Erasmus suggests here that learning the rules of composition for both poetry and prose

[204] Knott, *CWE* 24, 280-82.
[205] Knott, *CWE* 24, 283.
[206] Erasmus, *De Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style* (1512). In *CWE* 24, 299.

is essential to developing good taste in expression. He stresses particularly the importance of metre and the practice of *imitatio*, very much in the style of other humanist writers mentioned here.[207] Erasmus then spends several chapters on variety in expression, quoting various humanist favourites, among them Horace, Pliny, Cato, Terence, and Sallust.[208]

The book is very detailed, which makes its appeal to schoolmasters immediately apparent, as the text effectively does the thinking for the average teacher. Its prescriptive nature stands out among Erasmus's other works. The prescriptive and systematic approach to rhetoric in *De Copia* can also be seen in Erasmus's other famous educational work: *De Ratione Studii*, which is a detailed account of curricular models, and perhaps the closest of his works to the other humanists who appear in this chapter.

De Ratione Studii (1511, 1512, 1514)

Erasmus crystallised the ideas for *De Ratione Studii* between 1496 and 1511: first when he was teaching in Lübeck, and then further on the suggestion of Colet. It was first published in 1511 in an abridged form, and then again in 1512; finally, in 1514, it reached its final revised form.[209] He begins by reminding the reader that all knowledge can be summarised as knowledge of language and 'things'.[210] Brian McGregor points out that one of the main challenges Erasmus grapples with in this book is the issue of interpreting classical (pagan) works through a Christian lens, echoes of which are clear in the *Antibarbari* as well. One of the solutions Erasmus offers is a concise list of *probati autores*, purged of impropriety and read primarily for the richness of their style, as he is concerned with purity of language and

[207] Erasmus, *De Copia*, 303.
[208] Erasmus, *De Copia*, 309-13.
[209] Brian McGregor, *CWE* 24, 662.
[210] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii* (1512, 1512, 1514). In *CWE* 24, 666.

content. Among those whose style and subject-matter are of the highest quality, he includes Lucian, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and Caesar.[211] This is reminiscent of previous humanists who have also compiled lists of appropriate readings, most of which focus on the same authors. For the mastery of style, Erasmus suggests exercises in writing poetry, prose, and 'every sort of literary material', as well as training one's memory to systematically be able to retain and recover as much as possible, in preparation for oratory.[212]

On teaching practices, Erasmus apologises for having to repeat what Quintilian had already dealt with. Nonetheless, he goes on to stress the importance of a careful and well-learned teacher, who should 'at least know the fundamentals' of what he is going to teach.[213] For Erasmus, the teacher should have a thorough understanding of what he calls the 'encyclopaedia' of writers, regardless of how many authors he is going to teach in his career.[214] He also suggests that teachers should write down what they read, so as to always have noteworthy topics at hand; he refers back to *De Copia* where he detailed the process of note-taking.[215] In the classroom, the teacher should speak correctly with the boys, and encourage them to imitate his modes of speech, which recalls the widely admired exercise of *imitatio*.[216] Erasmus also recommends that the teacher should prepare adequate anthologies of the best aphorisms, proverbs, and figures of speech to be found in ancient writers to help students learn how to put together a winning speech.[217] He is presumably referring to anthologies styled after the *Adagia*, *Parabolae*, and *De Copia*, all of which were published

[211] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 669.
[212] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 671.
[213] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 672.
[214] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 672.
[215] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 672.
[216] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 675.
[217] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 678.

around the same time as the final edition of *De Ratione Studii*. The importance of a learned and careful teacher is one of the most common themes in humanist educational writings.

Further on, Erasmus emphasises the Christian angle of learning, and suggests reading Chrysostom, Basil, Jerome, Origen, and Ambrose, which he says should complement the reading of ancient philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, and of mythology, like the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. He then moves on to other subjects worth studying, which include geography, but only insofar as it is useful for the understanding of history; he also focuses on astronomy, agriculture, and music.[218] This makes his curricular model far more diverse than any of those discussed above; however, those subjects are only to be learned through the reading of ancient writers, not for their own merit. Therefore, it is clear that Erasmus, like the other humanists, privileges classical texts over any other approach to learning. All reading is to be done critically and historically, particularly those writers whose ideas may seem explicitly un-Christian.

Overall, one of the main things to emerge from this brief analysis of Erasmus's works is the fact that his texts seamlessly blend with one another. Where one leaves off, another one picks up, offering a more comprehensive view of education and its functions. At the same time, this revealed the popularity not only of rhetoric, but also, and perhaps more significantly, the appeal of educational thought among the reading public of the sixteenth century. Of even greater importance is a comparison between Erasmus's corpus of educational texts and those of the other humanists who also appear in this chapter. Where they seem much less concerned with the style of their own writing, Erasmus painstakingly reviews, corrects, and expands his works, making his theory and critical reflection a lot more dynamic, embodying the very ideals of lifelong learning that the humanists championed.

[218] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 673-75.

However, the richness of his style and his emphasis on perfecting his texts (as seen through multiple corrections per text) render his work more rhetorically persuasive than prescriptive, and therefore more aesthetic than methodical.

This is especially the case with *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), in which Erasmus cautions the young Prince Charles (1500-1558) (eventual Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) against flatterers, and advises him to pay attention to the subtle differences between genuine counsel and empty flattery. He instructs Charles to recognise his book as containing genuine advice, and that it was expressed in *deserved*, rather than empty, flattery. Consequently, while the book contains valuable reading recommendations, it would be a mistake to view it solely as a work of educational theory; its function was to exemplify the language of counsel and flattery that Charles should learn to trust as a future ruler. The educational ideas therefore cannot be separated from this political consideration. A similar point is made in the introduction to the Cambridge edition of the book, edited by Lisa Jardine, where the book is called a 'manual for practice',[219] while Erika Rummel calls it a work of political theory.[220] While the book's political dimension is clear, the educational value of this text lies in its reinforcement of the humanist ideal as a political stance as well as an intellectual one. An additional layer of importance is the focus on Christianity. For Erasmus, that was of course Catholicism, of which Charles was an ardent defender in his role as the Holy Roman Emperor. Humanism therefore can be seen as an intellectual tool to be

[219] Lisa Jardine, ed., "Introduction," *The Education of a Christian Prince* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xix.
[220] Rummel, *Erasmus*, 24.

used in political and religious matters—and at a time when religion and politics were often one and the same, the demarcation line often appeared blurred.[221]

On the one hand, even though some of Erasmus's texts are not explicitly educational, they demonstrate that Erasmian humanism is inherently linked to educational theory. On the other hand, it helps to reinforce why educational establishments were so uniform across denominational lines.

Roger Ascham (1515-1568): *The Schoolmaster* (1570)

I have included Roger Ascham in this analysis because, although he is not himself affiliated with any of the schools in question, his good friend, biographer, and editor Edward Grant was the headmaster of Westminster School from 1572 to 1593, where he taught Richard Neile, one of the subjects of this study. Influenced by Ascham, Grant compiled a Greek and Latin textbook and dictionary for his teaching at Westminster. Ascham was also the tutor of both Queen Elizabeth I and King Edward VI.

Ascham was born in 1515 in Yorkshire. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he excelled as a student of both Latin and Greek. Subsequently, he became a lecturer and official letter writer at the University of Cambridge, from whence he entered the services of the Crown. Between 1544 and 1545, while Henry VIII was in the process of besieging Boulogne, Ascham wrote his first major treatise, *Toxophilus*, which was designed as a celebration of and a manual for the practice of archery as a defensive measure. The book earned him a permanent pension of ten pounds from the Crown. The importance of

[221] This was especially the case in Poland, where the Jesuits were involved in political movements like the Union of Brześć, mentioned in n. 127, which, although it appeared to be a religious union of two Churches, in practice it was a purely political move, designed to maintain a loyal base of Catholic supporters in the eastern parts of the Commonwealth.

Toxophilus cannot be overlooked, not least in its formal arrangement, but also because it is a great example of the attention the humanists paid to matters of state, particularly sovereignty and military might. This was not too dissimilar to the classical past. Formally, *Toxophilus* is divided into two parts; the first is a description of the personal and public benefits of archery, and the second is a technical explanation of how to use the bow and arrow. Ascham uses the same formal division in *The Schoolmaster*, book one of which is a detailed account of the personal and social advantages of learning Latin and Greek, while the second collects and explains practical exercises such as *imitatio.* I will focus on the contents of book one in this chapter, and treat book two in the next.

As mentioned above, Ascham follows in the footsteps of the Italian humanists in his firm belief that punishment is counterproductive to learning. He emphasises the usefulness of well-thought-out and well-timed praise, followed by constructive criticism.[222] In Ascham's opinion, praise and constructive criticism will enable the teacher to furnish the student with both a firm understanding of Latin and Greek, and good judgement in when to correctly apply it.[223] This corresponds to the distinction between *prudentia* and *sapientia*, and serves as yet another point of commonality between the early Italian humanists and their later northern counterparts. Ascham pays continued attention to the issue of punishment, revealing an anxiety that a harsh teacher will produce a student who is fearful of learning, and therefore

[222] Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* (London: Cassel, 1909; first published 1570), 13. The first reference to punishment appears on the third page of Ascham's text; it is the first time he mentions the learning process, which he says is considerably inhibited by physical punishment.

[223] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 17.

unable to retain any of it in later life. This will then lead to unlearned men proliferating at court.[224]

This distinction between knowledge and practical wisdom is very important to Ascham. He describes at length the dangers of an unbridled tongue in a student, and the undesirable effects it has on the formation of character. He suggests that a student who is allowed to talk in Latin all the time without much intervention or regulation, is going to become 'bold without shame, rash without skill, full of words without wit'.[225] Rather, Ascham continues, students should be taught to think first and speak second, so as to show that 'the brain doth govern the tongue'.[226] This recalls the speaker of Erasmus's *Antibarbari*, who does exactly what Ascham suggests before beginning his main speech. Yet again, we can see the chief anxiety of humanist theorists of education: that a bad teacher is going to misuse and misapply their advice, therefore producing students who fall short of the ideal, admittedly through no fault of their own. This anxiety and fear seem to have been entirely justified—as is proven by the existence of a number of treatises written against the use of rhetoric, arguing that it is full of style but devoid of wisdom. The most famous example of this is perhaps the debate between Ermolao Barbaro (1453-1493), a defender of eloquence, and Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), who saw no value in it, despite writing very eloquently himself. Hanna Gray concludes that the problem was not so much with the value of eloquence itself

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[224] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 36-37. Ascham says that if he were to ask ten gentlemen why they had forgotten everything they had learned, 'eight of them, or let me be blamed, will lay the fault on their ill handling by their schoolmasters.' He even gives the example of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II, who 'would lament very oft his misfortune herein.' The significance of this example cannot be overlooked—Maximilian, a Catholic, was in charge of the Habsburg lands between 1564 and 1576, dealing with the consequences of the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, which started the confessionalization process in the German lands. Maximilian was not very effective as a peace broker, and his neutral approach to religion ultimately failed.

[225] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 16.

[226] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 16.

but rather with its definition,[227] as Pico was ultimately against the type of eloquence Ascham also argues against in *The Schoolmaster*.

The type of language and morality becoming of a young humanist student, according to Ascham, can be found in a long list of classical authors, including Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Herodotus, Thucydides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Homer, Horace, Cicero, Quintilian, and Seneca. All of these authors we have by now come to expect on the list of essential humanist reading.

Ascham then goes on to enumerate qualities essential in a good student. Here he is borrowing from Socrates. The qualities include 'genius', which is explained not only as cognitive intelligence but also the way it is used in speech and in body language, which again places emphasis on physicality.[228] The importance of intelligence is ranked alongside the willingness to learn, which together result in proper learning—something Ascham describes as 'hard wits', which he says are 'hard to receive, but sure to keep, painful without weariness, heedful without wavering, constant without newfangleness'.[229] The right physical appearance, on the other hand, commands authority by a strong voice, manly posture and comely countenance.[230] Together, the right mind and the right body result in 'excellency in learning' and 'grace'—in other words, 'a marvellous jewel in the world.'[231] This is in many ways similar to Castiglione's *sprezzatura*, which, although honed in training, seems effortless; this is not entirely surprising, as Ascham recommends that students read *Il*

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[227] Gray, 'The Pursuit of Eloquence,' 507.

[228] Recently, interesting research has emerged on the importance of 'the body' and grace to success at court, particularly during Elizabeth's reign, which then influenced how James I received his courtiers. The book focuses on the unlikely success of the 1st Duke of Buckingham. For more information, see Christiane Hill, *Visions of the Courtly Body: The Patronage of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, and the Triumph of Painting at the Stuart Court* (Munich: Akademie Verlag, 2012).

[229] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 24.

[230] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 29.

[231] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 29.

Cortegiano to learn about the courts of Italy and good courtly conduct.[232] Again, what is noteworthy is the fact that Ascham, like Piccolomini and others, specifically mentions that whatever the student's voice is, it should not be 'soft, weak, piping, womanish', because that would not lend itself to commanding authority.[233] The students are therefore taught not only how to behave themselves, but also how to recognise authority in others and how to respond to it (with thought-out obedience), which forms a part of the humanist value system.

There is a strong civic humanism dimension to Ascham's work, with his long and recurrent discussion of serving God and country, contributing to the Commonwealth, and the social and civic responsibility that comes attached to positions of power. Ascham often speaks of the need to foster and nurture a commonwealth, or a community, which can only be done by men who were taught well in their youth and who maintained their skills beyond their school years.[234] Ascham advises that students should be taught to 'learn of another', which fosters collaboration;[235] that learning should be used to 'serve God and country both by virtue and wisdom,' which connects civics with religion;[236] and that those men who are taught properly, will 'be called forth to the execution of great affairs, in service of their prince and country',[237] which will require a degree of social responsibility in turn, for, 'as you great ones use to do, so all mean men love to do.'[238] All of this, he says, is for the good of the commonwealth, which he himself describes as a digression 'stepping out of the school and into the commonwealth'—a digression justified by the greater importance of giving 'true

232 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 65.
233 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 29.
234 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 22, 24, 32, 34, 37.
235 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 32, 34.
236 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 39.
237 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 61.
238 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 68.

advice to them that may be great hereafter.'[239] This is particularly notable as an entreaty to cultivate social influence exerted through social capital, as these skills would allow the men who possess them to be 'best esteemed abroad in the world' and to 'serve the commonwealth' (while rhetoric would provide them with the key to activate this).[240] As we can already see, humanists formed social networks in schools and universities for political and religious positions of power, where they were supposed to apply their skills to maintain the society their humanist predecessors contributed to creating—one reliant on civic and religious patragone, which would strengthen both confessional ties and contribute to growing nationalisation in this period. Whether or not they were able to do this in practice, and even whether there is a uniform set of skills to speak of, is, unsurprisingly, a point of contention, which I will go on to examine further in the final chapter. The humanists clearly envisioned their program of study and method of teaching as having profound and far-reaching social and cultural effects.

Richard Mulcaster (1532-1611)*: Collected Educational Writings*

Mulcaster, born in 1532, educated first at Eton and then at both Cambridge and Oxford, can be considered something of an outlier among the previous humanists. He became the schoolmaster of Merchant Taylors School, where he taught Lancelot Andrewes, and later St. Paul's School. He is, perhaps, the only writer included here to openly distinguish between what he calls 'the ideal and the possible' of education, and the only one to have spent most of his life as the headmaster of major schools, which have not only continued to this day, but

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[239] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 70.

[240] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 23, 25.

educated some of the most powerful English politicians.[241] Mulcaster emphasises that to devise a truly moral educational program for children from infancy to adulthood is mere wishful thinking, as it would require that all parents be of the ideal moral character themselves and never make mistakes. He calls such parents 'imaginary'.[242] In reality, he acknowledges that it is 'mediocrity' rather than excellence that 'furnisheth out this world', and suggests that it would be best if teachers would accept this simple truth and then proceed with doing their best in the classroom.[243] He is quick to recant immediately after this statement, as he concedes that there is 'value in these fine pictures, which by pointing out the ideal let us behold wherein the best consisteth.'[244] I suspect this might be to avoid unnecessary attacks and criticism.

Nonetheless, this opens up the possibility that the humanists as a group were aware of the ideological and practical gap between what they considered to be the ideal man, and what was realistically possible to achieve with education. To go back to Grafton and Jardine, the humanists' enthusiastic endorsement of the liberal arts could simply be considered a marketing strategy to encourage potential students' interest in their services, as cynical as that may sound. Somewhat less cynically, it could be considered a combination of practical advice and a rhetorical demonstration, as was the case with Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince*.

Mulcaster then proceeds to outline qualities essential in students, and, similarly, to Ascham, he puts particular emphasis on memory, delight, capacity, and advancement.[245] He

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241 Richard Mulcaster, *The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster*, ed. James Oliphant (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1901), 11.
242 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 11-12.
243 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 11.
244 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 11.
245 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 35.

also argues that talent is not peculiar to the upper classes, but, like Castiglione, adds that those of the upper classes who waste their talents are to be regarded more harshly than those from the lower classes.[246] In a slight deviation from what we have come to expect from humanist educators, Mulcaster insists that music is an essential part of elementary education, because it allows students to calm their passions, and because it is a celebrated feature of church services. In his praise of music, he is joined by the Jesuits, who put a lot of emphasis on musical performance and theatre.

Furthermore, Mulcaster dedicates a number of pages to advocate for education for girls. He suggests that all girls should have elementary education, and that those who are exceptionally talented should proceed to university.[247] He then outlines the program of study to be followed by most girls whose parents can afford to have them educated, which includes philosophy, languages, needlework, music, drawing, and of course, reading and writing.[248]

Interestingly, Mulcaster is a champion of public rather than private education (though that is not to be taken in its modern meaning). Public education, meaning education in schools with large numbers of students, nurtures resilience in students and corrects their faults earlier, whereas private education, that with a tutor, promotes arrogance rather than confidence, as the pupil is never challenged by their peers, but only praised by their tutor.[249] On this point, Mulcaster is in agreement with Ascham, who, as mentioned above, is partial to

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[246] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 23.

[247] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 55-57.

[248] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 58-59. Erasmus, More, and Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540) all wrote about female education, and all agreed that women should only be educated in so far as it benefits men: so, essentially, in their roles as social 'aides' through matrimony (and sometimes inspiration). For more information about the three men's attitude to female schooling, see A. D. Cousins, 'Humanism, Female Education, and Myth: Erasmus, Vives, and More's "To Candidus,"' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65, no. 2 (April 2004): 213-30; and J. K. Sowards, 'Erasmus and the Education of Women,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 13, no. 4 (Winter, 1982): 77-89.

[249] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 65.

collaboration, as it fosters community-building, which is central to humanist thought insofar as it theoretically allows for seamless political discourse and development.

The most important aspect of Mulcaster's work is that he was the first educator to advocate for English to take the place of Latin as the language of the arts, and it was under his tutelage that Edmund Spenser (1552-1599) grew up. Spenser is best known as the author of the epic, *The Faerie Queene* (1590-1596), one of the longest poems in the English language. It is notable that this poem borrows the classical form of the epic; it also borrows from the multi-levelled allegory, which can be read as both social and political, with references to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I throughout. However, Spenser managed not only to imitate a classical form, but also to invent a new poetic form—the Spenserian stanza, with the first eight lines written in iambic pentameter, and the last line in iambic hexameter, otherwise known as an alexandrine.[250] The iambic meter was often used in antiquity by dramatists such as Terence, and in lyric poetry by the likes of Mulcaster's favourite, Horace. Spenser was able to imitate it and ultimately innovate with it. Here, we can see the creativity with which subject matter and prosody were imitated, adapted, and celebrated by humanist teachers and their students.

Importantly, Mulcaster was also a staunch supporter of formal teacher training. Similarly to Erasmus, he argued that the diversity of talent and ability within the teaching body meant that students were not being taught to the same standard everywhere, and therefore 'there [was] a difference of opinion' wherever one went, that led to 'much

[250] The alexandrine was common in English neo-classical literature, and Alexander Pope's *An Essay on Criticism* (1711)—which was influenced by Horace's *Ars Poetica*—contains what can be considered its most famous example: 'A needless alexandrine ends the song / That like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along.' The alexandrine was popularised by *la Pléiade*, a group of sixteenth-century French poets, who established the alexandrine as a major verse line in French poetry. These poets started out as translators of the Greek and Latin classics, and later became committed to establishing a French literary tradition modelled on the classics.

confusion of judgement' which in turn was a 'hindrance to youth'.[251] Mulcaster also firmly believed that elementary and secondary education were the most important and the most formative in the life of any scholar, hence the emphasis on the teacher as someone who 'far exceed[s] mediocrity'.[252] Later on, when Mulcaster talks about teaching methods, he echoes his sentiments for standardisation and calls for a uniform method of teaching and a standardised curriculum.[253] He suggests that a uniform approach to teaching and learning would result in students across the realm being seemingly educated in one school under one teacher, which in turn would be better for 'the commonwealth'.[254]

The Jesuits: *Ratio Studiorum* (1599)

With the publication of the *Ratio Studiorum* in 1599, the Jesuits achieved what Mulcaster had called for before them—a uniform teaching method and curriculum. In this thesis, I only focus on Jesuit schooling in Poznań in Poland; however it is important to note that the Jesuits had a vast network of schools all over the world: by 1615 there were 372 Jesuit colleges, all using the same teaching manual.

But the Jesuits did not confine their mission to education. In fact, the ministry of teaching was not the first activity the Jesuits became famous for. Before they were teachers, the Jesuits were preachers and confessors; they were also often physicians, soldiers, writers, and ministers to those in need, to the aristocracy, and to the royalty.[255] They engaged in various 'ministries', among them the ministry of souls, the ministry of charity, and the

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[251] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 105.
[252] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 89.
[253] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 106.
[254] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 106.
[255] Eire, *Reformations*, 451-63.

ministry of print. Each wing of the Order was designed with one aim in mind: conversion. The Jesuits were a tool of the Counter-Reformation and they aimed to re-Catholicize places where the faith was endangered by Protestantism. However, they were also in the business of converting those who have never known God before, like criminals and prostitutes, and strengthen the faith of those who might have been wavering. They hoped to bring a genuine change in people's lives through religion, and thereby have an impact on the social and cultural fabric of early modern society. This part of the Jesuit mission was what Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhardt called *confessionalization*. Schools formed an absolutely vital part of confessionalization, especially because they had to compete with the Protestant gymnasia of Johann Sturm, particularly in Germany.[256] The Jesuits, defending themselves against charges of having copied Sturm's pedagogical practices, started working on their own standards.[257]

The *Ratio Studiorum* was the culmination of decades of teachers' reports and Society meetings; its success was so great that it remained in use until 1832. The aim was to standardise teaching to ensure high standards of commitment both to religion and to society in general, hence the quote, 'give us a child and we will return you a man, a citizen of his country and a child of God.'[258]

The program of study is divided into three main parts: instructions for teachers of higher faculties, such as theology, cases of conscience, and Hebrew, which were available

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[256] For more information on Sturm's pedagogical practices, see Barbara Sher Tinsley, 'Johann's [sic] Sturm's Method for Humanistic Pedagogy,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20, no. 1 (Spring, 1989): 23-40.

[257] Allan P. Farrell, S.J., ed., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599* (Washington, DC: printed by the author, 1970), ix.

[258] This maxim is variously attributed to Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), the Order's founder, and Aristotle. It often appears in the other following forms: 'give me a child until he is seven, and I will show you the man,' or 'give me the child for seven years, and I will give you the man.' However, whatever its form, the message is clear: the Jesuits aimed not only to teach, but to raise children to be socially responsible to their countries, and to be ardent believers in God. Viewed in this light, the religious riots in which Jesuit students in Poznań were often involved, appear to be acts of social and confessional importance, as they could be considered as having fought for the collective soul of the Commonwealth, and for the individual souls of other men they saw as 'heretics.'

only to clerical members of the Society; instructions for teachers of the lower classes, including rhetoric, the humanities, and grammar, available to both clerical and lay students; and general rules for the various academies, from philosophy, to grammar.[259] Moral education, what might be even called moral mentorship, was a key feature of Jesuit education and played a role in the selection of texts for study, as well as in the Jesuit patronage of the arts. Music was another important element, along with theatre, for which schools supplied bursaries in the hope that students would promote Christian moral virtues through art. Once again, morality is closely linked with wisdom and beauty (aesthetics), for, as Plato remarks in *Phaedrus*, 'the true nature of beauty [is] standing with modesty upon a pedestal of chastity',[260] and so it was for the Jesuits too.

The Jesuits encouraged competition in examinations, which gave students a sense of public success, which in turn fostered ambition. Interestingly, this stands in contrast to both Mulcaster and Ascham, who emphasised collaboration and the common good. Examinations were conducted in Greek and Latin prose and verse composition, and prizes were to be awarded based first and foremost on organisation and style; second on quantity; and thereafter on spelling and penmanship.[261] The rules for the prizes were strict, and teachers were even given a specific line to recite when giving out awards, which is a testament not only to the uniformity of the teaching method, but also of student experience that was envisioned by the creators of the *Ratio*.[262]

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[259] *Ratio Studiorum*, Table of Contents.

[260] Plato, *Phaedrus* (c.370 BCE). In Plato, *Euthyphro. Apology. Crito. Phaedo. Phaedrus.*, trans. and ed. Harold North Fowler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 49.

[261] *Ratio Studiorum*, 60.

[262] In recent years there has been an increasing number of studies emphasising the regional distinctiveness of Jesuit education across Europe, including the volume edited by Robert Maryks mentioned in n. 63. Nonetheless, as Richard Mulcaster said, individual invention is natural and preferable in teaching, as long as the overall program and goals are standardised.

In rhetoric classes, the Jesuits focused on Aristotle and Cicero, and their study was seen as the 'refinement of style and erudition'.[263] Similarly to the humanists mentioned above, the Jesuits put a lot of emphasis on memory work, which they saw as vital to oratory and composition, and which was to be practised in conjunction with oral delivery.[264] Importantly for the context of this thesis, the Jesuits saw composition exercises as essential to cultivating good taste in their students, and teachers were instructed to correct poor taste in composition alongside mistakes in rhetorical structure. They were also taught ethical and moral values through exercises in rhetoric, like *imitatio,* which were closely linked with practical wisdom (*sapientia*), in that students were also judged on their honest and correct use of sources. This ethical and situational approach to rhetoric, where the subject matter and word selection have to match the occasion, is a staple of Book III of Aristotle's *The Art of Rhetoric*.[265] Evidently, Jesuit students were being equipped with classical skills based on classical texts. We can see that the interpretation of classical texts through a Christian lens is directed towards confession building: the motto of the Society of Jesus, the famous *Omnia ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (Everything for the greater glory of God), was just as rigorously applied to their educational objectives.

Jesuit schools functioned as tight interpretive communities both for meaning and aesthetic value, as they laid out specific meanings and interpretations of ancient and contemporary texts, and engaged in thorough appraisals of the authors' skill and technique. The students were expected to examine how the authors expressed themselves, how they 'clothed their arguments', and whether or not their beliefs were compelling.[266] Then, through

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[263] *Ratio Studiorum*, 72.
[264] *Ratio Studiorum*, 74.
[265] Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric* (London: Arcturus, 2020), 187-92.
[266] *Ratio Studiorum*, 76.

imitatio and *declamatio*, the students would have been required to reproduce the techniques they had previously deemed compelling and effective in their own texts.[267] In relation to textual interpretation and criticism, the students were all taught the same evaluative practices to be able to arrive at pre-approved (Catholic) interpretations of pre-approved texts. To an extent I would agree with Grafton and Jardine here, that this type of approach limits the students' (and teachers') freedom, insofar as there is a pre-conceived right answer and a clear path leading to it. But is the alternative of students and teachers reading freely into a text really the preferable option? Certainly, at a time at which cultural authority and deference to power were the building blocks of society, such an alternative would have been inconceivable. Moreover, this alternative assumes that a pre-approved path to the meaning of a text is not based on skillful textual analysis, and so far, the evidence indicates the contrary. It is hard to argue that Jesuit textual interpretations were wrong; only that they were overwhelmingly Christian. Textual criticism was especially well-developed in Jesuit schools, which educated countless critically-acclaimed writers; those include the Spanish playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1691), and most significantly, Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), the author of *Don Quixote*—a deeply moralistic novel written in effective and self-aware prose.

In agreement with the humanist movement, the Jesuits encouraged their teachers to cultivate an affectionate bond with their students rather than to practise severe punishment.

[267] There is evidence in educational research that aesthetic education requires participation in aesthetic expression, and conformity to established aesthetic standards, for the creative process to be successful. It is only through expression that students would be able to understand established standards in new contexts, and therefore to eventually be able to compose entirely new work. For more details about aesthetic expression and learning, see Edward Warder Rannells, 'Aesthetic Expression and Learning,' *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 5, no. 4 (June 1947): 314-20; and Christopher Winch and John Gingell, ed., *Philosophy of Education: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

They were also in agreement on many of their selected texts, including Cicero, Aristotle, Homer, Aesop, Plato, Plutarch, and St. Basil.

Nonetheless, despite the clear humanist influence, the Jesuits retained aspects of scholasticism—which is not entirely surprising, given that their primary aim was to educate members of the Order (though they also provided education to lay boys). Still, some teaching methods are carried over from the earlier system, including the *praelectio*, in which the teacher reads and discusses parts of a larger text, to give the students a sense of what the text means and how to approach it—not unlike the modern lecture. Or a close equivalent to what modern teacher-training calls 'pre-teaching', aimed at getting students ready to do their own work. I will discuss the *praelectio* and some of the other pedagogical practices of the Jesuits in the next chapter.

The various programs of study mentioned above have many points and aims in common, despite being spread across time, space, and confessional allegiances. However, before I turn to the significance of the common threads of these programs, I would like to emphasise the importance to the humanist movement of having a standard canon of texts and practices.

What is a canon?

The idea of the canon as a body of authorised texts was not new to the humanists in the Renaissance, as it existed in the form of the Biblical canon, with which they were intimately acquainted. The humanists focused their literary canon not so much on authority (although moral authority formed a big part of it), but rather, on texts that were agreed to be of the highest quality—morally and aesthetically. Thus, they ensured that the humanist literary

canon served not only as a collection of texts to be read and learned, but also, and perhaps more importantly, as a collection of aesthetic expressions, and ethical and moral values, to be taught and imitated. The writers discussed above were almost entirely concurrent in their choice of ancient authors and texts. Therefore, despite the lack of an agreed-upon standard of teaching, most humanists acted in accordance with a uniform standard anyway, by including in their treatises the same texts judged to contain moral, social, and aesthetic authority.

The same can be said of a canon of pedagogical practices, not all of which have disappeared from schools over the centuries since the Renaissance. Similarly to a literary canon, the humanists invested certain teaching practices with moral and aesthetic authority, by claiming that *these* new practices were more likely to yield the desired moral and aesthetic results in students than *those* old ones practiced by the Scholastics. As a result, the various humanist educational programs, even when they differed in details, followed a fairly uniform body of texts presented in a similarly uniform body of pedagogical practices. Additionally, the prescribed pedagogical practices, certainly in the case of the Jesuits, mirror the precepts of the *Code of Canon Law*, not solely in layout and organisation, but also in thought and motivation.

All of this is to say that the humanists, who were staunch believers in the value of exercises like *imitatio*, engaged in it themselves, to the extent that they devised a standardised program of teaching and learning, which leaned heavily on existing templates provided by the only long-standing, authoritative, and text-based institution of their day—the Church.

Discussion

As demonstrated above, humanists were often in dialogue with each other's ideas in their respective works. It is worth noting that by far the largest number of works included here have been penned by Erasmus, who is perhaps one of the only humanists to figure on school syllabuses today. Himself a Catholic, his writings and theories have been claimed by Protestants and Catholics alike. This prompted the Catholic Church to include his works on the Index of Prohibited Books, only to remove them again, resulting in an on-again, off-again relationship between Erasmus's texts and the Index that continued for years. All of this is to illustrate that, far from being free from religious strife, education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the very field on which confessional battles were fought, perhaps proving the old maxim that 'the pen is mightier than the sword.'

In spite of confessional differences, humanist education, from independent schoolmasters to Jesuit colleges, taught shared values and rhetorical style, and moreover, taught them in the same way, through the same exercises. It is interesting, then, that even while claiming to educate an active Protestant or Catholic citizen with clear confessional aims in mind, the confessionalization process was conducted in similar ways across the denominational aisle. Arguably this resulted in a European cultural elite with a largely similar outlook, distinguished only (but emphatically) by religious allegiance.

The effects of this can be clearly observed in the life and career of the English poet John Donne (1572-1631). A Catholic in Elizabethan England, Donne is rumoured to have been taught by a Jesuit priest (although this remains unconfirmed).[268] He also studied at both

[268] This might never be fully confirmed or refuted, as the Jesuit teaching services in England were meant to be clandestine. Leaving a paper trail would seem a rather odd choice.

Oxford and Cambridge, though without obtaining a degree. Despite his Catholic roots, Donne went on to become one of the most celebrated late-Renaissance English poets alongside committed Protestants, like John Milton (1608-1674). There was no room in the upper echelons of the English society for a Catholic with Donne's high ambitions; however, Donne eventually adopted the Anglican faith, in due course becoming a cleric in the Church of England, and eventually the dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London in 1621. Donne's knowledge of the humanist literary style allowed him to write poetry he knew would get him cultural recognition, while the social capital from his humanist learning even allowed him to access the upper echelons of Protestant society with success. Donne's sermons were highly regarded, almost on a par with Andrewes's work. In one, he even argued that both Protestantism and Catholicism were fundamentally grounded in faith derived from scripture, the church fathers, and the early councils of the church.[269] We can therefore see that the confessional division was sharp; but for those who crossed it, it was remarkably easy to adapt.

The impact of classical reception and the creative work that the humanist practice of *imitatio* inspired can hardly be overstated. In England, Ben Jonson (1572-1637), who was educated at Westminster, was a known lover, defender, and imitator of the classics, and of classical forms of literature. He was a poet, a playwright, and the father of English literary criticism, who popularised the 'comedy of humours' as a genre of dramatic comedy—which he adapted from Aristophanes. Jonson stands as a clear example of how school exercises like *imitatio* led to creative compositions, which were emphatically no less creative for leaning on

[269] Arthur F. Marotti, 'John Donne's Conflicted Anti-Catholicism,' *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 101, no. 3 (July 2002): 358. Donne needed to show anti-Catholic sentiment in his sermons as required by the Church of England, but he was conflicted about the extent of his criticism, choosing instead to criticise the Roman Catholic Church as an institution and not Catholic doctrine in general.

the classics. Indeed, Bloom suggests that Ben Jonson has 'no anxiety as to imitation, for to him (refreshingly) art is *hard work*.'[270]

What is clear from Jonson's comedies is the playfulness in his dense linguistic punning that comes with his immense learning. Grafton and Jardine insist that the focus on language is restrictive, and therefore that the transition from the schoolroom to individual success is 'mysterious'. But what they miss is that the drilling exercises teach diligent application, which, combined with playfulness, leads to originality. This playfulness might be a consequence of both the thorough knowledge of what makes 'good' literature (in terms of morality and aesthetics), and the confidence in one's own writing ability, trained relentlessly through years spent in formal education.

Humanists in their own writing strove to reach the same level as the classical authors, which led to a degree of familiarity. For example, the title page of the 1518 Froben edition of the third part of the *Adagia*, Erasmus's monumental collection of classical proverbs and rhetorical phrases, features ancient poets, philosophers, and historians interacting with one another and with the text (Fig. 1).[271]

[270] Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 27.

[271] The same design had been used a year earlier for Lodovico Ricchieri's (1469-1525) *Lectionum Antiquarum*, which makes sense, considering how close in message and subject the two texts are.

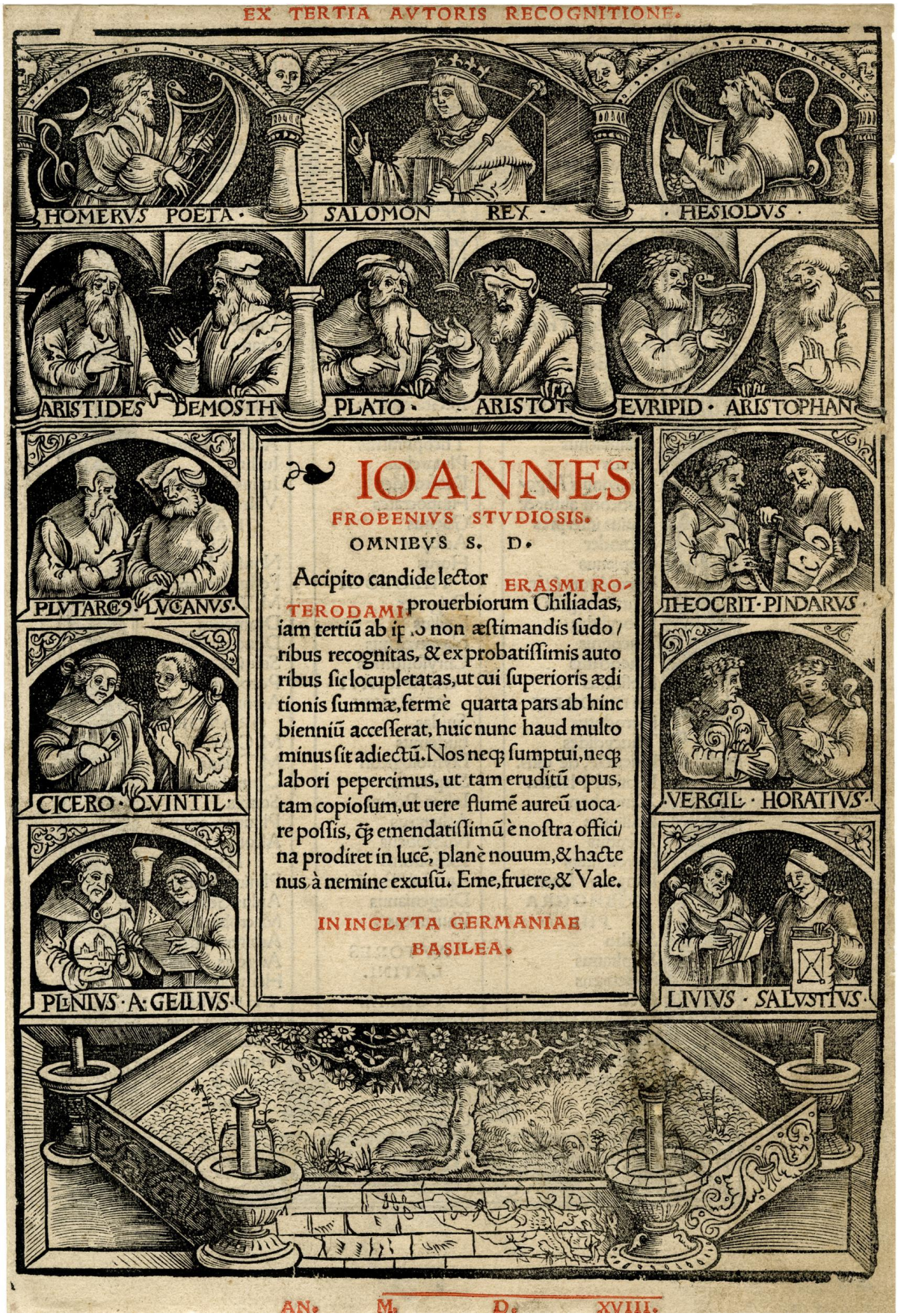

Fig. 1: *Adagia*, Desiderius Erasmus, 609595001: The Trustees of the British Museum

Allowing the ancient writers to be prominently featured on the title page of the book alongside the author's and the printer's names shows a certain level of familiarity and parity, not only with the writers themselves, but also with their brand of moral wisdom and rhetorical aesthetic contained in the volume. As Erasmus lived at the house of Johann Froben (1460-1527) in Basel at the time of this printing, it is unlikely that he would have been unaware of the design of the page.[272] Similarly, Petrarch was able to write letters to Cicero and Homer as if to old friends, going as far as to lament the former's political choices, and comment on the reception and imitation of the latter's poetry. The letters themselves doubled-up as an exercise in *imitatio* as they were modelled on Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*.

Conclusion

The success of the humanist schools might be said to lie in their effective and standardised canon formation, which expressed their chosen values through their chosen aesthetic, projecting moral virtues, elegance, strength and purity of mind in both style and content. Humanist education, as prescribed by the above authors, would produce a loyal subject who was civically engaged, pious, and conscious of aesthetics and morals. Humanist schooling, whether Jesuit or independent, also gave men access to social capital, which, according to Bourdieu, takes the form of networks of people who have similar experiences and ambitions, and who are therefore able to use their social connections to gain access to positions of power, and to advance the careers of other like-minded (or similarly socialised) individuals.

[272] Catherine Sutherland, *Erasmus, Froben and Holbein* (Magdalene College Library: February 2015), accessed March 10, 2021, https://magdlibs.com/2015/02/04/erasmus-froben-and-holbein/.

In the next chapter I will examine specific pedagogical practices to determine whether or not they were suitable for achieving the professed humanist aims of moral excellence and wisdom, eloquent speech, effective leadership, and Christian spirituality.

Chapter Two

Practice what you aim to teach: a review of humanist and Jesuit teaching methods.

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined the theoretical and curricular writings of prominent humanist educators, which allowed me to compare their aims with their programs of study. In this chapter I examine the pedagogical practices employed by humanist teachers and schoolmasters to establish whether the methods used in Renaissance classrooms aligned with the aims at the centre of the humanist movement—and to what extent.

I focus primarily on the practices of *imitatio*, *declamatio*, *praelectio*, *metaphrasis*, and *paraphrasis*, as well as the character of the teacher. I also briefly look at the theatre, particularly in Polish Jesuit schools. The operative question for each of these methods is: which parts of the humanist ethical, moral, and aesthetic code were being transmitted through each method? Could these practices, as employed by Renaissance educators, achieve what the theories and curricula aimed for, or were they too focused on grammar, technique, and discipline to do so?

It is essential to examine these practices not only as historically grounded actions informed by changing needs and attitudes, but also as essentially philosophical methods, based on more abstract ideas of learning as well as on attaining *eudaimonia* (social and cultural welfare and progress). Their influence on educational theory cannot be overlooked, particularly as there is evidence that Renaissance practices mirrored Classical Greek and Roman methods, some of which were already in use in the Middle Ages (like the *praelectio*) while others are still in use today (like the *declamatio* in the form of oral presentations,

praelectio, and teacher modelling). This highlights the cyclical nature of educational practices and points to the fact that they are primarily timeless philosophical products, while their individual application and significance is informed by historical context. So far, literature on Renaissance education has focused mainly on textbooks and students' and teachers' notes, all of which are period-specific; and while they illuminate a particular moment in education history, those kinds of studies fail to account for the enduring aspects of education, as they rarely consider their philosophical roots on par with their historical existence. Therefore, in this chapter, I aim to examine the historical context of Renaissance education together with the philosophical roots of humanist pedagogical practices, focusing on how the practices aligned with the professed aims of the movement.

A note on Latin terminology of education[273]

There are several Latin words that were commonly used by Renaissance scholars to describe the aims and practices of education.[274] It is important to consider their literal meanings and ways they apply to education, as well as their implicit philosophical connotations, which reveal both classical and Renaissance attitudes to the function of education. To begin with, perhaps the most important are the verbs *ēducāre*, meaning 'to rear' or 'to bring up', and *ēdūcere*, meaning 'to draw out' or 'to lead out', as well as the nouns *ēducātiō*, that is 'bringing up' or 'rearing', and *ēducātor*, meaning 'foster father' or 'tutor'. Collectively these words give us the English words 'education' and 'educator'.[275] From this it is clear that what

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273 The terminology here is understood in terms of the corresponding dictionary definitions, taken from *Collins Latin Dictionary and Grammar* (Glasgow: Harper Collins, 1997), as well as from the primary source texts discussed in the 'Introduction' above.

274 I am referring here mainly to the writers discussed in the previous chapter.

275 As mentioned in the 'Introduction', the aim of Jesuit education was the rearing of children.

we think of today as the process of teaching and learning was originally seen as the process of bringing up, rearing or watching over (children), and of drawing out, possibly knowledge or virtuous qualities, from children during their schooling. Implicitly, this suggests that 'education' was indeed understood to be a character-shaping activity long before the humanists invested their own curriculum with that meaning (which they imported from Ancient Rome and Greece). Moreover, philosophically it is reminiscent of Plato's idea that learning is the *anamnesis* (or drawing out) of information already acquired during a previous existence, which he detailed in the *Meno.* The influence of Plato in this case is highly probable as, after their rediscovery in the fifteenth century, the Platonic dialogues were very popular among humanist writers: particularly for Erasmus, who modelled some of his works on the dialogues,[276] and Vergerio, who used Socrates to stress the importance of self-reflection, saying that 'young men should often look at their own image in a mirror.'[277]

Another word commonly used in educational writings is the verb *docēre*, meaning 'to teach' often appearing in the genitive gerund form *docendi* (of teaching), paired with *studendi* (of learning), as in Guarino's title *De Ordine Docendi et Studendi (A Program of Teaching and Learning)*. The first is straight-forward in its meaning, while the second, *studendi*, from the verb *studēre*, means 'to be keen', 'to be diligent' or 'to apply oneself'. All of those possible meanings imply labour and effort on the part of whoever is doing the learning, which corresponds with the humanist idea that learning requires the student to put in a lot of work and effort into their education. This is particularly true for Guarino, who uses the word in his title, which could be more literally translated as *A Program of Teaching and Diligence/ Application.* As mentioned in the previous chapter, Guarino makes it clear that he sees

[276] As mentioned in 'Chapter One', Erasmus's *Antibarbari* was in part modelled on Plato's dialogues.

[277] Vergerio, *Character and Studies*, 13. For more on Socrates and the popularity of Plato's dialogues, see James Hankins, 'Socrates in the Renaissance'.

learning as a process in which the student must play a very active role. Similarly, Roger Ascham discourses at length about the pleasurable labours of learning.[278] Therefore, from the terminology alone, we can infer that humanists saw students not as passive recipients of teaching, but as keen and diligent learners responsible for their own progress. The important question at this point is: did the practices that humanist teachers employed in the classroom allow for active participation from the students?

Importantly, Erasmus was fond of another group of words in his works on education: namely the verb *īnstituere*, meaning 'to implant', 'to establish' or 'to teach'; its close relation, the noun *īnstitūtiō*, which means both 'custom' and, in its plural form *institutiones*, 'principles of education'; and *institūtum*, meaning, as above, 'custom' or 'tradition'. This meaning is of great significance in the case of Erasmus, as his objective was to bring back classical and early church traditions and customs, and to elevate them over those of the Renaissance Catholic Church, which he thought would best be accomplished through humanist education.[279] This suggests that education in the Renaissance was seen as a way of sharing classical cultural norms via the practice of teaching. Richard Mulcaster followed a similar line of argument, saying that people who will end up serving their country need to have knowledge of people's 'habits,' which might not be subject to change.[280] Therefore, some of the practices used in humanist classrooms must have been designed or adopted with this function of education in mind. Of particular note is the humanist emphasis on a good and virtuous teacher, who would implant in his students the accepted manners and the correct

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[278] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 32.

[279] It is interesting that Erasmus chooses this particular word for his treatises. This might be due to the influence of Quintilian's only surviving work, the *Institutio Oratoria*, which uses exactly this terminology. Erasmus refers to it again and again, most notably in *De Ratione Studii*, where he regrets having to regurgitate what Quintilian had already made so clear in his own manual. Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 672, 675.

[280] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 75.

moral attitude. It becomes even more significant when we consider the fact that humanists were, from the outset, concerned with effecting a cultural shift from what they saw as inadequate standards of public behaviour to a more refined code of conduct. In the previous chapter, I noted the many references in humanist literature to the modelling of virtues, and leading by example, which also serves as a sharing of tradition. This is also significant in terms of confessionalization, as schools were the ideal place in which to diffuse Church customs and traditions according to the given denomination. This was especially pertinent to the Jesuits, who provided entirely free education to both Catholics and non-Catholics, thereby increasing their chances of effecting a specifically Catholic culture shift, as was done in Poland.

Interestingly, *disciplīna* was not a very popular word choice among humanist educators, despite having the very straightforward meanings of 'teaching' and 'instruction'. Considering the other words mentioned above, it is possible that *disciplīna* was overlooked at the pre-university level specifically because of its simplicity and relative poverty of meaning, being without any connotations of character-building, or of establishing and maintaining traditions.

From the above exposition, it is clear that the terminology of education was philosophically and morally charged. It follows that any pedagogy which, at least on paper, would be capable of doing it justice, had to be layered and dynamic. It is also clear that focusing on textbooks and class notes alone does not allow for a systematic unpacking of this layered approach, nor does it advance an understanding of the efficacy of humanism as a system of education. Indeed, philosophers of education acknowledge that the effectiveness of a given education system can best be examined through a close analysis of pedagogical

practices.[281] For this reason, in the rest of this chapter, I focus on a number of common teaching practices explicitly, with a view to unpack their philosophical and moral layers.

A note on early modern textbooks

Writing about textbooks in early modern Poland, Irena Jarosz points out that the phenomenon can be divided into two sub-periods: one being the earlier age of universal textbooks modelled on Renaissance commentaries on ancient authors, and the other, beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century, the age of denominational books made specifically for confessional schools.[282] She argues that the second period focused on religious and moral instruction, and that then the interpretation of ancient texts was guided by Christian morality above all else.[283] The two main categories of religious schools were of course Catholic Jesuit schools, which relied on books specified in the *Ratio Studiorum*, like Emmanuel Alvarez's grammar book, and Protestant schools modelled on the Strasbourg gymnasium of Johannes Sturm.[284] This is unsurprising given that Jarosz's timeline corresponds closely with the height of the confession-building process, and highlights the competition between Jesuit schools and Sturm's gymnasia. Most textbooks centred on Latin and Greek grammar and style, as well as writing manuals, most common of which were the *modi epistolandi*. The practice of letter writing was what sustained the social networks established by early humanists.[285]

In his introduction to the volume *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (2008), Anthony Grafton suggests that early modern textbooks and their usage in

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[281] Winch and Gingell, *Philosophy of Education*, 68.

[282] Irena Jarosz, 'Książki szkolne w Polsce w wieku XVI: zarys problematyki,' [School Textbooks in Poland in the Sixteenth Century: A Sketch of the Problem] *Rozprawy z dziejów oświaty* [Discourses on Education] 21 (1978): 3-14.

[283] Jarosz, 'Książki Szkolne,' 5.

[284] Jarosz, 'Książki Szkolne,' 5.

[285] Jarosz, 'Książki Szkolne,' 7.

Renaissance classrooms are a rather eclectic field of study, and sometimes even an obscure one.[286] The reason for this, he argues, is the invention of printing, and with it the explosion of knowledge and its circulation, resulting in a rapid book production process in an ever-growing market. It follows, then, that not all textbooks were created equal, which in turn means that any study of the cultural effects of textbooks would require a rigorous comparison of a vast number of examples together with the commonplace books put together by students, the majority of whom were not themselves in possession of textbooks. This is part of the argument advanced by Ann Blair in the same volume, where she details the lengths to which students and teachers had to go to ensure that textbooks were available to students in some shape or form, either in manuscript form copied under dictation (often of questionable quality), or in print.[287] It is clear that a study of the impact of books would require access to large archival deposits, as well as space currently beyond the scope of this thesis. As a result, and partly due to the eclectic and often obscure nature of textbooks and their usage in schools, I decided to focus on the teaching practices themselves. Teaching practices were detailed in school curricula, and they offer an insight into what the humanists envisioned should actually take place in the classroom. Though we cannot be certain of the extent to which teachers modified the prescribed practices, we do know that teaching methods are much more stable and durable than textbooks, which rarely stand the test of time, as we still use some of the same teaching methods today. For that reason, it is possible to argue that career teachers, like Mulcaster and Grant, would have internalised methods more than books, making their classroom practice more stable. For the extent to which they did actually

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[286] Anthony Grafton, "Textbooks and the Disciplines," in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi, Simone de Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony Grafton (Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 2008), 15.

[287] Ann Blair, "Textbooks and Methods of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe," in ed., Emidio Campi et al., *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 2008), 39-73.

internalise their practice, I turn to the paper trail left by these men, as evidence of their attitudes towards and ideas about learning.

Humanist code of conduct: morality, ethics, and style in the curriculum[288]

Before I embark on the analysis of teaching practices, it is important to clearly identify the humanist code in the curricula under investigation in this thesis. To that end, I will briefly discuss recurrent themes. In addition to *prudentia* and *sapientia* (morality), humanists also focused on *virtus* and *pietas* (ethics), as well as rhetorical and poetic devices (or style and aesthetics). It is these aspects of the humanist code that my analysis centres on.

But what exactly did these concepts mean to the humanists? *Prudentia* and *sapientia*, as already noted, are two different types of wisdom: the former is knowledge of right and wrong, and the latter is knowledge of what decisions to make (and when) in accordance with ideas of right and wrong. For example, Vergerio distinguishes the two concepts in his usage, using *prudentia* to mean 'knowledge' and *sapientia* to mean 'discernment.' This is particularly evident when he likens *sapientia* to 'experience of life' and 'moral rectitude',[289] while *prudentia* is a moderating 'guide'.[290] Similarly, Piccolomini speaks of the fact that a sovereign needs *prudentia* (knowledge) to 'govern long', but only *sapientia* (wisdom) will ensure a 'wise king' for whom 'all things turn out for the best.'[291] By contrast, Bruni, writing to a lady, only uses the more straightforward word *cognitio* (acquiring knowledge,

[288] For the sake of clarity, I have distinguished between morality and ethics, where morality is closer to personal decisions and choices, and ethics is understood as a system dictated by a cultural and social setting or community.

[289] Vergerio, *Character and Studies*, 10.

[290] Vergerio, *Character and Studies*, 18.

[291] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 126-127.

understanding) when he speaks of what she should learn. On the other hand, when talking about the ancient writers' wisdom, he uses *sapientia*, implying that, being a woman, the lady would be unlikely to be making decisions, and therefore she has no need to acquire her own *sapientia* through her own experience; for her, the poets' opinions should be enough.[292]

Sapientia also has connotations of taste, and therefore is closely related to rhetorical and poetic style—as it allows the humanist student to use the allusions, vocabulary, and devices most appropriate to their chosen text and context. For example, in Philip Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*, he argues that the poetic form was the original form for sharing wisdom and knowledge, and he uses appropriate vocabulary, metaphors, and allusions to show that the ancients venerated poetry, even if they did not intend to, like Plato. He says, 'even Plato, whosoever well considereth, shall find in the body of his work, though the inside and strength were philosophy, the skin, as it were, and beauty depended most of poetry. … as Gyges' Ring and others, which who knoweth not to be flowers of poetry did never walk into Apollo's garden.'[293]

Virtus and *pietas* are central to the humanist ethical code of conduct, and as they are both classical and Christian concepts, they reflect the two foundational elements of Renaissance humanism. *Virtus*, commonly translated simply as 'virtue', derives from the Latin word for 'man' which is *vir*, and as such is strongly suggestive of the connection between manhood and virtuous qualities. Moreover, the literal (non-Christian) meaning of *virtus* is 'manhood', 'ability', 'full strength', and 'excellence', all of which suggest virtue as the fulfilment of a man's potential through self-control. Excellence implies a degree of authority being bestowed on those who possess it. This elements can be applied to aesthetics

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[292] Bruni, *The Study of Literature*, 110-11.

[293] Sir Philip Sidney, *Apology for Poetry*. In Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. and ed. Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 60.

as well. Following the arrival of Christianity, courage, kindness, fairness, and reason, were counted among the virtues. However, for the humanists, as well as for ancient writers such as Plato and Aristotle, virtue was only possible where those qualities were unified in a man. Education was therefore an essential part of the raising of virtuous men. It is important to note that while Plato and Aristotle both spoke of virtue, our English word comes from the previously mentioned Latin and has specifically western, often Christian, undertones; the Greek word, *aretē* (*ἀρετῆ*), is closer in meaning to 'inner excellence'. I would argue that both the Christian and the Greek meanings are at play in humanist education (as well as in the Latin of Cicero's Roman Republic). The emphasis on masculinity, control, and strength can already be seen from the analysis done in the previous chapter, where I demonstrated that humanist writers were preoccupied with making sure their students avoided picking up 'weak' and 'womanly' habits. This includes passages on thinking before speaking, which shows their focus on self-control; speaking audibly with a strong voice, which reveals positive attitudes towards manliness and strength; and having a commanding physical presence in the room, which is a testament to the humanist predilection towards authority. As those are all personal qualities acquired through diligent study, we can see the Greek idea of inner excellence playing a role here as well. Mulcaster is also explicit about virtue being a public good, as courage, temperance, and justice can be applied to others when the circumstances demand it.[294] The virtuous qualities acquire a Christian dimension when they are deployed in the pursuit of *pietas*.

Humanist education has in the past been criticised for teaching students to adhere to authority, to be docile Christian subjects, and, in common parlance, to support the status quo (Grafton and Jardine). In many ways this can be considered part and parcel of humanist

[294] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 65.

education, not least because one of the central elements of the curriculum was a strong emphasis on *docta et eloquens pietas* (learned and eloquent 'piety'), particularly in Jesuit schools.[295] *Pietas*, though it is often translated simply as 'piety' in Christian settings, is actually more literally translated as 'sense of duty', which can mean being dutiful and conscientious towards one's family, gods, or country. It also means that one who is *pius* does exactly what is expected of him in any given circumstance, or he would not deserve to be thought of as *pius* (dutiful). Roger Ascham talked about disorder resulting from 'disobedience', which 'doth overfloweth the banks of good order'; to him, they were 'God's just plagues' which God 'brought justly upon us for our sins.'[296] Looking at *pietas* in both its Christian context and its classical meaning, it becomes clear that the humanists saw the layered meaning as an advantage to their curriculum, as it allowed them to expand *pietas* into a whole ethical system based on a sense of duty to one's position, Prince, God, and even teacher, to build a religious and civic community.[297] To that end, Piccolomini says that when people would *convivere* (to feast together), they would *viverent* (they would live) together, building a community by sharing their table.[298] For Richard Mulcaster, there was no doubt that the natural end of being born in a particular country was 'serving the fatherland'—that is, one's duty.[299] That sense of duty could most easily be pursued and fulfilled using the virtuous qualities of courage, strength, and reason. Therefore, *docta et eloquens pietas* becomes 'learned and eloquent sense of duty', where all aspects of humanist education come together: learning, or inner excellence, diligence, and morality; eloquence, or style and wisdom; and a

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[295] Rzegocka, 'Civic Education,' 42.

[296] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 51.

[297] This can certainly be seen in the case of Lancelot Andrewes, who is said to have had a portrait of Richard Mulcaster, his teacher, hung up in his study.

[298] Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, 146-48.

[299] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 75.

sense of duty, or ethical decision making, in accordance with the social and cultural system in place. It also allows for the ethical system to be extended to civics and politics, which can be seen in the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes, who did not shy away from political matters such as the gunpowder plot, and Mateusz Bembus, who held the often-politicised position of preacher to the King of Poland.

Having established what the ethical, moral, and stylistic code consisted of, the question that remains is: were those components teachable? The humanists certainly saw them as teachable, since they formed the basis of the whole program. They would have also been aware of the question of the teachability of virtue in particular, as it is the central topic of Plato's *Meno*. Therefore, it can be inferred that each component of the humanist code was understood as a type of knowledge, and, following Socrates's declaration that if virtue is knowledge then it is teachable, the program was designed to transmit this knowledge via diverse teaching methods.

The Role and Conduct of the Teacher

I mentioned the humanist educators' emphasis on a knowledgeable and kind teacher in the previous chapter, as well as their general aversion to excessive punishment, and their preference for a virtuous person who would lead by example. The little anecdotal evidence that was available to the humanists does indeed suggest that a kind and knowledgeable teacher substantially eases the burden of learning. This is evident from St. Augustine's *Confessions*, where in 'Book I' he details his recollections of learning both Latin and Greek. He puts the difference in experience as being entirely down to the character and skill of the teacher, which affected the overall aura which surrounded learning. Augustine writes that he

disliked learning Greek because he was 'constantly subjected to violent threats and cruel punishments,'[300] which in turn stunted his progress and 'soured the sweetness of the Greek romances.'[301] He acknowledges that Homer was a 'skilful spinner of yarns' and 'most delightfully imaginative', yet the distaste with which his learning experience left him, meant that he was not able to enjoy Greek literature as much as he enjoyed its Latin equivalent.[302] Latin, he says, he learned as a baby, surrounded by nurses who 'fondled' him and 'everyone laughed and played happily' with him. Further he emphasises that learning Latin was entirely without 'threats of punishment', and rather that it was his 'own wish to be able to give expression to [his] thoughts.'[303] And finally, he is explicit in his concluding remarks, saying 'this clearly shows that we learn better in a free spirit of curiosity than under fear and compulsion.'[304] It is likely that humanist educators would have looked at Augustine's opinion and experience as being highly instructive, and given his status as a saint and an early father of the church, very trustworthy.[305]

The secondary takeaway from this section of the *Confessions* is the danger of teaching and learning that is not grounded in Christian morality and ethics, as Augustine laments his early mistakes of enjoying Latin literature for its own sake. He is clearly regretful of the tears he shed for Dido who killed herself for love, and yet he was, in his own words, 'dying, separated from you, my God and my Life.'[306] Instead of dwelling on his own life's journey,

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300 Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin Classics, 2015), 24.

301 Augustine, *Confessions*, 24.

302 Augustine, *Confessions*, 24.

303 Augustine, *Confessions*, 25.

304 Augustine, *Confessions*, 25.

305 Erasmus edited the collected works of St. Augustine, published in Basel between 1528 and 1529; and *Antibarbari*, discussed in the previous chapter, was partly inspired in its content by Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*. For more details on Augustine's influence on Erasmus, see Edmund Campion, 'Defence of Classical Learning in St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* and Erasmus's *Antibarbari*,' *History of European Ideas* 4, no. 4 (1983): 467-71.

306 Augustine, *Confessions*, 22.

he says he 'surrendered myself to the lowest of your created things,' meaning art.[307] Here we can strongly feel Plato's influence, as Augustine follows the same argument that Plato does in the *Republic*, namely that art is the lowest form of *mimesis* or imitation, and as such has no value in itself, except for when it is used as a lesson in morality.[308] This is exactly the view held by the humanists: literature is a great way of teaching correct expression, reading, and writing. Moreover, it is a method of teaching morality and ethics through guided interpretations of stories. Given the historical awareness of the humanists, this would allow students to abstract the decisions made by the characters and transpose them into real-life situations to learn the valuable practical wisdom at the centre of the humanist curriculum. However, as Augustine points out, students are not really able to do this on their own; rather, they need a teacher who is able to guide them through that moralistic, allegorical interpretation. In this case, the Jesuits might be considered as having had an advantage, as this kind of allegorical interpretation was the dominant way of reading the Scriptures, with which Jesuit teachers would have been very familiar, hence why they were so successful with conversions through education.

The role of the teacher in Renaissance humanist education was particularly significant. The humanists aimed at educating men who would *act* in accordance with the moral and ethical code detailed above. Therefore, if the students were unable to see an example of this type of conduct in their teacher, if they were unable to witness *proper* decision-making in a setting familiar to them (i.e. the school), they would be deprived of an active knowledge of what it is to actually *be* a humanist. As a result, their education would be

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[307] Augustine, *Confessions*, 23.

[308] For more information about Plato's *mimesis* in the arts, see Santiago Juan-Navarro, 'The Power of *Mimesis* and the *Mimesis* of Power: Plato's Concept of Imitation and his Judgement of the Value of Poetry and the Arts,' *STVDIVM. Revista de Humanidades*, 13 (2007): 97-108.

reduced to only a passive knowledge of morality and ethics—and passivity was not high on the list of desired humanist qualities.

Richard Mulcaster

Richard Mulcaster was an educator committed to teacher training, as he advocated for standardised training in a specially set-up college for teachers. From the outset, this indicates that he saw the position of the teacher as extremely important, and worthy of investment and prestige. He details the qualities and knowledge desirable in a good teacher over a number of pages in his two works, the *Elementarie* (1582) and *Positions* (1581).

For Mulcaster, the grammar school teacher is one in charge of the difficult task of completing and maintaining all elementary learning and preparing students for further study at university, or whatever future path they choose.[309] As such, he needs to be chosen with great care, and both his character and knowledge must stand up to rigorous scrutiny. Mulcaster specifies that the teacher's manner and behaviour must be 'beyond cavil', and his knowledge of the liberal arts must 'far exceed mediocrity'.[310] The teacher must also be able to 'express himself readily' and 'correct misprints, the mistakes of unskillful dictionaries, and the foolish comments of superficial writers'.[311] In other words, Mulcaster's teacher must have impeccable manners and behave according to circumstances, using both *prudentia* and *sapientia*. He must also show diligence in his own learning and embody scholarly excellence, which is his *virtus*. He should also be able to model eloquent expression, and correct the expression of those who do not exhibit wisdom in style, but who are rather 'superficial' in

309 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 88.
310 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 89.
311 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 89.

their writings. And finally, he should correct wrong interpretations put forward by those 'superficial' writers.

Additionally, Mulcaster spelled out the necessary personal qualities which would give the teacher the ability to perform to the above standard: 'determination to take pains, perseverance to continue in his work without shrinking, discretion to judge of circumstances, cheerfulness to delight in the success of his labour, [and] sympathy to encourage a promising youth.'[312] These qualities align rather closely with the overall character of the teacher: we can see kindness, hard work, and a friendly disposition to be championed by all the writers discussed in the previous chapter. A teacher possessing these qualities would therefore *be* the humanist students needed to see performing the very things he was trying to teach his students. On the other hand, if the teacher were teaching, for example, eloquence, while being unable to recognise a lack of eloquence in others, he would be failing in his duty, giving credence to the importance of a well-chosen and properly trained teacher.

Mulcaster's enthusiasm for standardised teacher training comes from his conviction that there is 'too much variety in teaching, and therefore too much bad teaching'.[313] It is therefore probable that he followed much of his own advice as the headmaster of Merchant Taylors and then of St. Paul's, to make sure that students experience continuity of learning, rewards, and punishments. There is no reason to suspect that Mulcaster would be lacking in the qualities he suggests are necessary in a teacher. Indeed, his writing exhibits diligence, as shown by his continued attention to detail and rigorous headlining of his ideas; his learning is well above 'mediocrity', although he admits to no excellence on his part, showing both, *virtus* and Christian humility; he writes convincingly about educating both girls and boys,

312 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 90.

313 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 105.

reforming education in general, and administering punishments when necessary, showing both *prudentia* and *sapientia*, as well as a commitment to 'circumstances' which were an integral part of applied wisdom.[314] As a result, it seems that a teacher of Mulcaster's character would indeed embody and model the qualities and behaviours essential in the effective teaching of the humanist code of conduct.

Edward Grant

Edward Grant was born around 1540. He studied first at Westminster, and then at both Cambridge and Oxford, eventually becoming a Doctor of Divinity, and taking the post of headmaster at Westminster School. He was a classical scholar, poet, and a friend of Roger Ascham's, eventually becoming his first biographer. Grant compiled annotated dictionaries and grammar books of both Latin and Greek, including the *Graecae Linguae Spicilegium in Scholae Westmonasteriensis Progymnasmata divulgatum* (1575). However, the only work accessible to me which illuminates Grant's attitude towards teaching and learning is a poem which accompanies his translation into English of Plutarch's essay, 'The Education of Children', from the collection of essays called *Moralia*.[315]

The essay itself is focused on how to raise virtuous children, and Grant's poem follows the same theme. The poem is addressed to both parents and children, and in this it

314 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 111. For Mulcaster, 'circumstances' were a staple of teaching and reading. He was adamant that 'ignorance of the circumstances causes a difficulty in applying conclusions,' and therefore when coming to any conclusion, one needs to be fully aware of the circumstances surrounding the situation.

315 The essay seems to be commonly attributed to Plutarch, and is included in standard editions of the *Moralia*; however it is uncertain whether the essay was truly penned by Plutarch, as evident from the introduction to the essay in the 1927 Loeb Classical Library edition of the collection, translated by F. C. Babbitt.

differs markedly from Plutarch's original essay, but it suggests at the same time that Grant, like Ascham and Guarino, believed in the students' active role in their own learning.[316]

The poem follows a close rhyming pattern and a very consistent iambic heptameter, otherwise known as the standard ballad metre, which indicates a narrative. This type of rhythm was common in Latin and Greek poetry, and it was very popular in Elizabethan English poetry as well. The precise use of rhyme and rhythm shows remarkable diligence, attention to detail, and knowledge of ancient poetic styles, as well as real artistry. In turn, this is a great example of Grant's excellence as a scholar, which means he would pass Mulcaster's test, far exceeding mediocrity. In this book Grant shows himself to be not only an excellent scholar but also a very versatile one—he is comfortable translating Greek into English, as well as writing poetry using ancient metre but in a modern language—all the while maintaining playful rhymes throughout. There can be little doubt that this kind of versatility and excellence is exactly what was sought after in a humanist teacher, as Grant seems to be a true Renaissance Man.

Grant also speaks here of things that might corrupt minds as 'vicious luxuriousnesse', and of the dangers that await corrupt minds as 'violence', which would make them into 'wylde and brutish beasts'. The hyperbole of those lines show a degree of playfulness, and in turn make the effects of lackadaisical study seem ridiculous, but not frightening. We know from St. Augustine that fear does not achieve desired results in teaching, but it is not hard to imagine student willingness to avoid ridicule: this effect seems calculated. Clearly, then, Grant would have been a teacher who would insist on rigour and diligence in his students,

316 Plutarch and Edward Grant, *A president for parentes, teaching the vertuous training vp of children and holesome information of yongmen. / Written in greke by the prudent and wise phylosopher Chœroneus [sic] Plutarchus, translated and partly augmented by Ed. Grant: very profitable to be read of all those that desire to be parents of vertuous children. Anno. 1571. Seene and allowed according to the Quenes iniunctions* (Oxford Text Archive, 2008) http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12024/A09789. All references to Grant's poem come from this text.

making sure that they actively put in ‘painful labour’ if they are to achieve ‘godlynesse’, ‘grace’ and ‘lerning rare’.

The fact that the poem is written in a simple and accessible way suggests that Grant was aware that all children are different, as pointed out by his friend Roger Ascham, and may be at various stages of their intellectual development. Nonetheless, there are enough rich metaphors throughout the poem to interest and perhaps even enthrall the more able and more poetically-inclined students. In modern teacher training, this kind of awareness is called *differentiation*—the continuity suggests that teaching methods are enduring, and therefore philosophical, phenomena. This in itself is of historical importance, as we can examine the historical uses of timeless methods, and thereby study the impact of the historical context on educational philosophy over time.

This is of special interest with late-Renaissance humanism, as schooling was used actively in confession-building (hence Grant’s emphasis on ‘godlynesse’). We also know from the Westminster charter that religion was at the forefront of teaching and learning through prayer—and from the *Royal Injunctions* we know that confessionalization was the aim.

Throughout the poem Grant links learning with virtue and godliness, which mirrors St. Augustine’s opinion that learning should always be used to serve God. Additionally, the Christian spirit of the poem is evident in metaphors of students’ minds as barren, neglected fields in need of careful husbandry. Another Christian aspect is the preeminence of spiritual over physical development, as Grant points out that only that which makes the mind beautiful is truly worth having, ‘thy pure mynde may haue / His ornaments more precious / than the bodies beautie braue.’

Overall, in this poem Grant shows himself to be a diligent and careful teacher, committed to leading his students onto a Christian path—very much in line with *docta et eloquens pietas*. He does it all with impeccable poetic technique, while also showing his excellent knowledge of Greek. Therefore, Grant truly *was* the humanist that his students needed to see in action if they were to become humanist scholars themselves.

At the same time, due to the nature of the text, and its addressees being both parents and students, couldn't the poem be seen as a marketing stunt in the way that Grafton and Jardine interpreted the elder Guarino's inaugural lectures? It certainly could be. However, in the absence of other evidence to support this interpretation, and knowing that Grant's teaching produced notable alumni like Richard Neile and Ben Jonson, there is reason to believe that, even if it was a marketing ploy—it worked.

The Jesuits

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Jesuit teachers were given clear instructions for classroom conduct in the *Ratio Studiorum*. However, there is also a problem of evaluating these prescriptive documents as evidence of the teachers' conduct, and for this I rely on historians of Jesuit education and their arguments about teachers' adherence to the rules set out in the *Ratio*.

To begin with, it is important to establish the extent to which we can take Jesuit sources like the *Monumenta Paedagogica* and the *Ratio Studiorum* as evidence of actual classroom conduct. There is unfortunately a lack of consensus among Jesuit historians about the extent to which the rules were actually followed by teachers. Thus we have Jerzy Kochanowicz's declaration that the *Ratio Studiorum* was followed so faithfully, particularly

at the beginning of the seventeenth century, so as to be considered a 'corset that confined Jesuit schooling.'[317] This is juxtaposed with Jolanta Rzegocka's argument that the rules set out in the *Ratio* were necessarily adapted to circumstances. She argues that in Poland in particular, because of the somewhat unique political situation, Jesuit schools taught more history, theatre and civics than they did elsewhere, and considerably more than was prescribed by the *Ratio*.[318] More recently, Paul F. Grendler has revived the notion that Jesuit schools followed the *Ratio* very closely, as it was very coherent and unified.[319] He also points out that the documents in the *Monumenta* collection were the basis of the final *Ratio* of 1599. As Rzegocka's argument emphasises that classroom content was expanded and adapted to suit country-specific circumstances, she does not discuss teachers not following instructions. It is therefore likely that teachers conducted themselves according to instructions, despite changes made to subject content.

What, then, was the prescribed character and conduct of the Jesuit teacher? The Jesuits had a clear idea of what to look for in a teacher already in 1565, when Pedro Juan Perpinyá (1530-1566) wrote a simple treatise entitled 'How to Teach Children Latin and Greek'. His very first consideration is the character and skills of the teacher, which he says should include 'personal integrity, passionate interest, keen intellectual talent, and refined powers of expression.'[320] He is also adamant that the teacher should be 'thoroughly acquainted with the finest writers of each genre and well practiced both in speaking and in writing.'[321] The sentiment expressed in this treatise is very close to Mulcaster's ideal teacher,

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317 Jerzy Kochanowicz, "Wychowanie w szkołach jezuickich okresu staropolskiego," in *Pedagogika ignacjańska: historia, teoria, praktyka* ["Education in Jesuit Schools of the Old Polish Period" in *Ignatian Pedagogy: History, Theory, Practice*] (Krakow: WAM, 2010), 206.

318 Rzegocka, 'Civic Education,' 46-47.

319 Grendler, *Jesuit Schools and Universities*, 15.

320 Cristiano Casalini and Claude Pavur, ed., *Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540-1616: A Reader* (Chestnut Hill, MA: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2016), 243.

321 *Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540-1616: A Reader*, 244.

suggesting consonance between the methods of Protestant and Catholic schools. However, the most concise Jesuit description of the teacher's conduct is contained in rule fifty of the 'Common rules for the teachers of the lower classes' section of the *Ratio Studiorum*, which states,

> *Finally, let the teacher, with God's grace, be painstaking and persevering in every way, interested in the progress of his pupils in their daily lessons and other literary exercises. He must not regard anyone with contempt, but assist the effort of the poor as much as those of the rich. He should seek the advancement of each and every one of his charges.*[322]

This description is very close to that of Richard Mulcaster and touches on similar characteristics, like perseverance (which Mulcaster calls determination), and seeking the advancement of each student regardless of ability. This rule is more of a plea, which suggests that perhaps finding the above qualities in a teacher was not easy in a society deeply divided by class. Nonetheless, the other rules in this section seem to have been designed to give the teacher the best chance at showing himself to be kind, knowledgeable, and of good judgement.

Notable rules include rule one, which emphasises that schooling is not only about acquiring knowledge, but also habits and behaviours; thus it instructs the teacher to 'endeavour both in the classroom and outside to train the impressionable minds of all his pupils in the loving service of God and in all the virtues required for this service.'[323] Here we

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[322] *Ratio Studiorum*, 72.
[323] *Ratio Studiorum*, 62.

see the familiar emphasis on virtue and God's service, which is a recurring theme in humanist education. We also see an awareness of the malleability of children's minds, and the importance of training inside and outside of the classroom. This, in turn, suggests that the teacher was required to model virtuous behaviour, both while teaching, and (perhaps especially), while not. This would allow the students to see virtuous qualities applied in everyday life, not only in pursuit of knowledge—emphasising the importance of learning for life, not just for a test (to which the Jesuits were also rather partial). With regards to virtue, the teacher was instructed to instil in his students 'habits of virtue' during private talks.[324]

Just like the Grant poem above, the rules for Jesuit teachers put a lot of emphasis on spiritual education. Indeed, in keeping with *omnia ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, the teacher was supposed to 'strongly recommend spiritual reading' and 'refrain from reading in class any passage from an indecent writer.'[325] However, the instruction does not specify which books were suitable for students to read to aid in their spiritual development, nor does it specify which writers might have been considered indecent. This shows a considerable degree of trust towards teachers and also the expectation that teachers have good judgement and are able to use both *prudentia* and *sapientia* to that end. Although because Jesuit teachers went through the same Jesuit education, it is worth pointing out that they would likely have reproduced the same selected texts they would have encountered as students. The teacher was also required to exercise good judgement in correcting his students' works, and more literally, in judging various contests which formed a considerable part of Jesuit schooling.[326]

Another important aspect was kindness. In rule twenty-two, the teacher is tasked with pointing out mistakes in grammar, and asking the students how these mistakes might be

[324] *Ratio Studiorum*, 63.
[325] *Ratio Studiorum*, 63.
[326] *Ratio Studiorum*, 67.

corrected.[327] Asking students to volunteer corrections implies a kind approach. However, it is ambiguous enough that a less sympathetic teacher might have turned to humiliation and ridicule as effective methods of correction. Paul Grendler, working with a diary written by Pietro Antonio Adami (1661-1722) who was a student at a Jesuit school in Bologna, noted that students who underperformed or misbehaved were frequently humiliated, going as far as certain students being labelled the class *asino*, with a picture of an ass hanging from their neck.[328] This is problematic, as elsewhere in the *Ratio* we find a rule (40) explicitly against the use of humiliation: it states that the teacher should refrain from 'humiliating anyone by word or act.'[329] Adami's diary seems to be the only documented case of 'correction' of mistakes used by the Jesuits, and as such cannot be used as evidence for the widespread nature of this type of teacher behaviour.[330] Suggesting a slightly more compassionate approach to academically underperforming students, the 'Rules for the Rector of the Roman College' (1551) from the *Monumenta Paedagogica*, recommend that a student who is caught 'getting nothing of value' from his studies should be either expelled to make room for a new student, or be employed in another capacity at the College, so that he may continue serving God in some way.[331] But given the status of religion in Poland in this period, it would have been risky for Jesuit teachers to alienate their students by humiliating them for making mistakes; they needed a committed Catholic base at every social level. At the same time, the possibility of this behaviour being more widespread cannot be ruled out either.

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[327] *Ratio Studiorum*, 65.

[328] Grendler, *Jesuit Schools and Universities*, 36-37.

[329] *Ratio Studiorum*, 70.

[330] Although it is not for lack of trying on Grendler's part, as he does suggest on p.37 that Jesuit schools—plural—humiliated their least able students.

[331] *Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540-1616: A Reader*, 88.

With regards to actual instruction, the teacher was expected to speak Latin at all times to encourage the students to do the same.[332] He was also expected to always be prepared for class, particularly to write out his lectures ahead of delivery.[333] Both of these rules suggest that the teacher should be diligent in preparation, an excellent and comfortable speaker of Latin, and to have an expert knowledge of the ancient authors which he was required to teach. Those requirements align very closely with Richard Mulcaster's expectations of teachers, as well as the attitude to teaching and learning exhibited by Edward Grant in the poem discussed above.

Perhaps the most important passage in this section of the *Ratio Studiorum* is the tenth rule, which says that the teacher should 'set before them [the students] the good example of his religious life,'[334] showing that the teacher was in fact expected to model virtuous behaviour to his students.

Teaching practices as acts of transmission

Metaphrasis and *Paraphrasis*

Metaphrasis and *paraphrasis* are two important elements of the teaching practices employed by humanist educators, although they differed on the benefits of each exercise. The two

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[332] *Ratio Studiorum*, 64.

[333] *Ratio Studiorum*, 66. This is another example of the enduring aspects of early modern pedagogy, as 'lesson planning' is an essential part of teacher training today. This is also important for considerations of the Christian revisionism of classical reception. The Jesuits in particular were very careful not to send their students un-Christian messages through badly chosen readings and underprepared lectures. Therefore, the teacher taking the time to make sure that whatever he was teaching was (or could be) interpreted through a Catholic lens was one of the highest priorities.

[334] *Ratio Studiorum*, 63.

exercises are a form of rewriting previously written material. *Metaphrasis* is the rewriting of a prose text into verse, or the other way around, while *paraphrasis* is the rewriting of a text, most commonly a speech, into a different style using different vocabulary.

Erasmus thought both exercises were worthwhile for students, who would thus learn the peculiarities of language and expression.[335] He also recommended that the exercises should cover both Greek and Latin, so that students would sometimes turn Greek poetry into Latin prose and vice-versa, which would then teach them the similarities and differences between the two languages.[336] The Jesuits likewise recommended both exercises in the 'Rules for teachers of rhetoric'. Rule five lists exercises appropriate for learning rhetoric, with both types of rewriting at the forefront.[337] Like Erasmus, the Jesuits suggested that, for best practice, the students should turn Latin prose into Greek poetry and the other way around.[338] The suggested poetic forms include epigrams, epitaphs, elegies, and odes, which implies a focus on form over content.[339] This would produce students comfortable with writing in any poetic, or rhetorical form without much creative impetus, resulting in poetry in which the form entirely governs the theme. This is exactly the case with Ben Jonson who, although a great and successful poet and dramatist, often focused on form over content, for example in poems such as 'An Elegy', 'An Ode to Himself', 'An Epitaph on S.P.', and plays like *Every Man in His Humour*, which follows the structure of Roman comedy and, by punning on the title, includes characters who were embodiments of Galen's (129-200 CE) four humours.

Roger Ascham, on the other hand, was against using *metaphrasis* and *paraphrasis* to teach style and expression. He argued extensively that scholars who may not have a perfect

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335 Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 679.
336 Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 679.
337 *Ratio Studiorum*, 75.
338 *Ratio Studiorum*, 75.
339 *Ratio Studiorum*, 75-77.

command of Latin or Greek, nor a sufficient control of style, would handle ancient authors' texts poorly while practising the exercises, thus diverting students' attention away from trusting ancient authority.[340] Ascham maintained throughout his argument that only those of great learning *and* great judgement might succeed with *metaphrasis* and *paraphrasis*, and as a result that they should not be taught in grammar schools, nor even in university, 'until study and time have bred in them perfect learning and steadfast judgement.'[341] However, Ascham's preferred form of judgement seems to be entirely ideological, as it rests on accepting the fact that there is no possibility of improving upon Cicero, for example, or Virgil. He even goes as far as to say that, in instances where both of the above authors 'do repeat one matter with selfsame words', they do it 'not for lack of words, but by judgement and skill.'[342] He aims to suggest, then, that even Cicero was not able to improve upon Cicero, and therefore, what hope do the 'less skilful' have?

There is an interesting tension between the two arguments above. We see Ascham resisting the idea that any ancient writer could be rewritten for educational purposes, instead suggesting that *metaphrasis* and *paraphrasis* would only serve to let students 'gather up faults which hardly will be left off again,' because they lack judgement.[343] We are left with the impression that for Ascham, judgement is the understanding that no improvements or changes can be made to ancient texts. This, however, is a predetermined conclusion that the students have no opportunity to actively engage with. We do not see this in the Jesuits or in Erasmus, who teach their students to evaluate texts, and make judgements based on the

340 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 105-123.
341 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 113.
342 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 107.
343 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 108.

effectiveness of language use. Erasmus even includes instances of what he perceives to be mistakes made by writers such as Cicero and Virgil in *De Copia*.

On this note, Ascham was much closer to the early humanists, who attached a lot more importance to authority than Ascham's other contemporaries. For example, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was widely used throughout the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the Renaissance as the standard text on rhetoric (by the elder Guarino for example), as it was assumed to have been written by Cicero. But when Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) established that it was not written by Cicero, it was promptly dropped as the staple rhetoric textbook from humanist curricula. Instead, it was replaced by two books that were definitely Cicero's: *De Inventione* and *De Oratore*. This is a stark reminder that, early in the humanist movement, the recognition of aesthetic and moral excellence depended on its connection to an ancient name that carried authority.

Ascham did, however, believe in learning about variety in expression and the particularities of a language through double translation, where students translate Latin or Greek into English, and then back into the original language after some time had lapsed. He even argues that double translation is much more effective in teaching this than *metaphrasis* and *paraphrasis*. He says, 'all the hard congruities of grammar, the choice of aptest words, the right framing of words and sentences, comeliness of figures and forms' as well as 'invention of arguments, like order in disposition, like utterance in elocution'—in short, everything could be taught through 'this exercise of double translation.'[344] Consequently Ascham agreed on what students should learn, but disagreed on the method.

[344] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 103.

Imitatio

One of the most often mentioned teaching methods is the practice of *imitatio*. This is the imitation of the style of an ancient writer (most often Cicero's orations), to learn how to write according to ancient rules. However, *imitatio* was not limited to rhetoric; it included poetry and drama as well. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, *imitatio* was perhaps the longest standing exercise among teachers and writers, as it continued well into the eighteenth century with the rise of neo-classical literature. During the course of the exercise, students would be given a text, which they would then have to imitate using a similar style of expression, aiming to achieve an overall similarity in the aesthetic quality of their own text. *Imitatio* was almost universally accepted as the best way to learn how to express subject matter in a way that would convey both wisdom and eloquence. It was recommended by the Jesuits in the *Ratio*,[345] by Erasmus,[346] and discussed in detail by Ascham.[347] Even in 1554, before the *Ratio Studiorum* was devised, Ignatius Loyola recommended that students imitate Cicero and other authors because, as he said, 'it constitutes the fruit of their studies.'[348] He thought that *imitatio* would allow students to 'improve in invention' and encourage them to 'undertake greater things'[349]—indicating that creativity had its place in Jesuit schools.

Roger Ascham gives a detailed account of the importance of *imitatio* rooted in a philosophical position on the question of language and knowledge acquisition. Ascham begins by pointing out that language, knowledge, and therefore expression, are acquired through imitation of those we hear or read as we learn languages.[350] He then goes on to

[345] *Ratio Studiorum*, 67, 75.
[346] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 679.
[347] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 132-80.
[348] *Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540-1616: A Reader*, 242.
[349] *Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540-1616: A Reader*, 242.
[350] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 133.

explain that divorcing 'the tongue and the heart', and therefore not caring about the words in which meaning is expressed, does great harm to overall learning.[351] His reasoning being that, historically, civilisations fell into disarray progressively, in tandem with the decline of the use of 'apt' words.[352] Therefore, he concludes that when civilisations pay attention to style and aesthetic quality in expression, then virtue keeps vices at bay. In essence, Ascham links the use of language to the ethical and moral qualities of not only the speaker or writer himself, but also of the whole culture which he represents. The favour with which he (and most other humanists) treated 'proper' use of language has endured, and even today discrimination based on one's quality of expression is rather common.[353] It is worth remembering that the time immediately preceding the rise of humanism was seen as essentially devoid of beauty, not because it did not produce things pleasing to the eye, but because it lacked the explicit connection between beauty, truth, and virtue. With the revival of Platonism this became one of the bases of humanist learning.[354]

Imitatio can therefore be seen as both an aesthetic and a moral practice. Aesthetic, because students would be learning writing styles and expressions that were universally recognised to be of supreme quality, which they would use to gain access to positions of cultural and social influence. Moral, because clarity of language and expression was of paramount importance if students were to show themselves to be virtuous, wise, and *pius*, particularly in sermons.

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[351] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 134

[352] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 134.

[353] Rosina Lippi-Green, 'Accent, Standard Language Ideology, and Discriminatory Pretext in the Courts,' *Language in Society* 23, no. 2 (1994): 163-98.

[354] Aesthetic theory did exist in the Middle Ages; however, it was based on Aristotelian rather than Platonic ideas. St. Thomas Aquinas wrote about notions of beauty and how to recognise or 'know' it in his *Summa Theologicae*, where he stated that beauty is whatever gives pleasure when it is seen. Instead of focusing on truth or virtue in beauty, he emphasised the seer's experience in perceiving and knowing the beautiful object, making it subjective; the humanists preferred to teach beauty as an objective category.

Declamatio

Declamatio is a combination of speaking and writing skills: the students would compose and then present a speech written in the style of a great orator, like Cicero. The whole process comprised *inventio, dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio*, and *actio*. It was a staple of humanist education, and perhaps the most morally-charged practice of all those discussed in this chapter.[355] As Pedro Juan Perpinyá points out, *declamatio* is only really useful as a practice if the student is well prepared to give the speech, because it is only through adequate preparation that 'their confidence and spirit will grow.'[356] Therefore, a sloppy, underprepared *declamatio* would not yield the desired result of producing a confident speaker.[357] Similarly, the *Ratio Studiorum* emphasises the importance of correction during the exercise to 'train the student speakers in appropriate control of voice, gesture, and all other actions.'[358]

Marc van der Poel argues that declamations were explicitly moralistic in tone, and that it is a mistake to regard them as purely rhetorical exercises, though they may have been used primarily in classes of rhetoric.[359] As Renaissance humanists were primarily concerned with the practical applicability of all their teachings, it is unsurprising that they put a lot of emphasis on the ethical relevance of the subject matter of *declamationes*. In this they followed, once again, Cicero, who championed the use of the philosophical *thesis* as the basis of this exercise.

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355 Marc van der Poel, 'The Latin Declamatio in Renaissance Humanism,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 1989): 471-78.

356 *Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540-1616: A Reader*, 253.

357 Something that is commonly overlooked in studies about humanist education is the fact that no educational system can succeed without considerable effort on the part of the students, who are ultimately the ones most responsible for their own progress.

358 *Ratio Studiorum*, 68.

359 van der Poel, 'The Latin Declamatio in Renaissance Humanism,' 471-72.

What is significant about the *declamationes* is not so much the content, but rather what the speaker can learn from the exercise. The emphasis on control is particularly striking: not only of voice but of posture, gesture, and as the Jesuits said, 'all other actions'. This, combined with the moralistic tone of the process, suggests that the *declamatio* was an exercise not so much in *acquiring* wisdom, knowledge, and virtue—but in *performing* them. Here we see for the first time the performative aspect of humanist education, which focuses on the outward showcasing of the famous *docta et eloquens pietas*. This also brings us back to the layered meaning of *virtus*, which includes strength and masculinity, as well as control, an integral part of the life of a man in the public sphere. It also calls to mind the idea that the 'medium is the message': a well performed *declamatio* could reveal the moral and ethical character of the speaker, and therefore be more effective and persuasive. This is especially important in confession-building through sermons, which, as Kamen points out, were tools in 'the struggle for men's minds.'[360]

With the ancient *theses* as the cornerstone of the school *declamatio*, students would then be required required to reason through multiple moral perspectives to show the full power of their wisdom and judgement (*prudentia* and *sapientia*). They would have to use a clear and eloquent style, and speak in a strong, confident, and audible voice while commanding attention through posture. Altogether, the *declamatio* combined all the aims of humanist education into one exercise. It may well be considered the most important aspect of classroom practice. This is particularly true when it comes to training preachers and writers, whose main goal would be to persuade the listening and reading public of the righteousness and moral truth of their arguments. *Declamatio*, then, is a stylised public performance designed to prove the moral and ethical worth of humanism as a set of guidelines to live by.

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[360] Kamen, *Early Modern European Society*, 223.

Praelectio

The *praelectio* is one of the most straightforward teaching methods described in humanist curricula. It is the practice of the teacher explaining the meaning and style of an ancient text before the students proceed to either memorise parts of it, or to use it as a model for *imitatio.* It is also an enduring practice, as explaining content at the beginning of a class remains the most common method of preparing students for independent work.

Of particular importance here is the description of this method in the *Ratio Studiorum*: first the teacher is to explain the meaning and style of the text, and then appraise existing commentaries and interpretations (presumably both Protestant and Catholic) with his class.[361] (Mulcaster also says that the teacher needs to be able to correct the 'foolish commentaries of superficial writers.')[362] This is to be followed by a detailed examination of the language and argumentation used, as well as the overall effects of the text—did the text achieve what it set out to achieve? Why or why not? Those types of questions are common even today because they are the first steps in conducting textual analysis.

The method of the *praelectio* would have been especially useful to students learning how to compose successful declamations, as it focused on what made a text effective in transmitting its meaning to the audience. It would have also taught students proper judgement of wisdom and taste. However, this could only be successful and effective if the teacher were in fact an excellent and knowledgeable scholar, himself comfortable with evaluating the merits of other people's work. This in turn leads to the conclusion that the teaching methods used in humanist classrooms were really only as successful as the skill and character of the teacher allowed.

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[361] *Ratio Studiorum*, 76.

[362] Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 89.

A note on the use of theatre

Jolanta Rzegocka argues that it was 'through exercises in rhetorical skills and drama that the civic virtues were taught to students of Jesuit colleges.'[363] Throughout the chapter, she builds a convincing argument that Poland was in need of an educational initiative that would keep up with Polish political thought, which was heavily reliant on the classical tradition. Her work states that Jesuit colleges were able to provide this type of education because of their focus on drama, which went above and beyond what was required by the prescriptions of the *Ratio Studiorum*—incorporating Polish history and contemporary political affairs to achieve a truly civic education. While theatre was a staple of Jesuit education throughout the Society's school network, it was in Poland that the Jesuits developed a distinctive theatre season.[364] Plays were a 'means of practicing rhetorical skills, public speaking, and last but not least, a way of promoting the school's achievements in a given town and region.'[365] They were fully-developed performances with props, costumes, playbills, and large audiences. I would therefore suggest that the time, effort, and skill that went into the production of these performances could have signalled to students that the proper application of their skills and diligence were necessary to impress their audiences and achieve success.

Rzegocka concludes by saying that virtues were 'to be learned by practising drama' and that in the end, 'the play helped the nobility develop national pride and strengthened their sense of responsibility and solidarity.'[366] This built a community around nationality, religion, and cultural interests, giving students access to the social capital that comes with the sense of belonging to all three.

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[363] Rzegocka, 'Civic Education,' 41.
[364] Rzegocka, 'Civic Education,' 48. The use of theatre was also mentioned in the Jesuit *Annales* from Poznań.
[365] Rzegocka, 'Civic Education,' 48.
[366] Rzegocka, 'Civic Education,' 59.

Conclusion

Overall, teaching practices ranged from simply explaining and interpreting material during the *praelectio*, to writing, memorising, and delivering speeches on important ethical matters in the form of the *declamatio*. However, it is clear that every one of the teaching practices relied on the skill and character of the teacher for its success. Every skill and quality the humanists aimed to teach was taught through the use of ancient texts, as this was their area of expertise. Additionally, the skills and qualities were modelled by the teachers themselves while they interacted with their students and the texts. Moreover, not only were the teaching practices themselves a reception of classical methods, but every product of every exercise was likewise a reception of the classical tradition.

In the next chapter, I shall test the extent to which humanist schooling was successful in achieving its aims by examining the sermons, devotional writings and letters, written by Lancelot Andrewes, a student of Richard Mulcaster; Richard Neile, who studied under Edward Grant; and Mateusz Bembus and Kasper Drużbicki, both Jesuit students and eventually Jesuit teachers themselves.

Chapter Three

'Vir bonus dicendi peritus', or the lives and teachings of 'good men skilled in speaking'.

Introduction

In the previous chapter I elaborated on the pedagogical practices and teachers of humanist schools in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. I focused on the character and attitude to teaching of Richard Mulcaster, Edward Grant, and the Jesuits, as well as specific classroom practices. In this chapter, I examine the lives and teachings of four men who received a thoroughly humanist education and entered the service of the church.

This chapter, like the previous two, follows a systematic approach in which I examine each man and his teaching separately, offering points of comparison throughout to establish whether or not the 'language' employed by all four men in their teachings was both consonant with humanist ideals, and consistent across all four subjects. Following the methodology set out by J. G. A. Pocock, I focus on 'language' as a system of idioms, rhetorical devices, grammar, and vocabulary.[367] In other words, I analyse 'language' as an institutionalised structure of expression to see whether the humanist schools in question succeeded in transmitting the knowledge of this structure to their students, who were then able to diffuse the 'language' into the cultural consciousness of their communities via sermons, books, and teachings. Looking at the 'language' of humanism will allow for a discussion of the stylistic component of education, especially by honing in on rhetoric,

[367] J. G. A. Pocock, "The concept of a language and the *métier d'historien*: some considerations on practice," in *The Language of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 19-40.

grammar, vocabulary, and idioms. I also focus on the content of the sermons and books to establish the extent to which the students of humanist schools were able to adopt the quintessential humanist character and display signs of *virtus*, *pietas*, *prudentia* and *sapientia* —as well as diligence and hard work over the course of their own careers outside of the classroom. One of the men, Richard Neile, was selected primarily for discussions about the importance of social capital to the success of the humanist movement.

The rhetorical analysis is based on the principles set out by Cicero in *De Inventione* and by Aristotle in *The Art of Rhetoric*. Both men focused on the structure of composition and devices that make speech persuasive; they also shared a commitment to 'play upon the audience's emotions (*movere audientium animos*). Cicero's text was used in both Jesuit and Protestant schools, while the Jesuits supplemented it with Aristotle, paying particular attention to his emphasis on ethics.

Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626)

Lancelot Andrewes was born in 1555 in All Hallows, Essex. He spent his school years studying under Richard Mulcaster at the Merchant Taylors School; at sixteen he entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he received a B.A. degree (1574/5), an M.A. (1578), and a B.D. (1585). He was elected a fellow of Pembroke College in 1576. From Cambridge he entered the service of the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon, Henry Hastings (1535-1595), and then in 1588 he became the vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate in London, where he had the opportunity to prove himself a skilled preacher. By the end of the sixteenth century he was preaching at Whitehall before Queen Elizabeth I, and moved in influential circles, which included men like Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618), Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), and William Camden (1551-1623), who, along with Edward Grant, taught Richard Neile at

Westminster. In 1601 he became the Dean of Westminster, where he took care of both the Abbey and the School.

However, it was during James I's reign that Andrewes finally rose to prominence as a preacher, theologian, and bishop. As already mentioned in chapter one, Andrewes headed the translation of the *Authorised Bible*, a committee which included his brother, Roger Andrewes (1574-1635), also a cleric and scholar. This highlights the significance of social networks to individual success in early modern England. Indeed, the recurrence of certain names, including but not limited to Sir Philip Sidney, suggests that networks cultivated through a shared interest in the cultural development of society were an integral part of success. Moreover, this points to the school as the place from which social capital originates.

Andrewes was appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1605, of Ely in 1609, and finally of Winchester in 1619, which he held until his death in 1626. Andrewes seems to have been a successful bishop, as he administered his bishoprics well; however, he does not seem to have had the same type of administrative skill as Richard Neile, his contemporary. Instead, Andrewes's legacy lies almost entirely in his having dominated the Elizabethan (and especially the Jacobean) pulpit. Andrewes was a great scholar, who, with his intimate knowledge of the Bible in various editions; multiple modern and ancient languages; oratorical and philological skills; as well as an extensive social network—really *was* the ideal humanist man. Andrewes was the greatness that Mulcaster said teachers should aim for, while remaining aware of eventually having to settle for mediocrity. Evidently Richard Mulcaster did not have to settle. Andrewes, along with Edmund Spenser (1552-1599), are both remembered for their scholarly success, and both exhibit skills that were the quintessence of Mulcaster's educational theory, particularly their focus on 'circumstances'.

Andrewes's sermons have been studied with care by numerous religious scholars, philologists, and historians, including Peter McCullough, Sophie Read, and Alison Knight. The latter has recently grappled with the problem of misquotation in Andrewes's work and what such instances reveal both about him and his commitment to his audience.[368] Looking at Andrewes's sermons on difficult passages of The Book of Job, Knight argues that misquotations are Andrewes's way of accommodating 'the textual difficulties presented by scripture,' she means here different translations, sources, as well as 'linguistic lacunae' of the original passages.[369] Andrewes's objective, Knight says, was to make sure that the scripture passages he used in his sermons were intelligible and meaningful to his audiences, suggesting effective use of both *prudentia* and *sapientia*, as Andrewes knew the Bible intimately enough to be able to navigate different versions without difficulty, and he was able to offer his own alternative translations to accommodate the needs of his audiences in real time. It also shows diligence in working towards giving his audience the most complete meaning of various passages, by carefully selecting appropriate translations and supplementing those with his own reflections. Additionally, Knight points out that Andrewes's misquotations and changes to original passages are demonstrably deliberate, always done with the view to 'providing meaningful form to scriptural words'.[370] This not only shows control of scriptural materials of various qualities and languages, but also the oratorical control and discipline required to

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[368] This article also includes commentary on the practice of misquotation in John Donne's sermons. Donne was educated in the same manner as Andrewes, first possibly by the Jesuits and then at both Oxford and Cambridge. He is one of the core poets of the metaphysical movement, to which George Herbert also belonged (Herbert was also a friend of Andrewes's) and which Ben Jonson derided by labelling it 'metaphysical' in the first place (Jonson was also, like Herbert, educated at Westminster). The repetitive nature of these encounters again points towards a tightly knit social network of scholars who, even if they did not always agree on stylistic or theological points, were nonetheless aware of each other's professional careers. Their stylistic differences are of degrees rather than of kind too, suggesting substantial overlap between their writing styles, which although an important topic, is beyond the scope of this thesis at present. Alison Knight, 'The "Very, Very words": (Mis)quoting Scripture in Lancelot Andrewes's and John Donne's Sermons on Job 19:23-27,' *Studies in Philology* 111 no. 3, (Summer 2014), 442-469.

[369] Knight, 'The "Very, Very words,"' 442.

[370] Knight, 'The "Very, Very words,"' 442.

memorise and accurately render altered passages, all of which are cornerstones of humanist education.

Andrewes's alterations also suggest that he learned from Mulcaster the importance of 'circumstances' to reading and reproducing any piece of writing coming from the past.[371] Mulcaster was adamant that both teachers and students should be able to recognise the differences between the circumstances of the reader, or in this case the audience, and those of the original texts, and to use that recognition to give virtually any text a meaning that was relevant to the circumstances of any audience.[372] Moreover, this insistence on students also being a part of the critical reading process cultivated a pedagogical attitude directly in the students. The consistency of approach in Andrewes's preaching—of identifying gaps in the knowledge of an audience, providing the new knowledge to fill in these gaps, and even altering the source material to match the immediate needs of the audience (or 'differentiating'), is reflective of pedagogy itself—further evidence of the role of teaching methods in directly shaping other vital, and separate, professions. It did help that Andrewes's own circumstances remained relatively stable and his audiences remained similar, which meant that rather than restart the process each time in front of a completely new set of 'circumstances', he could build on the differences between text and audience that he had identified before, and therefore nurture the long-term religious development of his congregation—like a classroom. Andrewes was able to deal in allegories, puns, repetitions, and descriptive adornments in dissecting scriptural passages because he understood the

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371 Mulcaster, *Educational Writings*, 111.

372 Mulcaster's notion of 'circumstances' was rooted in the humanists' newfound historical awareness of the past and its products, therefore they were able to see the historical singularity or peculiarity of texts. This in turn influenced the reception of classical texts as not only literary but also historical products, in need of Christian revision to fit into early modern thought.

circumstances of both the texts and the audience; circumstances that were not only historical or political, but also, perhaps more impressively, linguistic.

In this short chapter of a short study, it would be impossible to fully do justice to the remarkable linguistic and oratorical skills displayed by Andrewes in his sermons. Instead, I focus on three sermons in more detail: the 1618 Christmas Day sermon, in which, through wordplay, Andrewes is able to philosophically ruminate on the connection of language and substance; the 1606 Gunpowder Plot sermon, which shows his political entanglements; and the 1611 Nativity sermon, which is a testament to Andrewes's theological beliefs about the incarnation of God. All of these sermons come from the influential collection of Andrewes's works, *Ninety-Six Sermons*, edited after his death by William Laud (1573-1645), who was the Archbishop of Canterbury (supported in his endeavours by one Richard Neile). These sermons are used here to elaborate on Andrewes's stylistic choices, and to establish to what extent he preached in accordance with humanist values like *virtus* and *pietas*.

In the first place, rhetorical style is clearly and unsurprisingly very important to Andrewes. All three sermons (along with most others not under detailed analysis here) are very clearly laid out and ordered. Each sermon begins with a verse from the Bible, followed by an overall general interpretation—not unlike a modern essay—after which Andrewes begins his display of rhetorical prowess. From the outset, Andrewes breaks the argument down into constituent parts using techniques like *enumeratio* and *ratiocinatio*, often together, to signal three things essential to rhetoric: first, he signals with these *inventio* (invention) showing that, relying on the powers of imagination, he has 'invented' an argument that relates to the quoted scriptural passage; second, he shows commitment to *dispositio* (arrangement) by literally arranging his argument into its constituent parts to aid its understanding; and third, he keeps the lists short, thereby de-cluttering an otherwise complex argument and

making it manageable and engaging for his audience. Take, for example, the 1618 Christmas Day sermon, which begins with a quote from Luke 2, 12–14, which is instantly followed by, 'Of these three verses the points be two; 1. the Shepherds' sign, and 2. the Angels' song.'[373] From the outset Andrewes lets his audience know that he will focus on each part separately, and as he continues to do so he breaks each part of his argument into ever smaller parts, to help his audience focus on the task at hand. This then results in no fewer than seven separate lists broken down using *enumeratio* and *ratiocinatio*. These techniques in turn make Andrewes's overall argument seem entirely justified and flawlessly logical, as the progression appears natural. We are then justified in finding Andrewes to be a careful and diligent thinker, and a skilled organiser (at least of arguments). A similar thing happens in the 1606 Gunpowder Plot sermon, which boasts a total of eleven lists using the aforementioned techniques.

Other important features of Andrewes's style are rhetorical questions and rhetorical exclamations. He uses them effectively throughout most of his sermons, sometimes grouping many questions together for added effect. This is the case with the 1611 sermon where he asks the following series of questions: 'But what, is all that a *vidimus*? nothing but a mask to be seen? came He only to make a glorious show to them all?'[374] Posing a series of rhetorical questions to his audience allows Andrewes to draw them in. Listing them subsequently almost implies that each new rhetorical question provides an answer to the previous one, which, however, simultaneously sows doubt about the answers, and shows the futility of giving simple answers to complex questions. It also gives the argument direction: he is able to continue by answering his own questions without having to give another lengthy

[373] Lancelot Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 1 (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1841), 83.
[374] Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 1, 46.

introduction, making this stylistic decision important to the arrangement of the whole sermon. Elsewhere Andrewes uses rhetorical exclamations, such as this passage from the same sermon: 'If the Word become flesh, we to take order that flesh of ours that the Word hath taken, we take it not and make it *una caro* with you know whom, or may read. God forbid!'[375] Instances like this one seem to be designed for theatrical effect, which shows Andrewes's awareness of another key aspect of rhetoric, namely *delivery*, embodied in delivery-specific devices written into the text. There is also the added benefit of the rhyme 'read / [for]bid', and so the exclamation seems a more natural response to the previous sentences because of the likeness of sound. Poetic composition, a vital element of humanist education, can be seen to have a clear influence here.

Andrewes also uses figures of speech typical of Ciceronian rhetorical style, for example, *paronomasia*, otherwise known as a pun, where the effect comes from words sounding similar but meaning different things. Andrewes uses this device typically to signal that both words, though they mean different things, are essential to a full understanding of the passage he is discussing, and through *paronomasia*, he suggests that the clue as to their essential togetherness lies in the similarity of sound, and moreover, he does this across Latin-English lines. Consider the following example from that 1611 sermon, where Andrewes says, '"the Word was made flesh." I add yet farther; what flesh? The flesh of an infant, What, *Verbum infans*, the Word an infant? [The Word, and not be able to speak a word?]'.[376] Here Andrewes is playing on the fact that the word *infans* in Latin means both, 'an infant' and 'mute' and of course an infant cannot speak, but Andrewes takes pains to point this out linguistically, and then tie it together with the fact that it was the Word—Christ Himself—that

[375] Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 1, 46.
[376] Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 1, 44.

became a mute infant. This then further suggests that Andrewes means to say that Christ, being the Word, did not need to be able to speak any words because he was *the* Word. We can see how skilfully he manipulates rhetorical devices learned in the schoolroom to be able to transmit Protestant theological messages about the supreme authority of the Word to his audience. He was able to do this because his audiences with the same education knew Latin well enough to be able to follow his extensive use of Latin for this purpose.[377]

One of the most curious aspects of Andrewes's sermons, and perhaps the one that truly betrays his former schooling, is his peculiar use of English syntax, which mirrors Latin syntax almost exactly.[378] It is challenging to isolate exemplary instances, because this use of syntax is so widespread throughout his sermons that it seems to be just a natural part of Andrewes's personal style; however, given his educational background, it is much more likely that he inherited this peculiar sentence structure from Latin. One example which is quite striking is the following passage (which immediately follows what has been quoted in the previous paragraph): 'How evil agreeth this![379] This He put up. How born, how entertained? In a stately palace, cradle of ivory, robes of estate?'[380] Grammatically, these phrases can be considered sentence fragments at best, as each one is missing an essential part, like a preposition, a verb (often both a verb and a subject), or a conjunction. This becomes less surprising when we recall that in Latin it was considered bad style to include words which could easily be supplied by the reader, as they were thought to be redundant. Thus, we can read: 'This He put up *with.* How *was He* born, how *was He* entertained? *Was He* in a

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377 Andrewes preached his sermons at Whitehall Palace, where his audience would have been composed of King James's court, most of whom would have been educated in a fashion similar to Andrewes himself.

378 I am grateful to prof. Cristian-Nicolae Gaspar (CEU) for the many conversations about Latin syntax and style, his insight has been invaluable to this research.

379 Notice the rhetorical exclamation as well.

380 Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 1, 44.

stately palace, *or in a* cradle of ivory, *or in* robes of estate?' Andrewes also uses (very effectively) *asyndeton*, when he omits the conjunction 'or' which I have supplied above, to make his question flow, building momentum and giving it a certain urgency which he then immediately halts as he answers his own question: 'No;'. The semicolon here is significant as it supplies a longer pause than a comma would, but not as long as a full stop, which allows Andrewes to pause for effect but continue soon enough afterwards to sustain the audience's focus. The fact that it is not an exclamation point is also of note, as that would suggest a show of emotion; instead, this shows calm control, which reveals Andrewes's skill as a speaker.

The Latin-like syntax also gives Andrewes complete control of when to include the 'missing' parts of speech, which themselves then become effective stylistic devices. This is certainly true in the answer to the above question—he begins with 'No;' and then continues as follows: 'but a stable for His palace, a manger for His cradle, poor clouts for His array.'[381] There are two significant things happening here: one is the inclusion and repetition of the word 'His' which was previously missing, and the second is the continued use of *asyndeton*. Together these two features balance the momentum, which is slowed down by the repetition and yet sustained to an extent by the lack of conjunctions. This in turn gives the sentence a somber and thoughtful tone. This balancing act of withholding parts of sentences, to then place them strategically back in to build emotion, is a great show of style that Andrewes was able to achieve through his schooling. As above, these features are also effective aspects of his delivery, as they are designed to allow him to bring his audience to a climax of emotion with rapid fire lists and questions, only to bring them down slowly through a repetitive and thought-out conclusion, while at the same time instilling a theological message. We can see

[381] Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 1, 44.

that Andrewes is continuously mindful of the main tenets of rhetoric, which he would have learned through the practice of *declamatio*.

Andrewes's theological messaging is very subtle, but very telling. For example, in the 1618 sermon, he focuses on the importance of the 'sign' given to the shepherds to find the baby Jesus in Bethlehem. In one passage, around halfway through his sermon, he turns to the way 'signs' manifest themselves in the everyday lives of his audience. He quotes St Augustine, '*Signum vobis, si signum in vobis*' meaning 'a sign for you, if a sign in you'. He is referring here to humility, which he says is also 'a sign to sign us with, a signature to make a mark on us' on those who believe.[382] This is very telling, as it reveals Andrewes's favourable attitude towards predestination and the doctrine of the elect. He was preaching at James I's court, who was raised as a Calvinist, which justifies the comparison between the humility into which Jesus was born and humility as a sign of the elect, who were made in God's image. This suggests two types of *pietas* at work: one, duty to the faith, and the other, duty to the King, where Andrewes's awareness of 'circumstances' here make the most of James's position on predestination, as well as on the divine right of kings.

Andrewes's insistence on going back *ad fontes* reveals the humanist elements of his education. He quotes exclusively from the Bible, the original source, followed by the early church fathers, like St. Augustine and St. Basil, which is entirely in line with the original aim of the humanist movement—going back to the basic sources of Christianity.[383] However, Andrewes does not stop at the sources themselves: he goes all the way back to the original biblical languages too, often using Greek and Hebrew to illustrate and support his message. This is the case with the word 'Gospel' (בְּשׂוֹרָה) which Andrewes explains means 'news', or

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[382] Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 1, 86.

[383] Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 1, 86.

'good tidings', in Hebrew, as well as 'flesh'. Therefore, Andrewes is able to posit that through incarnation, the Word became flesh and therefore brought with Him good news, all of which has been written down in the Gospels.[384] Therefore, the Word (language), becomes flesh (substance), tying the linguistic surface knowledge of the world with the real meaning of things, echoing Plato's Forms, where representations, in this case words (the Bible), are images of the Forms, in this case God.

Allegory, another typically Ciceronian rhetorical device, is especially significant in Andrewes's work because of the focus on 'circumstances' so favoured by Richard Mulcaster. In the 1606 Gunpowder Plot sermon (the first of a series), Andrewes makes an extended comparison between the biblical events of the Passover, and the 5th of November events of 1605. However, true to his humanist training, Andrewes does not make the comparison without consideration: he is meticulous in proving that what took place in 1605 was in fact comparable to the Passover night. He does this through breaking the argument down into its constituent parts, as above, using *enumeratio*, and reasoning through each part at length using *ratiocinatio*.[385] Throughout, he is able to play on the real fear his audience felt on the day and convince them that they were in the same position as King David, and that deliverance was God's 'doing'.[386] What is interesting here, and also revealing of Andrewes's attitude to predestination, is his focus on deliverance, which he insists was the work of God. This is significant for two reasons: First, it shows that Andrewes saw those affected by the Plot as among the elect, who, as the chosen ones, were delivered from evil by God, the saviour. Framed this way, it suggests that predestination works, and that they are indeed the elect. Secondly, it is a marked difference from the Polish Jesuits, who saw misfortune as a

[384] Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 1, 42-43.
[385] Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 4, 76
[386] Andrewes, *96 Sermons*, vol. 4, 76.

punishment for not walking the path to salvation. This is strongly indicative of the primary difference between Catholics and Protestants, or Calvinist Protestants, as the former believe in salvation through good works or good deeds, while the latter believe in predestination, or at the very least Martin Luther's famous 'salvation through grace alone'. This sermon also demonstrates Andrewes's attempt at using his skills to accumulate further social capital, as it gave him a chance to gain the confidence of the King and his advisers by assuring them that they were predestined for salvation, a sure sign of which was the deliverance from 'evil' in 1605. It can be argued that, as it was the first of many commemorative sermons, this sermon ended up setting the tone for the historical narrative of the events of November 5th 1605 and their aftermath.

At first glance, Andrewes's dissecting sermons seem like the work of a philologist, not a preacher. He displays a remarkable awareness of polysemy, particularly when his work is viewed with the understanding that he knew fifteen modern languages, as well as all the biblical languages. He was able to translate passages in multiple different ways, as is evidenced by his official translation efforts for the *Authorised Bible* of 1611 and his ability to draw on different versions of the Bible to achieve the meaning he thought would best benefit the audience in front of him at any given moment. Importantly, remembering that Andrewes was a star pupil of Richard Mulcaster, it is not so surprising that he focused so much on the 'circumstances' of language usage, translation, and faith in general, as well as the specific circumstances surrounding his audience. It seems clear that through school practices such as *metaphrasis* and *paraphrasis*, Andrewes would have been able to learn that every word is chosen in a text for a reason—and that things can always be said another way. Therefore, in trying to carefully sift through every word, tracing it through not only multiple bible versions but also through multiple languages, it shows that his objective was not to confuse his

audience, but rather to show that it is only through reflecting on every word and every option that a proper connection can be made between biblical texts and events described therein—a connection which would eventually be the path to definitive meaning, illuminating both surface (words) and substance (meaning of real things).

Did Andrewes speak in what can be considered a truly humanist 'language'? I would argue that he did. He used typically Ciceronian rhetorical devices with great success. He followed the main tenets of rhetoric in making sure his sermons adequately reflected *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *pronuntiatio* (even *actio*), and by all secondary accounts, *memory*. He went back *ad fontes* and quoted multiple biblical languages, displaying what Mulcaster called an awareness of 'circumstances'. He also spoke in the vernacular using Latinate syntactic structures, to his enormous benefit. With regard to values, Andrewes certainly displayed *sapientia* and *prudentia* in how he selected his Bible quotes, stories, and how he deployed translations and stylistic features, while he showed *pietas* (both religious and civic) and *virtus* in self-control, diligence, excellence of learning, and thoughtfulness towards his audience. Moreover, he built and used to his advantage extensive social circles which, as Sophie Read points out, might have cost him his reputation in subsequent centuries, though they were certainly beneficial during his lifetime and immediately after his death when his sermons were used as blueprints for teaching in baroque-era England.[387]

[387] Sophie Read, 'Lancelot Andrewes's Sacramental Wordplay,' *The Cambridge Quarterly* 36 no. 1 (2007), 13. Read suggests that it was Andrewes's friendship with Laud that may have influenced how he was seen after 1640, as Laud supported Charles I to the very last minute, a transgression for which he was executed in 1645 and almost forgotten.

Richard Neile (1562-1640)

Not much has been written about Richard Neile. This is surprising, given his enormous success as a cleric in the Church of England, where he successively held five bishoprics: Rochester (1608), Lichfield and Coventry (1610), Lincoln (1614), Durham (1617), and Winchester (1628), eventually becoming the Archbishop of York in 1631, a diocese he oversaw until his death in 1640. He was the Dean of Westminster between 1605 and 1610, a period in which both the Abbey and the School prospered under his leadership and financial guidance.[388] Moreover, Neile was very successful at networking and using his full social capital, which resulted in several beneficial appointments before his success as a bishop: he was appointed Master of the Savoy in 1602 by Queen Elizabeth I, and Clerk of the Closet in July 1603 by King James I.[389] He preached before both Queen Elizabeth I, which wedged his foot in the door at court, and later before James I, with whom he forged an important and very fruitful friendship.[390]

Neile was by all means successful, holding in his lifetime more English dioceses than any other man since. So why the historical silence? In his PhD thesis from 1978, Andrew Foster, now a professor at the University of Kent, suggested that perhaps the relative lack of secondary material on Neile is chiefly due to the difficulty of collating primary sources into a collection with which to form a viable study of Neile's influence. Foster also points out that

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388 Andrew W. Foster, 'A Biography of Richard Neile' (unpublished Oxford DPhil thesis, 1978), 22.

389 Master of the Savoy Hospital was a position of little influence in the seventeenth century, as the hospital had lost its former prestige back in 1570 with the departure of the disgraced Thomas Thurland from the position. On the other hand, the Clerk of the Closet is a position of considerable influence in the Royal household, as the Clerk is in charge of the Roll of Chaplains to the Sovereign, effectively controlling what religious messages the Sovereign receives, from whom, and when.

390 McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 110. Peter McCullough notes that Queen Elizabeth was impressed with Neile's preaching despite the fact that he was not as great a preacher as Andrewes or Hooker, both of whom were successful with Elizabeth. McCullough also points out that it was Neile's friendship with Robert Cecil that allowed him an appearance at court in the first place; and yet it cannot be said to be entirely down to his social network, as it was ultimately his own ability and diligence that cemented his success—his influential friends were merely the providers of opportunities.

he had the misfortune of rising through the ranks of the Church of England at the same time as the much more intellectually and culturally influential Lancelot Andrewes.[391] It is exactly in his comparative mediocrity, and obscurity of origin, that I find Neile's significance as a humanist graduate essential to this study: the humanists never pretended to only educate great men, merely successful ones; and the role of social capital can be traced more clearly through this less distinctive voice.

By all accounts, Neile was unremarkable in every way: he came from an inconsequential family with his father being a tallow-chandler; he had several siblings; and he was a thoroughly unimpressive student at Westminster School under Edward Grant, where he showed no promise of intellectual excellence.[392] However, he was able to cultivate a wide social network of influential friends and benefactors, who continued to support him through his B.A. (1583/4), M.A. (1586/7), and D.D. (1595) degrees at St. John's College, Cambridge, and into his first appointment as Master of the Savoy. His success is therefore significant for two reasons: one, he proves the rule made explicit by Richard Mulcaster, that the world is built on mediocrity; and two, despite his lack of early promise, Neile was able to climb the ranks of a society that must have initially considered him a peripheral character, because of his ability to use his connections for personal gain (and later, to use his own influence to further his personal interests, by elevating other young clerics). In this chapter, I am chiefly interested in the skill with which Neile navigated early-Stuart English society, and the diligence with which he actually handled his numerous offices, both of which I hold to be the consequences of his humanist schooling. I am also looking at two texts written by Neile during his time as the Archbishop of York and Primate of England, which are inquiries to be

391 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 7.

392 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 2.

made of various vicars across the diocese, as well as letters he wrote to various persons of import throughout his career, which demonstrate that he was able to activate his social capital through the signature humanist activity—letter writing.

To begin with, Neile attended Westminster as an *oppidan* (town boy), but, as Andrew Foster notes, his classmates reported that he was a rather poor student and a slow learner.[393] When his father died and Edward Grant persuaded his mother, who promptly remarried, to 'dispose of' Neile and send him off to an apprenticeship in book selling, his fortunes dramatically improved, and he was sent to St John's College, Cambridge on a newly created scholarship for poor scholars.[394] Why the sudden reversal and good luck? The turning of the proverbial table came courtesy of the Cecil family; the parents of Neile's friend, Sir Robert Cecil (1563-1612) the eventual 1st Earl of Salisbury, Lord and Lady Burghley, financed a scholarship award for Neile on the recommendation of Gabriel Goodman (1528-1601), the Dean of Westminster and private chaplain to the family—both positions later held by Neile himself. Neile matriculated as a student of the university in May 1580 and, despite having no pretensions to intellectual talent of any sort, he diligently and skilfully navigated his time at Cambridge with the help of the Cecil family.[395]

Foster points out that Neile owned a vast collection of standard texts in the classics and theology, including Cicero's collected works, *Opera Omnia*, Homer's *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, Ovid's *Pastorum Libri VI*, and Terence's *Comaediae*.[396] In theology, he owned

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[393] Those classmates are Alexander Leighton and Peter Smart, and while their reports cannot be fully verified, Foster also claims that there is evidence that Neile confessed himself that he did not meet Grant's 'exacting standards of scholarship'. As a result, Grant recommended that he leave formal education for an apprenticeship in book selling, a detail which he included in the *Dean's Book* currently in Westminster Abbey holdings. The *Dean's Book* was not available to me for consultation because of the current international situation, however, it forms the bulk of the primary source material on which Foster based the first two chapters of his PhD thesis.

[394] Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 2.

[395] Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 4.

[396] Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 5.

books by John Calvin, and St. John Chrystostom (d.407 CE.) among others.[397] Neile's library collection reflects texts which formed part of the humanist literary canon and were recommended in the Westminster Charter, as well the School's commitment to consolidating the Protestant confession among their students. Neile could also count medical and political textbooks as well as books on logic among his library possessions, which suggests his interests went beyond the standard classical and theological curriculum, and paint Neile as an ambitious reader. However, the books contain little else other than Neile's name and motto on the covers.[398] The lack of notes inside the books can mean two things: either that Neile had not in fact read these books at all, or that he could have read them, but not necessarily annotated them, which, although it goes against humanist reading practices, would actually be in line with Neile's lack of intellectual curiosity—as a non-intellectual, he might have simply read and not annotated any books in his possession.[399] The latter interpretation is supported by the fact that Neile often offered medical advice to friends, and was even officially consulted in the case of one fake Dr. Lambe in 1627.[400] Therefore, it might be safe to assume that he not only read the books in his possession, but was then able to recall his knowledge when necessary.

At this point, I am mostly concerned with Neile's time as Dean of Westminster. During this time he showed himself to be practical, hardworking, diligent, and loyal to those who helped him along the way; he was also supportive and charitable to those whom he saw

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397 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 5.

398 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 6. Neile's motto is *Vivit Redemptor, quid desperem*, which translates as 'the Redemptor lives, why should I despair?'

399 For a comprehensive account of reading practices, see Anthony Grafton's work on Isaac Casaubon, whose notes in his books were so extensive, they are classified as manuscripts by the Bodleian Library; see also Ann M. Blair's two related works, an article entitled 'Note-Taking as an Art of Transmission' in *Critical Inquiry*, 31, no.1, 85-107; and *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

400 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 6.

as having the same potential that Dean Goodman saw in him. All of these qualities are ones which are encouraged by humanist teaching practices. Despite the fact that Neile might have been weak in Latin and other intellectual matters, he had no difficulties understanding the importance of practical matters, diligence, and social connections. The *Dean's Book*, extensively used by Foster in his thesis, details the work and money that went into maintaining both the Abbey and the School, after Neile took over from Lancelot Andrewes. The report in the book is corroborated by receipts and inventories.[401] Foster recounts the ways Neile reformed and improved the Abbey, refurbishing it inside to improve and renovate the high altar, the choir, and furnishing it with new communion plates, which, Neile was quick to point out, were left deficient by his predecessor.[402] With regards to the School, Neile made sure to increase the amount of meat served at school suppers so that the boys had adequate meals at no additional cost.[403] He also maintained special relationships with several colleges at Cambridge, such as Trinity College and Christ Church, while also funding scholarships for *oppidan* students ineligible for traditional fellowships. One of the students who benefited from Neile's charitable spirit was George Herbert (1593-1633), who went on to become a successful and celebrated poet.[404] The School thrived under Neile's guidance and its numbers increased during his tenure as Dean.[405] Foster points out that Neile's focus on the success of the school and especially its poorer scholars was the result of his own patronage by Dean Goodman and the Cecil family, which facilitated his studies at Cambridge and

401 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 26.

402 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 27-32.

403 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 30.

404 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 31.

405 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 30. In the revised book version of this part of his thesis, Foster gives the number of admitted students at Westminster as being between 140 and 160 by 1609.

possibly even at Westminster itself, although this is presently unconfirmed.[406] He successfully patronised several young men who went on to exert their own influence on religion and culture, including William Robinson (d.1642), William Laud's half brother, who later became the Archdeacon of Nottingham—a post he held while Neile was the Archbishop of York, and Laud was the Archbishop of Canterbury.[407] Together, the three men controlled the most important positions in the Church of England.

The two texts written by Neile while he was the Archbishop of York, show a consistent attention to detail, and loyalty to both church and King. The *Articles* are organised along community lines, such as 'Parishioners', Schoolmasters', 'Ecclesiastical Courts', and 'The Ministry, Service, and Sacraments'. Neile touches on school matters, particularly the extent to which the schoolmaster teaches 'sentences of holy Scripture' and grammar, and encourages 'godlinesse.'[408] Here we can see a clear reflection of the teaching ideals of Edward Grant, as Neile is also clearly concerned with education as a means of teaching grammar and Scripture to lead students to godliness, which was the ultimate end of education for both men.

Neile, being aware of the importance of a committed minister and preacher to keeping the faith, devotes several points of inquiry to checking whether the local ministers conducted themselves well, 'weare decent apparell', 'use any base or servile labour or frequent drinking.'[409] Naturally, Neile was the Archbishop of York at the time, and it was his job to make sure that his ministers were beyond reproach. However, his first encounter with the

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406 Andrew W. Foster, "Richard Neile, Dean of Westminster, 1605-1610," *Westminster Abbey Reformed, 1540-1640,* ed. C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003), 194.

407 Foster, 'Biography of Richard Neile,' 38.

408 Richard Neile, *Ar[c?]ticles to Be Inquired Of, in the Visitation of the Most Reverend Father in God, Richard, by the Providence of God, Lord Arch-bishop of Yorke, Primate of England, and Metropolitane Had in the Yeere of Our Lord God 1636* (London: John Norton, 1636), 12.

409 Neile, *Articles to be Inquired Of* (1636), 21-22

importance of a well-governed religious institution would have been at Westminster, where, as we know from the Charter, religion and prayer were at the forefront.

Similarly, this same emphasis on religious instruction he encountered in Schools would have alerted Neile to the significance of having a teacher of good Protestant character. To that end, he makes sure to check whether the local schoolmaster is of 'sound Fayth and Religion, doth he resort duely to Church, and receive Communion,' and moreover, 'doth he give any evill example of life?'.[410] The last question is of particular interest, as it shows that Neile recognised that the teacher needs to lead his students by example. The humanist legacy here cannot be overlooked, as the character and conduct of the teacher were perhaps the most important elements in ensuring the success of the humanist curriculum.

Neile's social capital can best be traced through his letter-writing: though not interested or gifted in rhetoric as a student, he was later able to use the signature genre of humanist discourse to his own advantage and to the advantage of others. This is evident in two letters Neile wrote to his friend, Dr. Richard Clayton (d.1612) in January 1611, when Clayton was the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.[411] The first letter was written on behalf of Samuel Harding, who was under Neile's patronage at Westminster, asking for him to be considered for a fellowship at St. John's. The second is a letter informing Clayton of the developments in Neile's bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry that impact their mutual friend, Dr. Carey. The two letters show no evidence of rhetorical style, which is to be expected, as Neile was a self-professed 'poor student'; but they are very well structured, which is nonetheless a feature of rhetoric as well. More importantly, the letters reveal a vast social

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[410] Neile, *Articles to be Inquired Of* (1636), 25.

[411] Richard Neile to Richard Clayton, January 1611, Richard Neale (leases at Sunninghill & Westminster College): Richard Clayton, GB 1859 SJCR/SJAR/1/1/Clayton/3/8, St. John's College Archives, University of Cambridge. All references to Neile's letter to Clayton come from this item.

network held together either by educational affiliations like Westminster School (Harding and Neile) and St. John's College (Neile and Clayton), or by Church appointments (Neile and Carey). The latter is especially significant as, in his capacity as Clerk of the Closet (to which he was appointed as a result of his schoolmate's Robert Cecil's influence, when the latter was the Secretary of State), Neile was able to control the roster of preachers at Whitehall, and thereby monitor Churchmen's access to the King. That he did in fact use his position to this effect is evident in the first letter, when he asks Clayton to inform Carey of his preaching appointments at Whitehall, which were to take place in May, when Carey was going to 'haue his hands full of preaching to the Kinge'. Neile used his power to give Carey access to the King, and because preaching was the main tool in the 'struggle for men's minds', he allowed his friend an opportunity to influence the King's opinion.

The 'familiar letter' was supposed to mirror conversations between absent friends, and those two letters by Neile certainly do. Both are familiar in tone and intimate in content, with Neile sharing news about his brother's ailment (sciatica—the same one that plagued Clayton). This, he says, was cured by a certain 'pocion' given to his brother by the Lord Apothecary, which Neile then recommends to Clayton. In the second letter, he assures Clayton that he 'may haue a convenient lodging with me' should he wish to visit Lichfield and Coventry—if he sends 'half a dozen lynes' to a Mr. Minter on Neile's behalf. The 'familiar letter' can be said to be a quintessentially humanist form, and Neile knew how to use it to activate the social capital that his membership of academic and Church groups afforded him—even if the letters are not rhetorical masterpieces.

Neile's other, more official, correspondence reveals his role in maintaining the state's Church doctrine of Predestination at the centre of English national identity as an 'elect' nation, and its role in confessionalization. For example, in June 1626, Neile wrote an official

letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, informing the administration that the King (Charles I [r.1625-1649]) forbade the announced disputation on Predestination.[412] This is significant because a disputation would have allowed students and faculty a platform on which to share arguments against the established doctrine, and therefore against the state's authority as Head of the Church. Part of the English 'elect' consciousness rested on the fact that Anglicanism was a unique form of Protestantism, which could therefore mean only one thing—England's religion was a gift from God, and England His chosen people, modelled on the nation of Zion.[413] However, as religious sentiment was growing in England with the rise of Calvinism and the influence of the Old Testament, the state needed to be seen as a protector of religion if it was to remain in power. Neile's letter was an example of the King protecting both religious and state authority.

Overall, then, what was Neile's impact on, or contribution to, English culture and religion? Neile's impact can most readily be understood through the men he mentored and patronised in his capacities as bishop, Dean of Westminster, and Archbishop of York. He supported Richard Meredith (1559-1621), whose sermons were often considered to be challenging to Protestant orthodoxy, as well as Herbert, who went on to have a very successful career as a poet, and Laud, who edited the first collection of Andrewes's *Ninety-Six Sermons*.[414] Was Neile directly responsible for these men's success? No, but his patronage

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412 Richard Neile to the Vice-Chancellor of the Universiry of Cambridge, June 1626, Letters received and mandates in the reign of Charles I, 1625 - 1644, A6, GBR/0265/UA/Lett.12, Lett.12. Cambridge University Library.

413 There is extensive literature about England's 'elect' status in the early modern period, which was heavily influenced by the paradigm of Israel in the Old Testament and its direct dealings with God—with which committed English Protestants thoroughly identified. Even the Marian return to Catholicism was interpreted as God testing English Protestants' resolve, the same way He tested Israel. Therefore, every threat to the Church of England was seen as another test, and ultimately every victory was then interpreted as God's saving grace, because He could not abandon His chosen nation. For more details on English 'elect' nationalism, see: William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and The Elect Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967); and David Loewenstein and Paul Stevens, ed., *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

414 Foster notes that Neile personally recommended two of Meredith's sermons to be printed in 1606, which are still available today, and he may have even had a hand in Meredith's appointment to the Deanery of Wells.

and support helped them reach posts in which they could then succeed, much in the same way that the Cecil family's patronage helped Neile with his own success. His humanist schooling, on the other hand, was instrumental in the maintenance of social networks through letters, and can be seen to have an impact on the spirit of his writing, if not the content.

Mateusz Bembus (1567-1645)

Mateusz Bembus was born in 1567 in Poznań, Poland, to a patrician family. He studied at the Jesuit college in Poznań, where he returned to teach philosophy (1598-1601), after getting his doctorate in theology at the Jesuit-run Academy of Vilnius.[415] He then went back to Vilnius as a professor of scholastic theology, spending eight years in residence at the Academy (1602-1610). In 1611, he was appointed preacher to the King, Sigismund III Vasa (r. 1587-1632), a position he held until 1618, when, against the wishes of the King, he embarked on a diplomatic mission to Italy.[416] He took over as the king's preacher from another eminent Jesuit scholar, Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), whose work unfortunately overshadowed much of Bembus's preaching, as was the case with Andrewes and Neile.

Bembus's preaching centred on defending the poor and presenting a view of the ideal nobleman, inspired by Andrzej Bobola (1540-1616), and designed to admonish what he considered to be lawless Polish nobility. Bembus is rumoured to have written a Latin language school play, *Antithemius Seu Mors Peccatoris (Antithemius or Death of a Sinner)*, which was performed in the Poznań college in 1620.[417] If he did indeed write this play, it would be entirely in line with both the Jesuit teaching tradition, and the Jesuit teaching

[415] Chodkowski points out that, according to the *Annales*, the Poznań college was focused on rhetoric, grammar, and Latin, and followed the standard Jesuit curriculum.

[416] Elżbieta Aleksandrowska, ed., *Dawni polscy pisarze: od początku piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski* [Former Polish writers: from the beginning of writing to Young Poland] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2000), 48.

[417] Aleksandrowska, ed., *Dawni polscy pisarze*, 48.

objectives—particularly in Poland, where theatre was enormously important, as noted in the previous chapter. Moreover, the premise of the play, a cautionary tale about the death of a sinner, would be a fitting addition to Bembus's other works, which are emphatic warnings about the consequences of living an impious life.

Not much has been written about Bembus to date and his works are no longer in print in Poland, though they are available through the national archives. As with Neile, the question remains: Why the relative silence on Bembus? After all, he was a prolific preacher, writer, and teacher, he was a champion of the peasants and the poor, he stood up to tyrannical nobility, and as a Catholic priest he was vehemently against heresy. The answer possibly lies in the fact that he was surrounded by men considered to have left a greater legacy than he, like Piotr Skarga and Jakub Wujek (1541-1597), both of whom are still popular subjects of scholarships His significance to this study lies in exactly this, that he *was* the type of person the humanists and Jesuits aimed to teach: a man of public affairs, as shown by his diplomatic influence at court; a versatile writer who wrote not only Christian texts but also (possibly) a play; and a scholar and theologian, who spoke and wrote in both Latin and Polish. By all accounts he was successful, and yet, he is not considered to have been *great*.[418] Again, as with Neile, Bembus serves to prove Mulcaster's position about the importance of focusing on greatness, while being aware of the inevitability of remaining mediocre. Bembus and Neile

[418] There is no mention of Bembus in Polish literature on 'great' preachers of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, though he does appear as a footnote to the main protagonists of those texts, such as the Jesuits Skarga and Wujek, and the Dominican Fabian Birkowski (1566-1636). Sometimes Bembus is mentioned in texts on the theme of 'crime and punishment' in sermons of the late-Renaissance period, where his sermons are discussed over the course of one to two paragraphs, while Skarga's work is given a much more prominent place. This suggests that while he is recognised for having delivered successful sermons, Bembus is seen as unoriginal, confined to the footnotes of history.

However, it's worth remembering that neither the humanists nor the Jesuits pretended to educate men in the spirit of originality; rather, they relied on previous tradition for inspiration and creativity, as shown by teaching methods such as *imitatio*, and *metaphrasis* and *paraphrasis*. There are about ten Jesuits who distinguished themselves in some form in public life between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, there were forty-one Jesuit schools in Poland by 1634, which indicates that the vast majority of students were unremarkable; many were successful, but not great (like Bembus); and a small number were exceptional.

are not considered here as exceptions; rather they are studied as the rule. They are both men who tried hard and succeeded in their chosen fields—excelled even—without revolutionising the cultural and social consciousness of their communities. It is obvious that there were (and indeed are) more men like Bembus and Neile than like Andrewes and Drużbicki, but at the same time, it is also obvious that schools educate both men of success, and men of higher genius. Evidently, the humanists did as well.

The influence and life experience of Mateusz Bembus reveal the extent of the Jesuit network in Poland, which produced Jakub Wujek and Piotr Skarga, the former of which was the rector of the college in Poznań during Bembus's time there as a student (1571-1578), while the latter was preacher to the King before Bembus's appointment. One of the texts under analysis here is often referred to in scholarship about Piotr Skarga, as it reflects the same themes of God's wrath and destruction that both men saw as the consequences of ungodly behaviour among the nobility; the other text is Bembus's vision of the ideal nobleman, preached during the funeral ceremony of Andrzej Bobola (1540-1616).

I begin in chronological order here, with Bembus's funeral oration for Andrzej Bobola, preached in 1616, printed in 1629 on the request of the Bishop of Vilnius, Eustachy Wołłowicz (1572-1630). This sermon, entitled *Wizerunek Szlachcica Prawdziwego* (*The Image of a True Nobleman*) was given with a view to illustrate the characteristics of an ideal nobleman through the person of Andrzej Bobola, at whose funeral Bembus first delivered it. From the very beginning we can see that this sermon does not reflect the same commitment to *dispositio* seen in Andrewes's sermons, as there is no clear trajectory of argument presented at the outset. However, this does not mean that Bembus eschews arrangement altogether. The sermon is arranged around a series of Latin expressions followed by explanations in Polish. The extensive Latin references are Biblical in origin, which shows

Bembus's superb knowledge of Scripture. Take, for example, the following combination: 'Reueritur puluis in terram suam vnde erat & Spiritus redit ad DEVM qui dedit illum. Wraca się proch do ziemie swey zktorey był, a Duch wróci się do Boga który go dał.'[419] Bembus begins here with a quote from Ecclesiastes 12:7 in Latin, which he then translates faithfully into Polish. The poem he quotes is the last in the book of Ecclesiastes, and it focuses on what happens after death, a fitting choice for the occasion. Choosing this particular part of the Old Testament allows Bembus to set a heavy and thoughtful tone by using *inductio* to universalise Bobola's death and remind his audience that everyone shares the same fate in the end.[420] Given that this book of the Bible is known as a book of poetic wisdom, this also allows Bembus to use abstract and metaphorical language, which again reflects the mood of the occasion and shows an impressive amount of *inventio*. Interestingly, unlike Andrewes, Bembus does not dissect Biblical quotes at all; instead, he moves swiftly from one quote or reference to another, giving his audience a much fuller picture of what the scriptures say about death, memory, and legacy. This makes sense, considering how differently Catholics and Protestants treated the Bible as a source of authority. For Protestants, the Bible formed the core of religious (and national) identity, and individual study of Scripture was encouraged by Church and state authorities both in schools and at home. In contrast, for Catholics, the Bible was second in authority to the interpretive powers of the priest, and individual Bible study was not part of Catholic education—although Polish language Bibles did exist in this period. In this sermon, which printed, is just over thirty pages, Bembus quotes from the following books: Second book of Samuel, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom of Solomon (not in the Protestant canon), Genesis, Proverbs, The Gospel According to St. John, St. Paul's Epistles,

[419] Mateusz Bembus, *Wizerunek Szlachcica Prawdziwego* [The Image of a True Nobleman], A3r.

[420] *Inductio* is not a Ciceronian figure, but it is present in Aristotle's rhetorical theory, which was commonly used in Jesuit classes on rhetoric alongside Cicero.

Corinthians, and Judith (also not in the Protestant canon). Clearly then, the Bible is the focal point of Bembus's sermon, and serves as an effective linguistic and conceptual foundation on which he bases the main point of his sermon: that only God is eternal, and only in leaving behind a good legacy (following a noble life) can we approach something akin to immortality.

Like Andrewes, Bembus uses rhetorical questions to draw his audience in, which then gives more weight to his own answer. For example, in this short exchange Bembus asks, 'którasz mądrość prawdziwsza, tokawsza czy bojaźń Boża?' (Which wisdom is truer, this one [he is referring here to earthly wisdom], or the fear of God?) And he immediately answers, 'Timor Domini ipsa est sapientia'—the fear of God itself is wisdom.[421] Quoting the answer from the Second book of Solomon, straight in Latin, not only gives it even more weight but makes Bembus merely the messenger of the word of God, which makes it more difficult for the Catholic audience to disregard his advice. The whole sermon follows this pattern, which suggests that its main objective was to convince the audience that a true nobleman knows that the only true wisdom is the fear of God, and therefore that wisdom alone should govern all decisions. Through this type of oratory Bembus shows that he is both a pious man, as he displays a remarkable knowledge and understanding of Scripture, and a dutiful subject, as the sermon is essentially a message to noblemen to stop seeking fame through political power, which ultimately is in support of the power of the King. And thus, Bembus rises to the humanist expectations of being a good man, skilled in speaking.

Another important aspect of Bembus's sermons is the ease with which he switches between Latin and Polish. He often begins with one language only to switch to the other mid-

[421] Bembus, *Wizerunek Szlachcica Prawdziwego*, A4r. We can also see here the emphasis on *sapientia* as a type of practical wisdom that ensures a fulfilling life.

sentence. This shows not only a remarkable control of the languages themselves, but of their respective syntactic features as his combinations are flawlessly put together. Consider the following example: 'Według przykazania Bożego y gorącey chrzechcianskiey nauki wszystko *ad litteram* wypełniać,' meaning 'according to God's commandments and the burning Christian teachings do everything *to the letter/exactly* (*ad litteram*).'[422] What is interesting is that this is an imperative sentence, which allows Bembus to stick to the Latinate syntax with the verb coming at the end, despite most of the sentence being in Polish. What this reveals about his message, though, is that the most important element of his command is that everything needs to be done *exactly* as God commands. Keeping that part in Latin suggests that rather than it being Bembus's command, it is God's.

A second worthwhile example, which also shows Bembus's superb skills as a linguist, (and he is much more subtle than Andrewes), is the following sentence: 'Y przeto *memoria ipsius in benedictione*, pamiątka takowego pobożnego życia iego na wieki będzie, każdy go chwalić będzie, każdy mu błogosławić będzie' meaning 'And thus *its own memory in blessing*, memory of this pious life of his will be eternal, everyone will praise him, everyone will bless him.'[423] Again as above, the Latin section fits perfectly with the Polish sentence. The significance here comes in the Latin word *benedictione* which can mean both 'blessing' but also 'praise', from the verb *benedīcere*, 'to speak well'. Bembus skillfully suggests both meanings, saying that a good and pious life will not only be remembered forever, but also praised, or well spoken of, and blessed. Here we can see a great deal of *inventio* as Bembus strategically deploys Latin as the language of the climax of every sentence; moreover, he quotes from the Bible, which adds a layer of religious authority on top of linguistic authority,

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[422] Bembus, *Wizerunek Szlachcica Prawdziwego*, A4v.

[423] Bembus, *Wizerunek Szlachcica Prawdziwego*, Br.

amplifying his overall message. This is entirely unsurprising given the Jesuits' rather unfavourable view of vernacular languages, which they saw as secondary to the ancient languages, and certainly not nearly as effective, or beautiful, as Latin.[424] Additionally, the use of Latin as a medium here is also significant, as it gives Bembus's message an air of antique, and therefore timeless, wisdom, which could not be achieved with the use of the vernacular alone. Bembus would have gained knowledge of the particular meanings inherent in Latin expression from exercises like *paraphrasis* and *metaphrasis*, which would have also alerted him to the importance of the medium as well as the content of a text. The skillful deployment of both languages also shows a considerable degree of both *prudentia* and *sapientia*—as Bembus displays the raw knowledge of both languages, as well as which language will send a stronger message.

It is tempting to say that, in this sermon, Bembus is not nearly as inventive nor as engaging a speaker as Andrewes, as he lacks the strategic punctuation, emotional exclamations, and rhetorical adornments so effectively used by Andrewes. However, this could be down to Jesuit education, and its emphasis on good taste in composition and neatness of emotional expression.[425] In this case, by Jesuit standards, Bembus was right to keep his tone somber and measured throughout, as the occasion certainly required it and the sermon itself benefits from this approach. Through Bembus's ethical and rhetorically sensitive approach to the situation at hand, we can see the influence of Aristotle's rhetorical theory on the Jesuits, marking a departure from the Ciceronian preference in other humanists.

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[424] Casalini and Pavur, ed., *Jesuit Pedagogy*, 274. The Jesuits were very focused on teaching proper syntax in Latin, which is why they advised against the prolonged use of vernacular languages, limiting it to only brief expressions and only when absolutely necessary.

[425] Casalini and Pavur, ed., *Jesuit Pedagogy*, 272.

The second of Bembus's sermons I selected for this study is one of his most famous ones, *Trába Gniewu Bożego* (*The Trumpet of the Wrath of God*), preached in 1618, which was towards the end of his appointment as court preacher. Here, Bembus unleashes his most forceful criticism of Polish nobility and their anti-religious conduct, which he blames for Poland's many military and religious struggles. It is notable that in Polish political thought, the freedom of the nobility to form *Rzeczpospolita Szlachecka* (The Republic of Nobles) was a gift from God.[426] Therefore, defending the country was synonymous with defending religion. Bembus uses this against the nobility, claiming that the Republic is under attack because they had not defended the Catholic faith from 'heretics', meaning Turkey, the Tatars, and Sweden. He also, however, suggests how they can get it back: by turning towards (the Catholic) God. For Bembus, the Commonwealth is Catholic; and everyone that is not is to blame for its problems. Therefore, he admonishes those noblemen who want to be considered good Christians for being involved in politics without being pious. He says, 'Nie pokazować po sobie żadnego zwierzchnego nabożeństwa: w Kościele mało co bywać ... ale tak katholiki iako y heretyki za dobre Chrzechciany mieć by ieno tylko politice dobrzy byli.'[427]

He begins this sermon rather delicately, with a description of God's loving but just nature, using long and thought-out sentences, which gives the sermon and air of calm seriousness and leaves him room for the buildup of momentum. This makes the sermon instantly richer in rhetoric, as it gives Bembus room to play with sentence length. He does this with a short rhetorical question, 'A to dlaczego?' (And why is this?), which he then answers with, 'Bo miłosierny jest Bóg, dobry jest Bóg, łaskawy jest Bóg' (Because God is

426 Stanisław Roszak, "Forms of Patriotism in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," in *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed., Balázs Trencśenyi and Márton Zászkaliczky (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 447-448.

427 Mateusz Bembus, *Trába Gniewu Bożego* [The trumpet of the wrath of God], 16. The passage translates as: 'Not showing any signs of outward piety, not going to church often, but Catholics as much as heretics consider (themselves) good Christians if they are only good at politics.'

loving, God is good, God is merciful.) With this short exchange, Bembus accomplishes two things of rhetorical significance: First, he uses asyndeton, like Andrewes, as he leaves out conjunctions, giving the sentence a steady rhythm, while suggesting that each quality in God is of equal importance. Second, he uses a tricolon to describe God's nature, where each part of the sentence is paratactic[428] (has the same grammatical structure), supporting the interpretation that Bembus means to say that each quality is as important as the others.[429] It is interesting to see that despite the fact that both Andrewes and Bembus use the same techniques, they use them for entirely different effects: the one to bring his audience to a climax, and the other to calm them down. Again, then, we see the same practices used in principle, drawing from the same curriculum, however with a difference in rhetorical devices, reflected in different textbooks, with the Jesuits leaning more heavily on Aristotle's textbook than Cicero's. Therefore, overall, Bembus displays a more apparent awareness of logic, while Andrewes focuses on philological connections.

Furthermore, to achieve his desired effect of scaring his audience into greater piety, Bembus uses a biblical story from Deuteronomy, in which Moses sings a song praising God.[430] This song then turns into a lament, as Moses decries the ways in which the Jews shamed their God by worshipping false gods. In the end, God abandons them, and Moses dies on Mount Nebo, having only seen the Promised Land from a distance, as punishment for leading his people astray. This story is a powerful analogy for how Bembus viewed the state of Poland at the time. He seems to have seen himself as Moses, God's messenger, while his people, the Polish nobility, had abandoned God by turning instead to false gods, and wealth,

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[428] *Parataxis* is the rhetorical term Bembus uses here, which, again, does not appear in the Cicero but rather in Aristotle.

[429] Bembus, *Trába Gniewu Bożego*, 1.

[430] Bembus, *Trába Gniewu Bożego*, 4.

fame, and power. As mentioned above, allegory was a common rhetorical technique, extensively used by humanists such as Erasmus, and Bembus uses it much in the same way as Andrewes, by calling attention to the similarities between his audience and the biblical story. However, Bembus is not nearly as meticulous in reasoning out his comparison, and he does not use the techniques of *ratiocinatio* and *enumeratio*; instead he relies on contemporary events happening in Poland and metaphorical language to drive his point home. He details the faults of the Polish society at length, and focuses on the false religions practiced in Poland, among them Judaism, Islam, and paganism. He then goes on to suggest that the kingdom is destined to fall under a heavy Turkish hand, 'pod ciężką turecką rękę,' essentially forewarning his compatriots of an Ottoman conquest, which he suggests would be the direct consequence of impiety in the kingdom.[431]

Bembus's sermon fits neatly into an anti-Turkish and anti-Tatar polemical tradition, popularised in the sixteenth century by Stanislaw Orzechowski, Marcin Bielski (1495-1575), Stanisław Sarnicki (1532-1597), and Bartosz Paprocki (1543-1614), among others.[432] The *turcyki* were also often used as diplomatic propaganda to elevate the Commonwealth's international standing as defenders of the faith. Bembus plays on this very effectively, arguing that the nobility has essentially failed in this mission, not on the battlefield, but before God. Here, Bembus was able to use the rhetorical skills he gained through Jesuit education to conflate religious identity with politics, and thereby play on the emotions of his audience to influence their future actions—which was the goal of every skilled rhetorician.

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[431] Bembus, *Trába Gniewu Bożego*, 5.

[432] For more on the anti-Turkish literature of this period see: Volodymyr Pilipenko, *Pered licem voroga: pol'ska antiturec'ka literatura seredini XVI—seredini XVII st.,* [Before the enemy's eyes: Polish anti-Turkish literature from the second half of the sixteenth century, to the first half of the seventeenth century] (Kiev, 2014)

We can see another effective metaphor here, that of the heavy hand, suggesting not only conquest but also captivity—again likening the Polish society to the Biblical Jews escaping captivity with God's help. This calls to mind another aspect of Polish religious identity, namely that of being the *antemurale* (bulwark) protecting Christianity from its enemies, the Ottomans, and the Tatars.[433] Crucially for Bembus, in 1618, the Commonwealth was at war with the Swedes, who were enemies not of Christianity but of Catholicism. Bembus was therefore able to suggest in this sermon that Polish identity is Catholic identity. At a time when the country was inching closer towards Catholicism and away from Protestantism (largely due to the popularity and influence of the Jesuit schools), this was a powerful implied meaning.

It is worth discussing the differences between how Andrewes and Bembus use Biblical stories in their sermons, which is very revealing about both their schooling and their theological beliefs. The crux of the matter is that where Andrewes focuses on deliverance from evil, Bembus chooses to speak of punishment and abandonment in the face of evil. This discrepancy is the result of confessional education: we therefore see Andrewes labouring to prove to his audience that they are the elect and thus fully protected by God, while Bembus carefully warns his audience about the consequences of their impiety and exhorts them to abandon their sinful ways. Significantly, both kingdoms were under threat during the times when Andrewes and Bembus preached their respective sermons. England was under threat from Catholic rebels, as it was becoming more Calvinist early on in James I's reign; Poland-Lithuania, on the other hand, was engaged in the Second Polish-Swedish War (1617-1618). Both men were therefore informed by contemporary events and politics, but they handled

[433] For more details about Poland-Lithuania as a defender of the faith see: Janusz Tazbir, 'From *Antemurale* to *Przedmurze*, the History of the Term,' *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* [The Renaissance and the Reformation in Poland] (2017): 67-87.

their respective threats very differently, and this difference was entirely down to their religious beliefs. Andrewes saw the defeat of the Catholic faction as confirmation of elect status of James I, his court, and indeed of all of England, whereas Bembus saw the Swedish threat as punishment for the ungodly ways of the Polish nobility, who were failing as the *antemurale*.

Bembus is also fond of metaphors, as he compares God's wrath to a drawn arrow. He explains his comparison by saying that just as an arrow is precise and deadly, so is God's wrath.[434] We can see then that Bembus uses metaphors to play on his audience's fears, to then be able to deliver a message of hope, when he gives advice about how to turn back from an ungodly path and avoid the arrow of God, which is the focal point of this sermon. This metaphor also remakes reference to war and violence, suggesting that impiety results in war. Bembus therefore suggests that it is the fault of the lawless nobility that the kingdom is at war, as it is a punishment exacted by God.

Later on in the sermon Bembus again uses a biblical allegory to play on the fears and emotions of his audience. This time he refers to the book of Psalms, and he draws on Psalms 9 and Psalms 11, again mirroring the situation in Poland, or at least his perception of it.[435] Psalms 9 is a celebratory poem praising God's nature. It begins with a celebration of the benefits to the psalmist and his people, and it ends with a cry for help when the psalmist and his people come under attack. Psalms 11 is a rejection of advice given to the psalmist to flee from danger, and the psalmist instead resolves to stay, and puts his trust in God. Bembus uses these two poems in reverse order, as he starts with the latter story and ends with the former, essentially issuing a warning that only wholehearted trust in God can save Poland from

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[434] Bembus, *Trába Gniewu Bożego*, 3.

[435] Bembus, *Trába Gniewu Bożego*, 20.

attack, and that to accomplish this they should praise and celebrate God, not vie for power and fame or worship 'false gods'.

Like Andrewes, Bembus was a fluent speaker of the humanist 'language'. He used a range of Ciceronian rhetorical devices, such as rhetorical questions, asyndeton, metaphors, varied sentence structure and length, as well as tricolons, and repetition. He also effectively mixed Latin and his vernacular Polish, maintaining the syntactic structure of both. Moreover, he spoke the same biblical idiom that Andrewes did, and through it showed himself to be a learned scholar of the Bible, a pious and dutiful subject, and an effective speaker. His sermons show a commitment to the main tenets of rhetoric—*inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, and *pronuntiatio* or *actio* (mostly through the varied sentence structure and length), which he would have learned through the practice of *declamatio* in school. And yet, despite the similarities of language and values, the two men were able to spread entirely different messages to their audiences, which was the primary goal of preaching in the age of confessionalization.

Kasper Drużbicki (1590-1662)

Kasper Drużbicki was born in 1590, in Drużbice, Poland, to a noble family. Like Bembus, he attended the Jesuit college in Poznań. From there, he went on to study rhetoric at Lublin (1611-1612) and philosophy in Kalisz (1612-1615). He then spent several years as a teacher of rhetoric and logic at various Jesuit colleges across Poland. Drużbicki spoke Polish, Latin, and Spanish. He was a skilled administrator, preacher, and writer, particularly of ascetic texts, which enjoyed considerable popularity both domestically and abroad. He served as the Provincial of Poland for the Jesuit Order on three separate occasions, firstly from 1629 to 1633, then from 1650 to 1653, and then again in 1661. His writings were translated into

various foreign languages among them English, French, German, and Spanish, almost as soon as they were printed in Polish.[436]

Drużbicki was very influential, not only in Poland but also abroad, which is reflected in the number of secondary materials that have been written about him.[437] As the provincial of Poland, he was careful to look after Jesuit colleges and new members of the Order, making sure that the schools had enough funds to educate new members properly, which shows his commitment to the highest quality of education.[438] He was also successful at developing and maintaining friendly relations with the Uniate Church in Ukraine, under the rules of the Union of Brześć of 1595-1596.[439] In October 1629, just after his appointment as provincial, he already showed that he was fully committed to the Jesuit mission, by sending two other Jesuits to Lviv to preach at the Uniate synod—one of whom was Mateusz Bembus. Of course, Drużbicki would have been aware of Bembus's past as a preacher to the King as well as his political opinions, which made him an ideal candidate to travel to the synod, and his former diplomatic role would have also ensured a certain degree of recognition and authority. Apparently Bembus's sermon at the synod was nothing short of riveting.[440]

Drużbicki spent the better part of his later life as rector of various Jesuit colleges, including Krakow, Kalisz, and Poznań. During his time in Krakow, which coincided with his first appointment as provincial, the disagreement about teaching rights between the college and the Krakow Academy intensified, with the college eventually being ordered to cease

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436 Aleksandrowska, ed., *Dawni polscy pisarze*, 253-54.

437 For a detailed list of secondary materials, see J. Majkowski, J. Misiurek, *Drużbicki Kasper SJ*, in *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 4, (Lublin: 1983), 240-41.

438 Józef Mandziuk, 'O. Kasper Drużbicki SJ (1590-1662) i jego nauka o doskonałości Chrześcijańskiej,' *Saeculum Christianum* XXIV (2017), 131.

439 The articles of the Union of Brześć were partly authored by Piotr Skarga, Bembus's predecessor as preacher to the king, and a celebrated supporter of the eastern provinces of Lithuania and Belarus.

440 Mandziuk, 'O. Kasper Drużbicki,' 131.

classes for non-Jesuits in 1634.[441] Following his success as a rector and teacher, he took on the post of the preacher of the Lublin Tribunal in 1636, which accelerated his career as an influential preacher. His audiences included the peasants, the gentry, and the high nobility. He left twenty-four volumes of sermon manuscripts, most of which, as Mandziuk points out, are a cross between the classical and panegyric styles, which shows both a fondness for tradition and an awareness of the power of panegyrics, particularly as success seems to have been strongly reliant on social capital.[442] In 1650 Drużbicki refused the post of preacher to the King, Jan Kazimierz (r. 1648-1668), which he was offered following his success as preacher in Lublin. Drużbicki argued in his refusal letter that he favours a strongly emotional and evidence-based type of preaching rather than a literary or subtle one.[443] Interestingly it was Bembus who was fond of literary and highly metaphorical sermons. Drużbucki's last post was as rector of the Poznań college, where he died in 1662. Following his death, his body was interned in the college chapel, where members of the community of Poznań gathered to pay their respects—some are said to have torn off pieces of his vestments to keep as relics, such was his influence with the townsfolk.[444]

In his life as in his preaching, Drużbucki followed the short instruction given by St Benedict of Nursia: *Ora et labora* (pray and work) and he believed that the only way to Christian perfection was through a union with God. This he had in common with the Christian mysticism and mystical poetry of Mikołaj Sęp-Szarzyński (d.1581), who

441 Mandziuk, 'O. Kasper Drużbicki,' 131.
442 Mandziuk, 'O. Kasper Drużbicki,' 132.
443 Mandziuk, 'O. Kasper Drużbicki,' 132.
444 Mandziuk, 'O. Kasper Drużbicki,' 135.

maintained intimate ties with the Jesuit Order, despite being a Protestant.[445] The texts examined here are mainly concerned with the topic of Christian perfection and the ways to achieve it. They provide a stark contrast to the work of Bembus, with Drużbicki focusing on the path to perfection and Bembus on the consequences of not walking it.

The nature of the two works by Drużbicki is different, as they are not sermons, but rather devotional texts on how to reach Christian perfection, and therefore complete union with God. Nonetheless, they are still written in the same rhetorical and Biblical idiom as the others, suggesting Drużbicki's humanist background. The first text, *Serce Jezusowe, Meta Albo Cel Serc Stworzonych*, printed posthumously in 1687, translates into English as *The Sacred Heart, the Goal of Hearts*, and can be considered a precursor to the later phenomenon of devotion to the Sacred Heart, following the visions of Margaret Mary Alcoque (1647-1690) between 1673 and 1675. Drużbicki begins this text with three stand-alone quotes from the books of Proverbs, Psalms, and the Song of Songs—all three are celebratory and devotional books of poems. Leaving the quotes without interpretation signals to the reader that the journey to the union with the Sacred Heart is a very personal one.

Indeed, this text is a personal prayer addressed to the Sacred Heart designed to be read out by a church congregation in unison; its fuller title supplied by the author following his preface is *The Hours of the Sacred Heart*. As it is a prayer promising a personal experience, one would expect it to be free from rhetoric, and yet it is packed with rhetorical techniques on every level: performance, form, structure, and meaning. Consider the following triplets:

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[445] This similarity of theme and argument (as above with Skarga and Bembus) opens up an interesting research avenue for a comparative study of texts which share thematic aspects as contemporary examples of *imitatio* and *metaphrasis* and *paraphrasis* in action. Going beyond the classical tradition they established a new dominant 'language'—created, as Pocck says is possible, as a consequence of preservation efforts, which started with Renaissance humanism and carried on through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and all the way down to the neoclassical literature of the eighteenth century, as mentioned in the first chapter.

Serce Iezusa Chrystusa otwórz wargi moie a usta moie będą chwalić ciebie.

Serce Iezusa ku wspomożeniu memu przybądź.

Serce Iezusa do rozpalenia mnie pośpiesz się.

Serce Iezusa Chrystusa Sercu Oyca wiecznego z moim sercem oddaie na wieki.

Serce Iezusa ku wspomożeniu memu przybądź.

Serce Iezusa do rozpalenia mnie pośpiesz się.'[446] .

This is the basic formula of this prayer, and from the outset we can see that the three central tropes here are synecdoche, repetition, and tricolon. With regards to performance, it is at once very private and very public, as each member of the congregation says the prayer out loud, and yet each member reads as an individual, with their own intentions in mind, as merely one part of the whole congregation. Thus each individual becomes a synecdoche of the whole group. The repetitive nature of the prayer gives it a ritualistic aspect, as the unison becomes a chant. Chanting was the preferred mode of prayer among Christian mystics, which they borrowed from the Orthodox practice of hesychasm, popular in the eleventh century.[447] As Drużbicki was the preeminent Polish mystic of his time, it is unsurprising that he would

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[446] Kasper Drużbicki, *Serce Jezusowe, Meta Albo Cel Serc Stworzonych* [The Sacred Heart, Goal of Hearts], A3v-A5v.

[447] In eastern Christianity this type of experience is known as *hesychia*, which is inner stillness typically achieved by chanting a repetitive contemplative prayer to Jesus, the Kyrie, which consists of three phrases in Greek: '*Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*' meaning 'Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy'. Each line is normally chanted three times. The prayer is a feature of both the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox mass, while Anglicans normally sing it in English. Drużbicki seems to have adapted it into a more poetic version addressed to the Sacred Heart instead of Jesus, but there are clear similarities between the two versions, at the very least in the triplet structure and the pleading nature of the text—a true example of *imitatio*.

design his prayer according to the norms prevalent in mysticism—still following the humanist practices of *imitatio*.

The form, a whole-congregation prayer, is also its own message here: Catholicism is the religion of unity, unlike Protestantism, which encourages a more contemplative individual experience. Even while composing a prayer, Drużbicki was able to infuse his work with confessional messaging, which is a testament to the versatility of humanist education and especially of humanist 'language'.

Structurally, the repetition of 'Serce Iezusa', as well as lines two and three of the triplet lends each line a common feature, connecting them to the whole prayer as individual (and united) parts, maintaining synecdoche as the dominant trope. Additionally, the tricolon that makes up each triplet evokes the Holy Trinity, where each line represents one part of the whole—the Holy Spirit and the Father, both unchanging and immutable, are represented by lines two and three (which likewise do not change), while Jesus, having been part of the changing human world, is represented by line one, the only one subject to change. Thus the structure itself becomes a symbol for the Christian belief in the Holy Trinity.

Moreover, synecdoche and repetition are both integral to the meaning of this prayer. From the very beginning, Drużbicki uses repetition, repeating 'Serce Iezusa' three times. The Sacred Heart is a symbol of Jesus's love for his Church, and of repetition itself, insofar as the heart beats. Jesus's love is similarly continuous. Synecdoche appears here too, as the Sacred Heart is substituted for Jesus. Arguably this mirrors the Eucharist, which is also a synecdoche of Christ, which serves as an astute metaphor for the participatory nature of the chanted prayer itself.

The first line of the prayer translates into English as 'Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ, open my mouth and my lips will praise you'. The 'lips' here are a synecdoche of the reader,

and they 'will praise' Christ; however, they will not do it of their own accord, but only if Jesus opens the reader's mouth first. This removes the agency from the reader and places it entirely in Christ's hands, symbolising surrender, which Drużbicki seems to say is necessary for a complete union with God. This is another common theme in mystical poetry, including that of John Donne and Mikołaj Sęp-Szarzyński, as well as the Spanish mystic San Juan de la Cruz (1542-1591), and the French poet Jean de Sponde (1557-1595), all of whom received a humanist education.

The grammatical structure of this line is also repeated in the other two lines, as they are all imperative sentences. However, given the context of the prayer and its objective, they should be interpreted as pleas rather than imperatives. Pleading reveals a certain kind of need bordering on desperation, especially as this prayer would have been chanted by whole congregations, giving the words momentum, aided and sustained by a steady rhythm resulting from repetition. The momentum, however, would never be allowed to reach a natural climax, or catharsis, as equal sections of the prayer are separated by various hymns, after which the process restarts. This keeps the tension at a constant high without resolution, which implies that due to a lack of structural variation, the prayer itself is not designed as a journey, but rather as an even canvas onto which the reader can project whatever they need to achieve spiritually. This in turn suggests that the journey to a union with the Sacred Heart is indeed deeply personal as suggested by the uninterpreted biblical quotes prefacing the prayer.

The rhetorical richness of this prayer is remarkable and yet not in the least surprising. Drużbicki was a superb rhetorician: having studied the subject at length, he also taught it for a number of years. However, this prayer is more than an exercise in rhetoric—it is mystical poetry at its best. Again, Drużbicki's poetic genius should not come as a surprise, as the

Jesuits were committed to poetic education and verse composition, as explained in the previous chapters.

The second text by Drużbicki is perhaps his most famous one, *Droga Doskonałosci Chrzechciańskiey na Trzy Częsci Rozłozona*, which translates to *The Way to Christian Perfection in Three Parts*, printed in 1791. This book promises to be an easy-to-use manual, which is instantly different to what we have seen from the other men. The preface to this work already reveals its highly rhetorical nature, as it is explicitly organised into points to be addressed separately. At first we see a separation of three different types of people, and therefore three different ways of rejecting sin.[448] This is followed by an ordered conclusion, which carefully sets out the manual's objectives, warning the reader that the book is meant as a book of spiritual exercises. This is reminiscent of Ignatius Loyola's own book of *Spiritual Exercises*, itself a manual for a more fulfilling Christian life. Like Andrewes, Drużbicki uses familiar techniques of *enumeratio* and *ratiocinatio* to guide the reader through his reasoning with ease.

Just like Loyola's own book, Drużbicki's manual is broken down into exercises which are addressed directly to the reader, establishing a conversational tone and delivering on the promise of usability. Each exercise is broken down further into its constituent parts, just like above with Andrewes, using *enumeratio*. The exercises are close in form to prayers, as each is designed as a 'thank you' to God. For example, part three of exercise one goes as follows:

> *Dziekuieć i za to miłościwy Panie Boże moy, że mię od mego rozumu wzięcia ciągnąłeś i dotąd ciągniesz do znaiomości, boiaźni, czci, służby twoiey, to*

[448] Kasper Drużbicki, *Droga do doskonałości Chrześcijańskiej na trzy części rozłożona* [*The Way to Christian Perfection in Three Parts*], 2r-4r.

pogróżkami, to karaniem, to dobrodzieystwy, to obietnicami, to pociechami, chcąc liche stworzenie twe sobie i z sobą mieć, sobie przybrać, oczyścić, uspokoić, ubogacić, i wiecznością chwały twoiey nasycić.[449]

This is certainly a simple 'thank you' using uncomplicated language, therefore available to all literate people, and yet it is not completely devoid of rhetorical devices. First, the whole passage is just one sentence, which suggests an urgency, as the pauses in between clauses are shorter than they would be if the passage were divided into multiple sentences. Second, there are a total of three separate lists for which the reader should be thankful. The items are listed using asyndeton, without conjunctions, which adds to the urgency and creates a feeling of excitement, especially given that the words which immediately follow this passage are 'I rejoice in you.'[450] In fact, long sentences are a staple of this manual, which makes the road to Christian perfection seem enjoyable, due to the urgency and excitement created by rapid-fire lists.

There is, however, a slight change of tone by exercise five, which focuses on advice for denouncing sin, while at the same time reminding the reader about the consequences of living a sinful life. Drużbicki gives biblical examples of previous instances of punishment of sins, specifically the Flood, as well as Sodom and Gomorrah, both from Genesis, to illustrate the dangers of an unrepentant and impious life. This is somewhat conceptually similar to Bembus's sermon on God's wrath—however it is not nearly as explicit or as metaphorical. Here, Drużbicki stays true to the sentiment he expressed in the letter he sent to the king

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[449] Drużbicki, *The Way to Christian Perfection*, 2. Eng.: 'Thank you my merciful God that you lead me away from being dominated by reason and into fear, adoration, and service of you, with threats, with punishment, with goodness, with promises, with consolation, wanting to have your fragile creation for yourself and with yourself, dress, clean, calm, and enrich it, and fill it with your everlasting glory.'

[450] Drużbicki, *The Way to Christian Perfection*, 3.

rejecting the post of court preacher, as this book is based on biblical evidence rather than biblical allegory. Throughout this manual Drużbicki also displays his in-depth knowledge of Scripture, as well as diligence in the meticulous division of advice into parts, and authority in stating that the advice in the manual does in fact lead to Christian perfection.

Drużbicki is also fond of rhetorical exclamations, which in contrast to Andrewes, he does not use to feign outrage, but rather to express desperation and disbelief. This is an effective strategy, particularly as he uses the rhetorical exclamations in passages which are designed to humble the reader before God. For instance, in the following example, Drużbicki laments how his shame and unreason led him astray, 'Ach! wstydzie, ach! nierozumie, odstąpić od Boga, a stworzeniu się poddać.'[451] The rhetorical exclamations allow him to shift the blame to shame and unreason, which implies that the speaker was not fully in control of the decisions he was making, and in turn this opens up room for improvement and therefore a path to Christian perfection, as shame and unreason are singled out as elements on which the speaker needs to work. The same happens further on when, in exercise sixteen, Drużbicki again laments his devilish pride and senseless pomposity, and proceeds to banish them from his heart for tempting him away from God. He says, 'O! szatańska pycho, o! bezrozumna nadętości, o! … precz z serca mego, żadnego miejsca u mnie mieć nie możesz.'[452] As before, this passage suggests that the fault for making regrettable choices ultimately lies with Satan and not entirely with the speaker himself, and therefore there is a way out of this sinful life. It is worth noting the personification of these individual qualities in both instances, as they are portrayed as having agency and using it against the speaker, while the speaker desperately surrenders to God with his pleas, expressed in the imperative. This echoes the previous text

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451 Drużbicki, *The Way to Christian Perfection*, 20.

452 Drużbicki, *The Way to Christian Perfection*, 67.

where the reader of the prayer chooses to surrender his agency to the Sacred Heart, showing consistency of doctrine.

Overall, Drużbicki displays a remarkable knowledge of the humanist 'language' and real genius in its usage across genres. In his writing, he used the same rhetorical devices as Andrewes and Bembus, including rhetorical exclamations, repetition, tricolon, and metaphor. Drużbicki also spoke the same biblical idiom as both men, as evidenced by biblical references and direct quotations. Secondary to his writing, he was a skillful administrator, a brilliant scholar, a successful preacher, and a teacher. By all means he seems to have lived by the rules of Christian humanism with his life having been organised around diligent work, piety, and rhetoric. He was not engaged politically like the other three men examined in this chapter, but he was aware enough of politics to know that it was not the right path for him, which shows that the seeds of civic humanism did take hold in him, even if they did not yield fruit. Drużbicki was also more than a humanist, and more than any of the other men here, he was truly devoted to achieving a union with God, the ultimate goal of mysticism. This is another example of the versatility of humanist education, as Drużbicki, like the others, was able to use his social capital not only to his own benefit but also to the benefit of the Jesuit Order more broadly: he was able to speak the 'language', he displayed signs of humanist values, and yet he was much more than that. Still, humanism did have the last word over Drużbicki, as even his mystical prayer-poetry is a masterpiece in humanist rhetoric and values.

Conclusion

Did humanist education and pedagogical practices succeed in transmitting humanist values and language to their students? Based on this small sample of case studies the answer is, mostly, yes. The men I examined in this chapter did indeed become *viri boni dicendi periti*, even if they differed in exactly how good or how skilled they were. But schooling does not pretend to turn out graduates of the exact same skill and quality, and we should not expect this of the humanist schools, particularly as humanist educators were acutely aware that students differ from one another in everything from disposition to intellectual ability. It is therefore odd that previous studies have assumed that humanists set out to produce genius exclusively, rather than success. To varying degrees, then, they were successful with these four men, whom I selected not for their uniformity of circumstances nor ability, but precisely for their lack of it. Despite the same type of schooling, each man had a unique career and legacy, and still they displayed a remarkable amount of similarities in their characters and their rhetorical skills. Rather than chalking this up to coincidence, the evidence examined throughout this chapter suggests that the similarities between these four men are entirely down to the type and quality of schooling they received, and the social capital they were able to accumulate because of it.

In the final section I will offer a brief summary of the three chapters and synthesise the effects and efficacy of humanist education in late-Renaissance Poland and England. I will conclude with a brief reflection and suggestions for further research.

Conclusion

Humanist education served a society deeply divided by religious conflict, social class, and political strife. But it was also a society united in its appreciation of the classical tradition—and the Christian adaptation of it. It was applied to everything: from personal friendships, through reading practices; to political systems and religious sermons. Humanist education emerged as a way to make the classical tradition accessible to all those who were willing to put in the effort—and money. The humanists intended to raise the standards of both teaching practices and learning materials, to inspire men to transform European society into something reminiscent of Cicero's Roman Republic. Did they succeed? Given the rise of absolutism in Europe following the Renaissance… not immediately. But this is not the objective, nor the important question here. The objective of this research was to determine whether humanist education succeeded in equipping their students with classical rhetorical style, moral and ethical values, as well as a social network, in spite of the confessionally divided nature of early modern European society.

Grafton and Jardine argued that humanist schools cannot be considered a sufficient condition for individual success. They are right. But not because humanist education failed; rather, because nothing can (or should) be considered a sufficient condition for success on its own. Success is layered, and the humanists knew that. This is why major theorists emphasised the importance of student participation in the learning process both inside and outside of the classroom. They argued that people would forget what they had learned unless they committed to learning and continued reflection for life. The fact that some students ended up inevitably fulfilling this grim prophecy cannot be argued to be the fault of their teachers, nor of humanism as a movement. As shown in this study, the humanists recognised

that teaching and learning are distinct from one another, and that the success of any student depends on diligent application on the part of the student *and* excellent teaching. They also knew that to succeed, both teachers and students would need to be able to adapt to circumstances, which is why the curriculum advocated for self-knowledge and critical reading. The main elements of the humanist curriculum were rhetoric, grammar, eloquence, literature (classical poetry and prose), history and geography, as well as moral philosophy. Each one of the above elements was taught using classical texts, sometimes supplemented by commentaries or contemporary textbooks—particularly in Jesuit schools, as the humanists believed that all the wisdom worth knowing, and all the vocabulary worth using, existed in its most elegant form in the classical texts.

This research also shows that we should view humanist education as a period of apprenticeship in the discovery and imitation of the classical tradition. During this period in their lives, students were equipped with rhetorical skills and a set of moral and ethical values through teaching methods specifically designed with those in mind. These skills then allowed them to activate the social capital available to them through their membership in networks of similarly socialised individuals, which in turn facilitated their rise through the ranks of civil society. It was a practical type of education: even if its aims and reading materials were highly intellectual and academically challenging, the knowledge was supposed to be deployed in the public sphere. Learning for its own sake was considered un-Christian.

Indeed, humanist schooling was not immune to religious influence, and far from becoming an equalising force (as was its potential), education was used to further divide European society and to benefit the interests of religious and state authorities. The overwhelmingly Christian nature of humanist education can be seen in its authoritative organisation of canons of texts and teaching practices, as they were modelled on Church

equivalents: the Biblical canon and the *Code of Canon Law*. Additionally, ancient texts were often 'purged' of inappropriate (pagan) content and then reinterpreted and enriched with Christian meanings to be used in the classroom. With the arrival and then rapid spread of the Reformation, however, these messages changed, depending on region, and followed strictly confessional lines. This in turn facilitated confession-building, particularly in the two countries examined here: England, where Protestantism became part of the English national identity, and Poland, where Catholicism dominated the previous religiously diverse society and its power structures.

This thesis has shown that humanist educational theorists differed little from one another in their vision of ideal moral and ethical values, wisdom, and style, despite being spread across time and space, and sitting on opposite sides of the confessional aisle. Likewise, humanist teachers themselves exhibited largely similar qualities, skills, and attitudes towards education. Moreover, they promoted the use of the same classical texts, and the same teaching methods to transmit the humanist code of conduct to their students. The methods, inherited from the same classical tradition, were in turn adapted to the cultural and confessional needs of their communities. The texts and teachers examined here emphasised the importance of proper understanding and use of language in rhetoric, as well as of maintaining a community based on a shared sense of morality and service to God and country.

Humanist schools, both Protestant and Jesuit, therefore equipped their students with the same rhetorical skills, judgement, and moral character, but trained them to use these tools to assist in the confession-building process. It is clear from this research that the four men examined here had the tools to communicate with one another in the same 'language' and familiar genres of discourse, but they actively chose not to. Rather than being a bridge to

European unity, Christian humanism made the confessional divide in Europe more pronounced. The teachers and their students focused on the differences between denominations rather than similarities in shared cultural traditions and classical interests. This is why Jesuit students in Poznań were often involved in religious violence, and why Lancelot Andrewes was instrumental in the commemoration of the 5th of November as a national day of victory over the Catholic enemy. However, due to the similarities, those who did cross confessional lines were able to activate their social capital with the same skills and therefore transition with ease, like John Donne.

To determine the extent to which humanist students displayed the same skills in spite of denominational differences, I looked at the careers, sermons and devotional writings of two Protestants, Lancelot Andrewes and Richard Neile, and two Jesuits, Mateusz Bembus, and Kasper Drużbicki. An analysis of primary evidence showed that, in all cases, religious beliefs were the controlling aspects of their careers outside of the classroom. Andrewes preached about Predestination and the supreme authority of the Bible while using the full power of his philological and rhetorical skills. Bembus used logic as well as rhetoric (Aristotle's influence) to urge the nobility to remember that freedom is God's to give, and therefore that protecting the Catholic faith against its enemies was the only way to retain freedom and secure the safety of the Commonwealth. Drużbicki wrote rhetorically rich prayers and devotional texts, aimed at giving his Catholic congregations the tools to achieve Christian perfection. His texts are manuals for strengthening the faith of his fellow Catholics, and for community-building. Meanwhile, Neile used letter-writing to activate his social capital and to act as a proxy for the state's protection of Anglican doctrine in the public sphere. Despite not displaying any signs of rhetorical prowess, it was Neile who was in a position to control the access to the King's pulpit (for both James I and Charles I), and by

extension to a vast network of England's elite—for twenty-nine years. The connections that allowed him to capitalise on this opportunity originated at Westminster School. Neile was then able to sustain and build on his social network using the form of the familiar letter so characteristic of the humanist movement. The fact that these men were all able to find avenues for success in various ways is a testament to how versatile the schooling they received was—regardless of how well they performed in school.

This research has made it clear that the existing studies that have failed to examine the graduates of humanist education have been unable to account for the full range of its effects; moreover, they have been unable to fully consider the role of education in society. Rather, it is only through an examination of individual students and their lives outside of the classroom that we can begin to understand the full extent of the efficacy of humanist schooling and its impact on their public careers, and by extension on European culture.

The fact that humanist schooling was so firmly rooted in religion alongside its classical heritage is a testament to humanism's deep connection with its social context, and its ability to adapt to given circumstances, thus challenging previous interpretations of humanism as a system plagued by rigidity. It is no coincidence that there is such significant overlap of style in religious (and secular) literature from different parts of Europe, and the exchange of ideas across cultures has been fruitfully studied before. However, there remains a gap in scholarship that requires a serious and methodical examination of the role of particular systems of education in the process of the transmission of knowledge, as this study does. The humanists believed that early education had the most formative and, if done well, the most lasting impact on a person's life. This claim needs to be taken seriously in further scholarship on education.

I am acutely aware of the limitations of this research, which lie in the fact that, in the time and space available, I have only been able to examine a limited number of humanist educational theorists, a limited number of pedagogical practices, and a limited number of graduate students. I have tried to offer an in-depth analysis of primary sources, while remaining aware of the bigger picture surrounding Renaissance culture and its philosophical underpinnings.

But in spite of the obvious limitations, this thesis demonstrates that education historians need to systematically study the effects of humanist education on individual students, to be able to determine, or indeed understand, the cultural impact of the movement on Europe—and through migration and colonisation, beyond.

What are the next steps for historians of humanist education? I hope that a thorough reevaluation of humanist schooling, *vis-à-vis* its graduates in literature, religion and politics, is on the horizon.

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