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Education and Literacy in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands[1]

How is literacy measured?

"Here [in the Netherlands] there were, and still are, many learned men in all the arts and sciences. The common people usually have some basic notions of grammar and nearly everyone, even the peasants and country folk, can at least read and write. Moreover, the art and science of common speech is wondrously generalized. For there are many who, although they have never been abroad, can speak foreign languages in addition to their maternal tongue, particularly French, which is very common among them: many speak German, English, Italian and other foreign languages."[2] This assertion was made in 1586 by the Italian historian Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589) in his *Description of All the Netherlands* (Italian version 1567, Dutch translation 1612). Similar remarks were made by other travellers in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. The question arises whether these remarks are not literary exaggerations. To determine this we would have to know how many people were literate.

It is not easy to measure people's reading and writing skills from the period before Registry Offices were introduced more generally in the seventeenth century. Historians calculate the degree of literacy by counting the signatures placed on official documents. Birth, marriage, and death certificates are the most suitable for this because they apply to people of all social classes. Legal documents, marriage contracts, wills, bills of sale, etc. are more limited in number and were drawn up only by certain social classes. For some parishes and towns there is sufficient documentation available to form an idea of the situation. For example, the parochial archives of Zomergem, a village northwest of Ghent, contains a large number of late medieval artisans' documents demonstrating that they could indeed write. In the sixteenth century in Antwerp, the largest and most prosperous city in the Netherlands, the only true illiterates were to be found among unskilled labourers and women of the lower social classes.[3] An economy based largely on trade and industry, in a country governed through a central bureaucracy, implies the widespread use of written documents and hence a certain level of ability to read and write. This means that there had to be enough schools to instruct the children. Knowing the number of schools and their distribution in the Low Countries can help to determine the degree of literacy there. Though flourishing, private instruction at home is not taken into account here because for the Middle Ages there are virtually no data on the subject. What information we have thus far regarding the number of schools is also inadequate. The only thing we know is that in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century almost every village or parish had at least one elementary school (we will return to the question of the different kinds of schools that were available).

Another indication of literacy is the reading material available to the people. In what measure and on which subjects was there literature available to a wider public in the vernacular? There were chapbooks, devotional reading for both lay and religious (men and women), didactic works and moralizing tracts. Although we have no general overview of which vernacular manuscripts circulated among the people, we do know that there was a large supply. Many manuscripts meant to stimulate and sustain piety were intended for female readers.[4] There were also numerous works of practical value in circulation for people in artisans' circles: handbooks for surgeons and midwives, prescriptions for the plague, pharmaceutical recipes, books on commerce and crafts.[5] Many edifying and moralizing works not only served as schoolbooks for the instruction of children but also as reading material for the ordinary man. One of the best known is certainly the *Dietsche Catoen*, a Dutch translation of the *Disticha Catonis*.[6] Immediately after the invention of book-printing, the printers of the Netherlands began catering to the demands of a public eager for reading material.[7] Many of the

early printers either had ties with or actually belonged to the *Devotio Moderna* movement, which played a role in the production and distribution of the written word that cannot be underestimated, and which we will discuss later.[8]

Even without solid statistical material, we can still conclude that during the Burgundian period large groups within the society of the Netherlands could read and probably write as well. This high degree of literacy had far-reaching consequences. It was easy for new political and religious ideas to take hold since so much of the population could read and thus familiarize themselves with Humanist and Reformation thought. It should not be forgotten that the spread of these new ideas was largely achieved by means of pamphlets.[9] Moreover, education made people more critical and more politically conscious. Some came to sympathize with the reform movements, others saw education as the ideal means of purifying and sustaining the true Catholic faith. Some were convinced of the necessity of a rigidly structured, rationally established unitary state, while others found intellectual and scientific arguments to defend popular sovereignty. It is clear that both those for and those against the Dutch Revolt at the time of the Eighty Years' War found fertile ground for their ideas in a country with a relatively high level of education.

Schools

The fact that so many inhabitants of the Netherlands could read and write implies the presence of an infrastructure to instruct large segments of the population in these skills. Naturally, what first comes to mind is schools. But what precisely was meant by "school" in the late Middle Ages? Did the word mean the same thing then that it does now? This question should be answered in the negative for the late Middle Ages and in the affirmative for the Early Modern Period, because it was precisely during the period treated here that schools took on new form and content, with at least the secondary schools thereafter remaining fundamentally unchanged until the nineteenth century. We shall see that for all of Europe the Netherlands played a crucial role in this transformation. In the Middle Ages the word "school" designated a teacher and his pupils, in other words, what we would now be more likely to refer to as a class. Schools were not hierarchically divided into elementary or primary and advanced or secondary schools. There were, however, various types of school, which could not always be clearly distinguished from one another. In addition to "little" (*cleyne*), "under" (*onder-*), "lower" (*lager*), "Dutch" (*Dietsche* or *Duytsche*), or "writing" schools there were "big", "upper", "high" or "Latin" schools.[10]

In a lower school the pupils, beginning at age 5 or 6, were instructed in the basics of religion and taught to read and write. Lower schools might offer arithmetic and music (singing) as well.

There were also forms of vocational schools. These were usually almost indistinguishable from the elementary schools. We can say a school was a vocational school if a trade was taught there, often in combination with reading and writing. The "big" or high school was reserved for children who could already read and write. Its pupils ranged in age from 8 or 9 to 14 or 16. Latin was the language of instruction, and the curriculum prepared the students for university.

The university was entirely independent from these kinds of schools, at least in the Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century a hybrid between secondary and higher education arose: the university college. Usually a student entered the university between the ages of 14 and 18, after completing the Latin school. In the Middle Ages, however, it was not unusual to find a boy of nine or ten attending university.

Elementary education

For simplicity's sake we use the term elementary education to indicate all the lower schools. Like all education, this was the monopoly of the Church until the rise of the cities in the twelfth century. The organization and administration of schools, the appointment of teachers, the managing of income and the supervision of education in a region were the responsibility of the chancellor (*scholasticus*). Group instruction was given in convent or chapter schools. Latin was the language of instruction and the material covered ranged from an elementary knowledge of reading and writing to a thorough knowledge of philosophy and theology. Pastors or local priests might also open schools for the local

children and adults, which could be considered the precursors of parochial schools. Members of the clergy occasionally acted as private teachers, coming into the homes of noble families to give lessons. Education served primarily to train the clergy, who, in addition to their pastoral and administrative duties in the Church, assumed duties in the as yet modest administrations of the lay authorities.[11]

The merchants and entrepreneurs of the young cities soon discovered the advantages of being able to read, write and calculate by themselves. They took clerics into their service as private teachers or sent their children to the local convent, chapter or parochial school. These burghers, however, desired less instruction in religion and singing and more in subjects adapted to the needs of commerce and industry: modern languages in addition to elementary Latin (which at that time was still the language of administration), arithmetic, accounting, and letter-writing.[12] In the larger towns the urban authorities began founding their own urban schools. In so doing, however, they infringed upon the Church's monopoly on education. After a great deal of argument a compromise was finally reached in most towns: in addition to the official ecclesiastical chapter and/or parochial school and the official town school, anyone considered competent to do so was allowed to open a school. The aspiring schoolmaster concluded a contract with the town government, which spelled out his rights and obligations. The pupils paid their tuition directly to the teacher while the chancellor received a percentage of the tuition and retained supervisory rights. These private schools were also known as "extra" or "external" schools (*bijscholen* or *buitenscholen*).[13]

Lay lords as well as the Church could retain the right to appoint schoolmasters. In some of Holland's towns, like Amsterdam, Haarlem and Leiden, the count originally enjoyed this right of appointment. In the fifteenth century he ceded it to the town governments.

In the fifteenth century the parochial schools in the larger towns grew into "high" or Latin schools. Until that time only subjects that we would consider appropriate for elementary or lower technical education were taught in the urban and/or parochial schools; boys who wished to acquire a thorough knowledge of Latin and to prepare for the university were still obliged to go to schools associated with religious institutions. The transformation of the lower urban schools into secondary schools created a network of public lay schools independent of the Church. Each child was individually taught to read and write, then practiced on his own and was sometimes helped by older pupils, being occasionally called to the teacher for explanations or testing. This teaching method was not very efficient, particularly not when there were as many as a hundred children in a single classroom. Some private schoolmasters took on an assistant to help them, but even then the results were poor. This was one reason why many parents had a private schoolmaster come to their home.

First the child learned to read in this manner, and then to write.[14] Some schoolmasters gave arithmetic lessons, for which one had to pay extra. Even after the vernacular had replaced Latin as the language of instruction in the elementary schools in the course of the 13th century, basic Latin remained part of the program in the more advanced schools. Some basic knowledge of Latin was desirable in order to follow the church services and was useful in a variety of professions, such as the medical sector (surgeons, midwives, apothecaries), administration and commerce. But schoolmasters who taught Latin were often involved in conflicts with the Latin schools. Occasionally they were required to promise in their contracts that their Latin lessons would proceed no further than Donatus (i.e. basic grammar).

A great deal of time was devoted to instruction in music, particularly in the parochial schools taught by clerics and in the chapter schools. For example, in Utrecht a special choir house was founded in 1342. Music was an important part of the liturgy and children played an important role in it. Catechism could be taught by the teacher, but in most cases either the pastor or another cleric performed this duty.

Thus far we have spoken chiefly of schoolmasters. This is in fact not correct since many of the teachers in the elementary schools were women. At the elementary level boys and girls attended school together. Though there were fewer girls attending school, their numbers were nevertheless significant. Boys and girls could in principle, according to ecclesiastical regulations, remain in mixed groups until the age of seven, but afterwards they were to be taught by a teacher of their own sex. In practice, however, in the village schools and in less frequented schools in the towns this rule was not adhered to very strictly. In the villages the pastor or the sexton taught school. In

the towns it was primarily women who taught in the "extra" schools, either to supplement their income or as their sole source of income. Towards the end of the Middle Ages they even accepted children as young as two or three years old. These *"matressenschooltjes"*, as these kindergartens *avant la lettre* were called, were particularly flourishing in industrial centres with many working women. In the secondary schools boys and girls were separated. If the population was large enough there were even separate boys' and girls' schools as was the case, for instance, in Brussels (mentioned in 1320), Binche (1374), Mons (1417), and Bavai (1508).[15]

The beguines also saw schools as a means of making a living. Boys could attend their schools until the age of seven, while girls could stay until they had "finished" school - whenever that was; the age of "graduation" could vary greatly. Girls from more prosperous families were able to further their educations in female chapter schools or convents, where they were trained to be nuns or wives and mothers. The program encompassed, in addition to the basic skills, a bit of (church) Latin, etiquette, religion, sewing, knitting and embroidery, housekeeping, foreign languages and conversation. In fact this could even be considered a form of vocational instruction.

The children paid a few pennies a month per subject to the schoolmaster or mistress. Tuition for poor children was paid either by the Church, churchwardens, the Poor Relief, or by individual philanthropists. Education was strongly linked to economic cycles. When the economy was booming more children attended school; in periods of crisis, not only was there insufficient money to pay tuition but the children needed to begin earning money themselves at a very early age, and schooling took second place. In the country, where the educational situation was always less favourable, the children often left school from April until September to help on the farm.

Vocational Instruction

What happened to those children who wished to learn a good trade, but were not destined for higher education? In the Middle Ages there was no extensive and well-organized system of vocational education. In the sixteenth century, however, as commerce and industry became increasingly specialized, the need for adequate professional education was more and more deeply felt. Trades were traditionally learned in the trade or the guilds themselves, based on an apprenticeship contract. In general the apprentices had already learned to read and write at the local school, although from some of these apprenticeship contracts it appears that the children might learn to do so from their master craftsman as well. This was often the case with orphans, foundlings, or poor children who were placed with the master craftsman by the Poor Relief. In the *Bogardenschool* (urban school for paupers) in Bruges, for example, normal instruction was terminated at age thirteen. The lad was then placed with an appropriate master, depending on his talents and intelligence. The master craftsman kept the apprentice in his house for a period lasting from three to five years and taught him the trade. After this training the youth could ply his trade on his own.[16]

From the end of the fifteenth century onwards, and particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the various orphanages and foundling houses established their own "work" schools. There boys and girls were taught a trade as well as religion, reading and writing. In fact these institutions wished to support themselves through their own schools. Under the instruction of the "workmaster" the boys learned, for example, baking, brewing, shoe-making, or tailoring. The idea was that upon completion of their studies, these boys would be able to find work in a trade or in the industrial centres. In their own schools the girls were instructed in sewing, knitting, washing, ironing, and other domestic skills. Thanks to this instruction most of the girls would be able to earn a living either in the textile industry or as domestic help. In practice these workschools were not a great success and their pupils led impoverished lives. It proved more practical to pay private workmasters or mistresses to take the children on as apprentices. This system became increasingly prevalent, particularly in modern times, and led to the exploitation of cheap child labour. The children learned few intellectual skills.[17]

Sunday schools were founded in the sixteenth century in order to remedy this. Adults who had received no instruction at all also received elementary instruction there. Reading and writing lessons were given in addition to religious and moral instruction. The action of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation imbued these schools with a strong religious character. They became virtually obligatory for the working youth.

There were all sorts of options available for instruction in commerce and administration. Just as with the crafts, a boy could enter into an apprenticeship with a merchant after instruction in the basic skills. If he possessed sufficient talent the apprentice was, after initiation into the business world, sent to commercial affiliates in other towns or countries to prepare him for international trade. In the large towns special schools were founded to train merchants and accountants. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Antwerp probably had the best of these.[18] There one could learn many European languages as well as mathematics, accounting, and business correspondence at a very high level. Analogous programs were available in other towns, if on a more limited scale. For example, there was the *Walsche* (Walloon or French) school, specifically oriented towards educating merchants. In addition to French, and occasionally Spanish or Italian as well, the program focussed on accounting. The education of a merchant was also furthered by merchants' manuals. Many versions of these were available in Italy as early as the fourteenth century (*Pratica della Mercatura*).[19] From Italy they were introduced into the Netherlands, translated and adapted. In the sixteenth century Antwerp was a flourishing marketplace for such educational books. At any rate schoolbooks accounted for a substantial portion of the publications of Antwerp's printers.[20]

Secondary Education

Sons of well-to-do families completed their studies at the chapter or Latin school. There they received a general education and were prepared for the university. For poor but intelligent children who were unable to pay the tuition for further education, a variety of financing was available even in the Middle Ages. Princes, towns, burghers and the Church offered scholarships. We have already mentioned that the chapter schools originally provided both elementary and advanced instruction to both lay people and clerics (future canons for example). With the expansion of the parochial and urban elementary schools, the chapter schools concentrated increasingly on secondary education. Latin was the language of instruction. The material covered included all or part of the *artes liberales*, the seven liberal arts consisting of three literary disciplines, grammar, logic and rhetoric (the *trivium*) and four disciplines of natural sciences, mathematics, geometry, astronomy and music (the *quadrivium*).[21] Instruction was based primarily on classical authors.

Boys who could already read and write, that is to say from around 8 or 9 years of age, were admitted to the "big" (high) school. By the time he was between 14 and 16 years old a youth had normally accumulated sufficient general knowledge to pursue liberal arts studies at the university.

Girls were not normally admitted to the Latin schools, or to the universities, but there were exceptions. In 1320 Brussels had two Latin schools, one for girls and one for boys. In the fifteenth century there is mention of the presence of girls in the high schools in Emmerich, Gouda, Hattem, and Culemborg and in the sixteenth century in Sittard. But as a rule parents who wished a more general education for their daughters had to resort to private teachers.

The monopoly of the chapter school as provider of advanced liberal education was broken in the late Middle Ages. The demand for secondary education for lay persons was real among the urban bourgeoisie. Education came to be seen more and more as a matter properly the concern of the town. Therefore a number of the parochial schools in the larger and more dynamic towns developed into urban Latin schools or high schools. Occasionally the town took over existing convent or chapter schools. In addition, private individuals founded their own Latin schools. As we shall see later on, the humanists in particular were strongly in favour of this development, but these private Latin schools were viewed by many urban governments as competitors for their own institutions. The headmasters or rectors were required to surrender a percentage of the tuition per student to the rector of the town's Latin school, as the elementary schoolmasters did.[22]

Towns of a certain size soon had more than one Latin or "big" school. Around 1500 there were two town schools in Amsterdam, both with a primary and a secondary section ("lower" and "high" school). At that time Utrecht had, in addition to five chapter schools, four parochial schools with an upper school, though the latter were not particularly

flourishing. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Antwerp possessed five Latin schools. The Latin lay schools originally followed the same pattern as the chapter schools. As in primary school, boys of all ages and levels sat together.

Under the influence of Johan Cele (1374-1417), rector or headmaster of the high school in Zwolle, fundamental changes were made in secondary education. Around 1400 the Zwolle school had between 800 and 1,000 pupils. True to tradition, these pupils were given individual instruction; but since this was not very efficient Cele divided them into eight classes, according to level rather than age, each with its own curriculum. The two lowest were still considered primary school classes. Each class had its own name, from eight (or six not counting the elementary classes) to one: from the *octava* to the *prima.*[23] The Brethren of the Common Life (*Devotio Moderna*), and in their wake many other humanist educators, spread this idea of schooling further in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the towns the high schools were separated from the primary schools and "secondary" schools thus took on a more distinct outline.

Modern Devotion

The *Devotio Moderna* movement is one of the many expressions of religious revival characteristic of the "waning" of the Middle Ages.[24] Although the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life - as its followers were known - were very individualistic in their religious experience, they wished to contribute to the deepening of the faith and the enrichment of the spiritual lives of the people. They devoted most of their attention to preaching and writing in the vernacular and to promoting the religious and moral education of schoolchildren. This fit into their belief that the Church could be reformed with the help of science and literature. The Brothers and Sisters were thus no strangers to intellectual activity. They maintained themselves by, for instance, copying and printing manuscripts.

The first educational field wherein the Brethren of the Common life were active was in housing schoolchildren in the larger towns. The great urban schools attracted children from far and near, and these *extranei,* or children from outside, had to find housing in the town. Originally the townspeople considered it an act of charity to welcome such children into their homes. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, however, fewer and fewer people were prepared to do so, even for payment. There were also a good many poor pupils who could find nowhere to stay and who begged for their meals and tuition money. The unconventional behaviour of these "wandering folk", also known as *Arnoutsbroeders* ("Brothers of Arnout"), made a deep impression on the townspeople and they have been immortalized in sculpture and literature.

The Brethren of the Common Life therefore made themselves useful by founding and administering boarding houses for schoolchildren. These were known as "pedagogies", "convicts" or *bursae*. They also established homes for poor schoolchildren (*domus pauperum*) in, for example, Delft, Gouda (Erasmus resided there for a time), Utrecht, Doesburg, Nijmegen, Groningen, Liège and Brussels. In some towns, such as s'-Hertogenbosch, they administered paying boarding schools (*domus divitum*) in addition to those for the poor. The pupils led a monastic existence in these boarding schools: discipline was strict and daily life oriented towards religion. In practice many of the young people were preparing for monastic life or the priesthood.
The boarders in the homes run by the Brethren of the Common life attended the local schools. Well-to-do children paid the normal tuition costs, while the Brethren provided for the poorer children. This was one of the ways in which future brothers, as well as other clerics, were recruited from the lower classes.[25]

The Brethren also established schools of their own associated with some of their dormitory houses and modeled after Johan Cele's school in Zwolle. In other cases the Brethren were asked to establish a school with or without boarding facilities. Many of these schools, like those in Liège, 's-Hertogenbosch, Louvain and Ghent, attained a high degree of excellence in the late fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth. They contributed to a high level of education among the poorer classes.

The spirit in which the Brethren taught had a lasting impact on the future of education. Even before the advent of the humanists the Brethren were convinced that a good education and a thorough knowledge of the classics were essential for the moral and religious edification of the people.

When in the late fifteenth century humanist educational ideals formulated in Italy reached the Netherlands, they found fertile soil. The country was well provided with schools, among them many that were modern in concept and of a high degree of excellence. Education was considered important and the townspeople were prepared to invest in education for both their own children and those of other people. The spirit was Christian, however, even in the lay schools. This was one of the things that gave education in the Netherlands a different character from the worldly and aristocratic Italian idea of humanist education. The Dutch conception exerted a powerful influence on educational ideas throughout Europe, both for Catholics and for Protestants.

Humanist Principles of Education and its Consequences

Humanist ideas of education reached the Netherlands very early. In fact, there was no real discontinuity between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This does not imply that the humanists did not bring about fundamental changes in the educational system, but they concerned the goal of education. In the Middle Ages this goal was essentially spiritual: education served to prepare one to lead a pious life in hopes of attaining life eternal. In practice, as we have seen, the economically active medieval townspeople introduced other, more worldly, facets into education. The humanists formulated this worldly orientation of education and instruction very explicitly: it was intended to develop every individual into a dutiful and morally elevated citizen in the service of society. Both the content of the curriculum and the pedagogy were adapted to these goals.[26]

According to the humanists, everything a well-educated person needed to know could be found in the classics, whether philosophy, the natural sciences, law, ethics, or politics. To understand the relevant texts one first needed a better knowledge of the classical languages, as well as of Hebrew (for biblical texts).

This intellectual heritage had to be passed to succeeding generations in a responsible manner. To do so, new methods were needed, since in the eyes of the humanists the medieval scholastic method lacked a critical approach and thus could lead only to pedantry and verbiage. The principal goals of the humanist educators can be summarized as follows: no masses of material to be mastered, a division into classes, appropriate textbooks, special attention to language skills, *aemulatio* or competition, and physical development.

Humanist educators also reflected on the most suitable means of implementing their educational program. The mother was to provide her children's education in the earliest years of their lives. She was to pay close attention to their moral upbringing, language skills and manners (*civilité*). The latter were heavily emphasized, for civilized behaviour facilitated relations between people and ennobled the individual. From the ages of five to seven, children should be formally educated; at seven, boys and girls would be taught separately. Both sexes were to receive education appropriate to the tasks they would assume later in life.

The educators, were, however not in agreement as to the precise program to be followed. Some opted for individual instruction by an eminent educator. The child was thus not subject to the undesirable influences of his classmates and could develop at his own rate in accordance with his own abilities. Others wished to encourage emulation and competition by bringing together a select group of children. Still others were of the opinion that it was better to assemble large groups of children, since functioning within a larger group was thought to stimulate good citizenship. The humanists rejected individual instruction in very large groups. They argued for class levels with specific curricula, so that each pupil could advance at his own rate.

The doors of the university were open to those boys who had completed Latin school. After they had passed a few years there the humanist educators thought it good practice for them to make a tour abroad for purposes of study. Contact with foreign places encouraged universality, broadened one's concept of the world and one's political ideas. Critical senses were sharpened, as was personal judgement. And, of course, one could improve one's knowledge of the language on the spot. The humanists attached great importance not only to the mastery of the classical languages but also to a thorough and extensive knowledge of modern ones.

A question that naturally arises is what actually became of all these elevated notions. In Italy, the cradle of humanism, the humanist educators were heeded. The Italian peninsula had always possessed an extensive network of public schools and literacy was widespread, certainly in comparison to Europe north of the Alps. In the course of the fifteenth century numerous private schools were founded under the direction of humanists. Both Italian humanist pedagogy and the expansion of education were highly aristocratic. The goal was to develop the *uomo universale*, the complete man, and the *galant'uomo*, the cultivated neo-aristocratic man.

During the late fifteenth century the first humanists brought this Italian educational ideal to the North. In the Netherlands this was chiefly the work of Rudolf Agricola of Groningen (1442/3-1485).[27] Economic expansion, rapid urbanization and a more bureaucratic public life led to a rapid rise in the demand for well-educated people in the fifteenth century. Thanks especially to the activities of the Brethren of the Common Life, the educational climate was extremely favourable there. A true *passio docendi* arose, an urge both to teach and to be taught. On one point both the advocates of the Devotio Moderna and the Christian humanists were in full agreement: the idea that there was a fundamental link between wisdom and piety, between learning and conduct. In several places this was translated into theoretical pedagogical treatises and schoolbooks by both the famous and the less famous humanists of the Netherlands. The best known of them are certainly Rudolf Agricola (1442/3-1485), Desiderius Erasmus (1469-1536), Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), Joannes Murmellius (1480-1517), Adriaan Barlandus (1486-1538) and Simon Verepaeus (1522-1598). Schoolbooks in particular achieved an international reputation and some were translated and reprinted into the nineteenth century. But aside from this the Low Countries also had a large number of schoolmaster-humanists who taught even in the villages. They, too, applied themselves to composing textbooks. Johan De Spouter (Despauterius, ca. 1480-1520) comes to mind. He taught in Komen and Sint-Winoksbergen, in the former county of Flanders, and wrote a Latin grammar that was internationally distributed. Nicolaas Cleynaerts (Claenardus, 1495-1542) from Diest in the former duchy of Brabant, and the author of the corresponding Greek handbook, was another such teacher. In all the cases mentioned we are referring to instruction in the Latin schools.[28]

The influence of the humanists on primary education is more difficult to determine. As we have said, humanism penetrated the Netherlands early and, thanks to the relatively dense network of schools and the prevailing mentality, it soon spread widely through large segments of the population. A number of humanist-educated administrators in the towns and communities devoted considerable attention to urban primary instruction and stimulated the foundation of lay schools, both primary and secondary. In some of the primary schools humanist ideals of education were taken into account: no excesses, taking into account the individual potential of the child, grouping the pupils according to their levels, no corporal punishment, the appointment of competent teachers, and an interest in the vernacular.

Primary education received more attention from such social reformers as Vives and More, and from Protestants like Melanchthon, Sturm and Calvin, than it had from the humanists. The motives of both Catholic and Protestant social reformers was identical: all the ills of the age stemmed from ignorance, and education rescued the people from a bestial existence. Young people had to be taught to assume responsibility so that they would labour more dutifully and live in accordance with the norms of morality and the Christian faith. Each individual had a duty to the Church, but also to the State, which he must serve to the best of his ability. Ignorance was objectionable to both the State and the Church.

In his *Secours van den Armen* (Antwerp, 1533)[29] Vives therefore argued in favour of compulsory education for the poor - the rich already went to school - and in favour of good trade schooling for both boys and girls. In the existing orphanages and foundling homes, more attention should be devoted to learning a trade. The community should establish special schools for paupers where the children could receive free elementary education (the fundamentals of religion, reading and writing skills) and learn a trade. This fit within the framework of class-oriented instruction favoured by the humanists. Children from the social elite had other duties within society than children from the lower social classes. By sitting on

the same schoolbenches, the children from the social upper crust could be physically and spiritually contaminated by the unhygienic and uncivilized paupers. A later consequence of this notion was the introduction of compulsory boarding facilities in the Catholic schools in the Modern Era. The child was literally cut off from the "evil" world.

In Protestant countries compulsory education was to a certain extent dictated by religion. The Protestant obligation to read the Bible implied general literacy and, what was more important, provided a powerful motivation for parents to send their children to school. The parents were held responsible if their children's religious knowledge was inadequate because of truancy. The idea that a person must sanctify himself in his daily life and not in, for example, a monastery, and that he had specific civic duties, rendered education necessary.[30]

In Catholic schools as well, under the influence of the Counter-Reformation, religious instruction and moral education received more emphasis than intellectual skills, at least for the lower classes. Policy for the following centuries was determined at the Council of Trent (1546-1564): elementary education was to be provided for each parish under the supervision of the ecclesiastical authorities, with Sunday schools for working children and for adults.[31] Catechism lessons were often given by the Jesuits. The new Jesuit order founded in 1540 by the Spanish-Basque nobleman Ignatius of Loyola took over to a certain extent the task of the Brethren of the Common Life, who had by that time become less active.

Like the *Devotio Moderna*, the founding of the Jesuit order (*Societas Jesu*) was an expression of the struggle for religious revival that arose in the late Middle Ages and was still very much alive in the sixteenth century. It was only later that the Jesuits became the spearhead of the Counter-Reformation. The new order was an exponent of Christian humanism. The Jesuits wished to return to the source of Christianity, the Gospel. They were also convinced that each individual was born free and was responsible for his own life. This life should be guided on to the right track through a good and appropriate upbringing. Education, and instruction in particular, became one of the primary concerns of the new order. Instruction should be given in such a way that it was entirely assimilated by the pupils and prepared them either to lead a Christian life in the world or a pure and authentic life in religion. The worldly sciences were to be taught in a Christian spirit. Study for the sake of study and knowledge for the sake of knowledge were unacceptable. Every bit of knowledge gained should be made to serve a higher goal.

It is clear from this that the Jesuits very closely approached the spirit of the Modern Devotion and of Christian humanism. Indeed, recent research has demonstrated that the Jesuits were directly inspired by the activities of the Brethren of the Common Life.[32] During his period of study in Paris, Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order, boarded in a university college modelled on the dormitory houses of the Brethren. He took this as a model for the houses of his own order. He also adopted the structures and didactics of the Brethren's schools, as well as those of the related humanist Latin schools (*humaniora*). These Jesuit secondary schools later served as a model for all secondary schools in Catholic countries. Their definitive school regulations (*ratio studiorum*) were established in 1599 and remained in use until 1832, with an interruption between 1773 and 1814; after 1832 changes were made regularly if reluctantly. They were the result of theoretical principles, pedagogical experience, and collaboration among Jesuit brothers from all over Europe. Both their methodology and their didactics were purely humanist. Emulation, in the sense of competition, has always played an important role in Jesuit schools; for example, their theatrical productions not only encouraged eloquence (necessary to proclaim the faith) but also functioned as propaganda. The spirit of Jesuit pedagogy was, however, far removed from the original humanism: it was characterized by the censorship of schoolbooks (that of Erasmus for instance), strict discipline and harsh punishments, and by a condemnation of free investigations and independent thinking, since the "truth" was established and had only to be accepted. The "soldiers for Christ", as the Jesuits called themselves and their pupils, were educated authoritatively but with a great feeling of personal responsibility.[33]

The first Jesuit school was founded in Messina (Sicily) in 1548, the first in the Netherlands in 1559 at Tournai. This was the first of a long series of

foundations in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. In 1611 there were 23 Jesuit schools in the Netherlands and by the end of the century there were 36. In 1643 more than 10,000 young people were enrolled in Jesuit schools.[34]

The Protestants, too, placed great emphasis on the Latin schools, usually known as *"gymnasia"*, especially for the training of their preachers. Melanchthon, Luther's right-hand man and also known as the "educator of Germany", created a strongly humanist-oriented school system, building on the system of dividing groups into classes used by the Brethren of the Common Life. The Academies founded by Johan Sturm (1507-1589), a student of the Liège Brethren, in Strasbourg and in many other places served as a model for the creation of similar academies elsewhere.[35] The academy at Ghent, founded in the time of the Calvinist Republic (1578-1584), adopted Sturm's model.[36] A school consisted of three grades: a lower (the *nona* or ninth class), a secondary (the eighth through the third classes) and a higher grade (classes two and one). The many Jesuit schools were also divided into a preparatory year and six or seven classes of secondary education, sometimes followed by a year or two of philosophy at a higher educational level. Philosophy was taught in the "colleges" of Antwerp and Brussels for example, but only to foreigners (including people from the northern Netherlands) because the University of Louvain objected, claiming a monopoly on higher education for the people of the southern Netherlands.

In fact, both the Catholic and the Protestant secondary schools emphasized Latin-humanist-literary education. The textbooks used were the same, though adapted to the different religions. That the separation of the two Netherlands led to a divergence in the organization of their schools is due to the fact that in the Catholic South the lay authorities entrusted the responsibility for education more to the Church, whereas in the Protestant North education was predominantly a lay affair. There the State was responsible for education and there was little tolerance of ecclesiastical interference, to the annoyance of the "precise" (fundamentalists) within the Calvinist church.

Higher Education

Higher education remained the monopoly of the University until late in the Modern Period.[37]

From its origins in the late twelfth century until around 1800 the true university consisted of four faculties: a faculty of arts that roughly corresponded to our modern faculties of letters, philosophy and natural sciences, and the faculties of law (canon and civil law), theology and medicine. In the Middle Ages the material taught was limited primarily to memorizing what the "authorities" had written in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Though these texts were examined more critically in the Renaissance period, it was only in the course of the seventeenth century that the natural sciences were really revitalized. It was only then that empiricism and experimentation became generally accepted at the universities.

In the Middle Ages the faculty of arts served primarily as a preparation for the three higher faculties. The only condition for entry was an adequate knowledge of Latin, which in the Netherlands remained the exclusive language of instruction in the universities until well into the nineteenth century. There were no age restrictions. It was not unusual to find children between ten and fifteen years of age there, although fourteen to sixteen was a more normal age for these studies. The eldest son of William of Orange was twelve when, with a whole retinue, he enrolled at the University of Louvain in 1566.[38]

The first university in the Low Countries was founded in 1425 at Louvain in the duchy of Brabant.[39] It was a time when each ruler strove to establish his own university to train his own intellectual elite. From the moment of its foundation it was evident that the university fulfilled a real need. Until then all young people wishing to pursue higher education had been obliged to study abroad. Originally the most popular universities were Bologna and Padua in Italy, and Paris, Orléans, and Montpelier in France. Immediately upon opening in 1388 the University of Cologne attracted many students from the Netherlands. But, despite the presence of a "national" university at Louvain, young people from the Netherlands continued to study at foreign universities, in Italy, France or the Holy Roman Empire. A foreign diploma lent a great deal of prestige and meant better chances for promotion in one's professional life. Moreover, study abroad was strongly advised by humanist teachers, and there were enough wealthy people to finance these expensive trips.[40]

The available sources give no conclusive evidence as to the precise number of students from the Netherlands. Compared to other students, however, they were certainly numerous; for the Middle Ages alone they numbered in the thousands. Estimates based on complicated calculations indicate that at least two percent of the population attended a university, which for that time must be considered a high proportion. This is not surprising considering that a positive link has always existed between university studies, urbanization, economic prosperity and educational infrastructure. The Netherlands and the Rhineland both met all these criteria in the late Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century, under the influence of humanism, the number of academics increased even further. Cities that had an excellent humanist education system sent a notably higher proportion of their young people on to the university. In Frisia, too, the relationship between an extensive and excellent network of secondary schools and attendance at the university is very clear. Frisia counted a relatively large number of academics among its inhabitants.[41]

Nevertheless, in the first half of the sixteenth century the University of Louvain developed into one of the most important humanist centres in northwestern Europe. One of its most powerful attractions was the Trilingual (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) College established by Canon Jeroom van Busleyden on the advice of Erasmus. This college, which later served as a model for the still famous Collège de France in Paris, met with immediate success. In 1521 Erasmus, who was then residing in Louvain, claimed that three hundred students - young and old - received language instruction there, with no prospect of a diploma and thus out of pure interest in classical languages and letters. At that time Louvain had the most students of any university in the Holy Roman Empire.[42]

The Revolt and the Separation fundamentally changed the university landscape. After 1575 the Protestants from Zeeland and Holland preferred to attend the University of Leiden, founded in that year. Only the Catholics continued to attend Louvain, which with Douai, founded in 1562, became the bulwark of the Counter-Reformation in the Southern Netherlands,[43] a counterweight to the universities in the Republic. After the provinces of Holland and Zeeland had seceded from the Seventeen Provinces and begun to lead an independent existence, they felt an urgent need for a university of their own. For one thing these regions needed highly-educated theologian-preachers and officials trained by the new methods. For another, an institution of higher education confirmed their own sovereignty. Traditionally a university could only be founded by a sovereign: pope, emperor or king, though towards the end of the Middle Ages that right was usurped by near-sovereign authorities such as dukes, counts, and powerful urban governments. Although for this reason William of Orange and the States of Holland were perfectly capable of establishing a recognized university, they took the precaution of resorting to a legal fiction: King Philip II was named as founder in the University of Leiden's foundation charter. The spirit of the new academy -as it was called - was, however, in direct conflict with the religious and scientific principles of the Spanish king. The new institution was open to both Protestants and Catholics, at least insofar as the latter were prepared to adopt a tolerant attitude. It was also considered desirable to teach and conduct research in a climate of freedom, independent of ecclesiastical supervision. The University of Leiden succeeded in both its goals, and so did the other universities of the northern Netherlands that followed in its footsteps. As a result the Leiden academy was, scientifically, one of the most important, if not the most important, university in Europe by the first half of the seventeenth century and became a sanctuary for religious and political refugees.[44]

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are particularly interesting with regard to the social background of university students.[45] They were generally from the most prosperous 20 to 30 percent of society, from the lesser nobility, the higher bourgeoisie, and the middle classes; the highest aristocracy was still suspicious of university studies. By modern standards most of the 10-15% of students listed as poor (*pauperes*) in, for example, the matriculation lists (enrollment lists) of the University of Louvain,[46] actually belonged to the more well-to-do classes, for the criterion used to determine poverty was whether or not the parents possessed the means to provide an academic education for their sons without damaging their material or social position. This implies that students were considered poor if their parents had only the wages of their daily labour. For them, and for truly

poor but gifted young people, numerous scholarships and boarding provisions were available. The demand for highly-educated employees was great during periods of prosperity. The expansion of the Burgundian-Hapsburg state created employment opportunities for large numbers of *magistri* (masters) of arts or law. The flourishing Latin schools further increased the demand for arts graduates, since the rectors had almost always completed their training in the arts. The link between the faculty of arts and the Latin schools was particularly strong in the sixteenth century. For example, the Latin school in Alkmaar had Joannes Murmellius as rector in the sixteenth century, and its other teachers Alardus of Amsterdam and Rutger Rescius and Petrus Nannius later became professors at the Trilingual College of Louvain. Many other examples could be cited. Virtually all of the canons in the numerous collegiate chapters held academic diplomas.

At that time there were real opportunities for upward social mobility. For example, before the Separation, Antwerp counted numerous children of manual labourers among its students, a phenomenon that virtually disappeared later on. In the beginning of the seventeenth century universities throughout Europe closed their doors to the lower social classes. Scholarships were then only available to the less prosperous who wished to prepare at the university for a career as a priest or preacher. The study of law and medicine became the privilege of the happy few.[47]

We can conclude that in the Burgundian-Hapsburg period the Netherlands were the educational leaders of Europe. It is certain that great differences existed within the territory of the Netherlands, reflecting the degree of urbanization and the economic, social, demographic, administrative, and cultural circumstances of the region. It is certainly true that the state of affairs was less bright in the countryside and that many villages did not provide schools. But the high density of the towns gave peasants the opportunity to send their children to the nearby city. A long tradition of maintaining a solid educational infrastructure and a high rate of literacy also contributed to the flourishing state of education in the Netherlands.

NOTES

[1.] The content of this article was presented as a lecture in November 1993 for the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies at Vancouver. The text is an extended and annotated version of the Dutch article "Onderwijs en scholingsniveau in de Nederlanden", published in *Oriëntatiecursus cultuurwetenschappen. Deel 1: de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse Nederlanden*, ed. by J.M.E. Worms et alii, (Open Universiteit, Heerlen 1992) 186-209: leereenheid 9. We are grateful for the Open Universiteit's permission to publish the English version, and we thank Jeri Lizabeth Fackelman (Colchester, Vermont, US) for translating it.

[2.] Guicciardini, L., *Beschrijvinghe van alle de Nederlanden, overgheset in de Nederduytsche spraecke door Cornelium Kilianum* (Amsterdam 1612) 27.

[3.] The basic study on literacy remains: J. Ruwet and Y. Wellens, *L'analphabétisme en Belgique (XVIIIe-XIXe siècles),* Travaux de la faculté Phil. et Lettres de l'U.C.L. XIX section d'histoire 3 (Leuven 1978); A.M. Van der Woude, "De alfabetisering", *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, VII (Bussum 1980) 257-264; J.W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*, California Publications in Education 9 (Berkeley CA 1939; reprint New York 1960).(c. 900-c. 1300) pp. 123-165: France and Flanders; W. Wegner, *Die Niederländischen Handzeichnungen des XV.-XVIII. Jhts.*, 2 vol. (Berlin 1973).

[4.] Y.G. Vermeulen, *'Tot profijt en genoegen'. Motiveringen voor de produktie van Nederlandstalige gedrukte teksten 1477-1540* (Groningen 1986). For a specific example see J.J. van Moolenbroek, "De gevarieerde overlevering van een vijftiende-eeuws prozaverhaal over het lijden van Christus en de mirakelen na zijn dood," *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 68.1-2 (1994) 65-68.

[5.] Examples: E.C. Leersum, *De 'cyrurgie' van meester Jan Yperman. Naar de handschriften van Brussel, Cambridge, Gent en Londen*, Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandse letterkunde, Leiden 1912 (a manuel for surgeons written in Dutch in the fourteenth century); A. Delva, *Vrouwengeneeskunde in Vlaanderen tijdens de late middeleeuwen. Met uitgave van het Brugse Liber Trotula,* Brugge 1983 (Gynaecological manuscript written in Dutch in the fifteenth century); W. Braekman, "Spätmittelniederländische Pestvorschriften," *Medizin im mittelalterlichen Abendland,* Wege der Forschung CCCLXIII, Darmstadt 1982, 443-475; W.

Braekman, *Middelnederlandse geneeskundige recepten. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de vakliteratuur in de Nederlanden,* Verhandelingen van de Kon. Vlaamse Academie, VIde reeks, nr. 100, Gent 1970; W. Braekman, *Medische en technische Middelnederlandse recepten. Een tweede bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de vakliteratuur in de Nederlanden,* Verhandelingen van de Kon. Vlaamse Academie, reeks III, nr. 40, Gent 1975; C. de Backer, *Farmacie te Gent in de late middeleeuwen. Apothekers en receptuur,* Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen XXI, Hilversum 1990 (edition of pharmaceutical recipes of the fifteenth century); J. Gessler (ed.), *Het Brugsche Livre des Mestiers en zijn volgelingen. Vier aloude conversatieboekjes om Fransch te leeren - Le Livre des Mestiers de Bruges et ses dérivés* (Bruges 1931).

6. A. Beets, *De "Disticha Catonis"* (Groningen 1885); F. van Buuren, *Levenslessen van Cato. Het verhaal van een schoolboek*, Derde Bert van Selm-lezing (Amsterdam 1994).

7. A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs belges des XVe et XVIe siècles,* Collection du Centre du Livre, 3 (The Hague 1975); J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf (eds.), *Thesaurus 1473-1800. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers. Met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid,* Bibliotheca Bibliografica Neerlandica 28 (The Hague 1989).

8. Example: E. Dhanens, Le scriptorium des Hiéronymites à Gand, *Scriptorium*, 23 (1963) 361-379. See further note 23.

9. P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse opstand in de pamfletten: 1566-1584* (Nijmegen 1956; unchanged reprint Utrecht 1978).

10. The most general works on schools in the Low Countries are: R.R. Post, *Scholen en onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de Middeleeuwen* (Utrecht/Antwerp 1954); E. Put, *De cleijne schoolen. Het volksonderwijs in het hertogdom Brabant tussen Katholieke reformatie en Verlichting (eind 16de eeuw-1795)* (Louvain 1990); P.Th.F.M. Boekholt & E.P. de Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (Assen/Maastricht 1987): Middle Ages and Reformation: pp. 1-21; H.W. Fortgens, *Meesters, scholieren en grammatica. Uit het middeleeuwse schoolwezen* (Zwoole 1956); M.A. Nauwelaerts, Scholen en onderwijs in de Middeleeuwen, *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, IV (Haarlem 1980) 366-375.

11. The standard work for schools and education in the early Middle Ages is P. Riché, *Ecoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age. Fin du Ve siècle-milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris 1989).

12. H. Pirenne, "L'instruction des marchands au moyen âge," *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale*, 1 (1929) 13-28.

13. A. Uyttebroeck, "Le rôle des autorités communales dans l'organisation de l'enseignement sous l'Ancien Régime," in: *Het openbaar initiatief van de gemeenten in België. Historische grondslagen (Ancien Régime). Handelingen van het 11de Internationaal Colloquium - L'initiative publique des communes en Belgique. Fondements historiques (Ancien Régime). Actes du 11e colloque internationa, Spa, 1-4 sept. 1982* (Brussels 1984) 577-596.

14. R.R. Post, *Scholen en onderwijs,* pp. 119-155; H.W. Fortgens, *Meesters, scholieren en grammatica. Uit het middeleeuwse schoolwezen* (Zwolle 1956).

15. Matthieu, E., "Histoire de l'enseignement primaire en Hainaut," *Mémoires et Publications de la Société des Sciences, des Arts et des Lettres du Hainaut*, 5e série, VI (1983) 119-120.

16. L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, "L'école Bogaerde, l'orphelinat des garçons à Bruges," *La Flandre*, 7 (1875-1876) 281-292; 8 (1876) 53-80, 159-199; L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire diplomatique des archives de l'ancienne École Bogarde à Bruges, comprenant le texte ou l'analyse de tous les documents qui composent cette collection, précédé d'une introduction historique sur les diverses organisations de cette école d'apprentissage depuis le 13e siècle et suivi d'une notice sur la "Witte Saeihalle" et la Sayetterie*, (Bruges 1899).

17. E. Geudens, *Het Antwerps Knechtjeshuis* (Antwerpen 1895); E. Geudens, *Van Schoonbeke en het Maagdenhuis* (Antwerpen 1889).

18. H.J.L.V. de Groote, "De zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpse schoolmeesters," *Bijdragen tot de*

Geschiedenis, 50 (1967) 179-318; 51 (1968) 5-52. See also on commercial and Walloon schools, Post, *Scholen en onderwijs*, 113-118.

19. A. Fanfani, "La préparation intellectuelle et professionnelle à l'activité économique en Italie du XIVe au XVIe siècles," *Le Moyen Age*, 57 (1951) 327-346; P.F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy. Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore/London 1989), 306-332: Learning Merchant Skills; C. Bec, *Les marchands écrivains: affaires et humanisme à Florence 1375-1434,* Civilisations et Sociétés 9 (Paris/The Hague 1967). Ch. II.2: Affaires et société: la pédagogie marchande; Ch. III.2: Formation intellectuelle et culture des marchands.

20. De Groote, "Antwerpse schoolmeesters" (see note 18), 194-214.

21. "Artes Liberales," in *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, I.6 (Munich 1979) 1058-1068; J. Koch, (ed.), *Artes Liberales von der Antiken Bildung zur Wissenschaft des Mittelalters*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 5 (Leiden/Cologne 1959); B.A. Kimball, *Orators and Philosophers. A History of the Idea of Liberal Education* (New York/London 1986).

22. See notes 10 and 13.

23. Post, *Scholen en onderwijs,* 97-106; M. Schoengen, *Die Schule von Zwolle von ihren Anfängen bis zur Einführung der Reformation (1582). I. Teil: Von den Anfängen bis zu dem Auftreten des Humanismus* (Freiburg 1898).

24. On the *Devotio Moderna* and its educational role see: J.S. Henkel, "School Organizational Patterns of the Brethren of the Common Life," in: *Essays of the Northern Renaissance*, ed. K. Strand (Ann Arbor 1968) 35-50; A. Hyma, *The Brethren of the Common Life* (Grand Rapids 1950); E. Leitsmann, *Überblick über die Geschichte und Darstellung der pädagogischen Wirksamkeit der Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens*, Diss. Phil. Leipzig 1886; W. Lourdaux, "Les Dévots Modernes, rénovateurs de la vie intellectuelle?" *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 95 (1980) 279-297.

25. Post, *Scholen en onderwijs*, 166-171 and literature mentioned in note 24.

26. There exists an immense body of literature on the humanist principles of education. One of the best introductions remains E. Garin, *L'educazione in Europa 1400-1600* (Roma/Bari 1957, ^{2}1966, ^{n}1967), with many translations, e.g. in French *L'éducation de l'homme moderne. La pédagogie de la Renaissance (1400-1600)* (Paris 1968). See further *i.a.* A. Grafton & L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass. 1986); C. de Keyser, "Onderwijsvernieuwing en de invloed van het pedagogisch-didactish denken in de 15de en beginnende 16de eeuw. Humanistische traktaatjes en hun impact op de Parijse Facultas Artium tot 1515," *Tijdschrift voor Opvoedkunde*, 16 (1970-1971) 129-151, 193-218; E. Kessler, "Die Pädagogik der italienischen Humanisten im Kontext des späten Mittelalters," *Lebensformen und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Politik - Bildung - Naturkunde - Theologie*. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1983 bis 1987. Hg. von H. Boockmann, B. Moeller und K. Stackmann, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse; Folge 3, Nr. 179 (Göttingen 1989) 160-180.

27. L. Jardine, "Distinctive Discipline: Rudolph Agricola's Influence on Methodical Thinking in the Humanities," in: *Rudolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444-1485*, Proceedings of the International Conference at the University of Groningen 28-30 October 1985, ed. by F. Akkerman and A.J. Vanderjagt (Leiden 1988) 38-57.

28. P.N.M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland* (Utrecht/Antwerp 1955).

29. Juan Luís Vives, *De subventione pauperum* (Bruges 1926). French translation: *De l'assistance aux pauvres*, traduit du latin par R.A. Casanove et L. Caby (Brussels 1943). English translation: *On Poor Relief*, trans. Margaret H. Sherwood (New York 1928).

30. See note 36.

31. Put, *Cleyne scholen*, 21-33; F. Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente dans les Pays-Bas et dans la principauté de Liège,*

Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie, 2e s., 14 (Louvain 1929) 121ff.

[32] G. Codina Mir, *Aux sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites. Le "modus parisiensis"*, Bibl. Instituti Historici S.I. 28 (Rome 1968).

[33] G. Mertz, *Die Pädagogik der Jesuiten nach den Quellen von der ältesten bis in die neueste Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1898); F. de Dainville, *Les Jésuites et l'éducation de la société française. I. La naissance de l'humanisme moderne* (Paris 1940); F. De Dainville, *L'Éducation des Jésuites (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. M.-M. Compère (Paris, 1978).

[34] A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, 2 vol., Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Cl. des Lettres, 2e s. XXI (Brussels 1927-8).

[35] W. Frijhoff, "L'État et l'éducation (XVIe-XVIIe siècle): une perspective globale," in J.C. Maire Vigueur & C. Pietri (eds.), *Culture et Idéologie dans la Genèse de l'État Moderne. Actes de la table ronde organisée par le CNRS et l'École française de Rome, Rome, 15-17 octobre 1984*, Bibliothèque de l'École française (Rome 1985), 99-116; W. Frijhoff, "Universiteit en religie, staat en natie in de zestiende eeuw: een comparatieve benadering," in W.P. Blockmans & H. van Nuffel (eds.), *Staat en Religie in de 15e en 16e eeuw - État et religion aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Brussels 1986), 121-41; B.S. Tinsley, "Johan Sturm's Method for Humanistic Pedagogy," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 20.1 (1989) 23-40; M. Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599* (New Haven/London 1982) 143-202.

[36] P. Frédericq, "L'enseignement public des Calvinistes à Gand (1578-1584)", *Travaux du cours pratique d'histoire nationale*, vol. I. (Ghent/The Hague 1883) 51-121; L.E. Halkin, "L'académie Calviniste de Gand (1578-1584)", in: *La Réforme et l'Éducation. Actes du IIIe colloque tenu par le Centre d'Histoire de la Réforme et du Protestantisme de l'Université Paul Valéry*, Montpellier (1-6 oct. 1973), (Toulouse 1974) 95-100.

[37] General information in: *A History of the University in Europe*. Volume 1: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. by H. de Ridder-Symoens, general ed. W. Rüegg (Cambridge 1992); H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Oxford 1895). Revised by F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden, 3 vols (Oxford 1936; reprint London 1942-1958; reprint Oxford 1988).

[38] A Schillings (ed.), *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, vol. IV (Brussels 19) 704, n° 118: February 1566, immatriculation of "Illustris ac nobilis adolescens Philippus Guilelmus de Nassau, comes de Buren" who was born in 1554.

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